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OF
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN.

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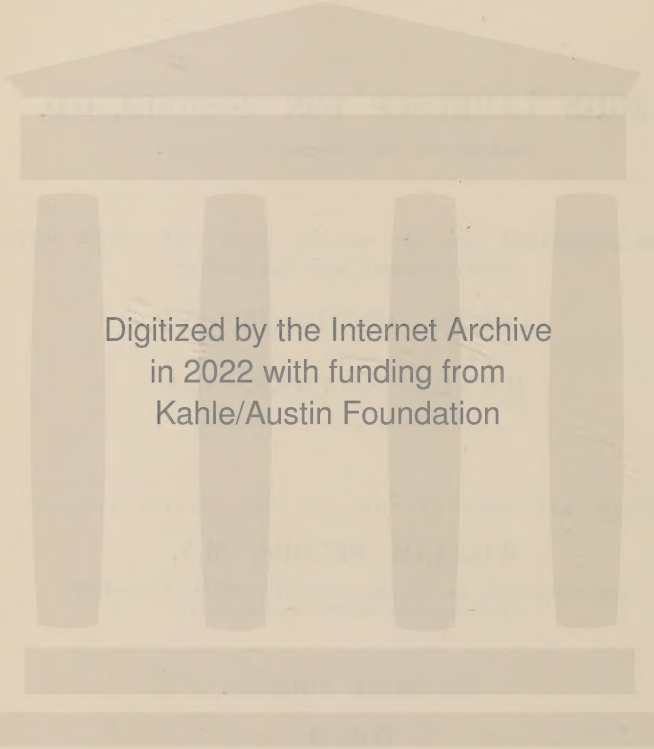
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INSTITUTES
OF
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
UNDER THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

BOOK III.

EMBRACING EVENTS
FROM THE TIMES OF CHARLES THE GREAT
TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF
THE REFORMATION BY LUTHER.

ELEVENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Propagation of Christianity — § 2. Fruitless efforts of some, for the conversion of pagan nations — § 3. The Saracens driven from Sicily — The Sicilian monarchy — § 4. Expedition against the Saracens in Palestine — § 5. Progress of the holy war — § 6, 7. The history of it — § 8. Causes of these expeditions — § 9. Evils of them — § 10. Injurious to the church.

§ 1. THE Hungarians, Danes, Poles, Russians, and other nations, who had received, in the preceding century, some sort of knowledge of the Christian religion, could not universally be brought in a short time to prefer it to the religions of their fathers. Therefore, during the greatest part of this century, their kings, with the teachers whom they drew around them, were occupied in gradually enlightening and converting these nations.¹ In Tartary² and the adjacent regions, the activity of the Nestorians continued daily to gain over more people to the side of Christianity. And such is the mass of testimony at the present day, that we cannot doubt, but that bishops of the highest order, or *Metropolitans*, with many inferior bishops subject to them, were established, at that period, in the provinces of Cashgar, Nuacheta, Turkestan, Genda, Tangut, and others.³ Whence it will

¹ For an account of the Poles and Russians, see the life of Romualdus, in the *Acta Sanctor*, Februar. ii. 113, 114; and for the Hungarians, p. 117.

² The word Tartary is here used in its broadest sense; for I am not insensible that the Tartars, properly so called, are widely different from the Tangutians, Calmucs, Mungals, Mandgjurs, and other tribes.

³ Marco Paolo, the Venetian, *de Regionibus Orientalibus*, l. i. c. 38, 40, 45, 47, 48,

49, 62, 63, 64; l. ii. c. 39. Euseb. Renaudot, *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*, p. 320. Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*, t. iii. pt. ii. p. 502, &c. The history of this so successful propagation of Christianity by the Nestorians, in China, Tartary, and other adjacent countries, richly deserves to be more thoroughly explored, and set forth to the world, by some man well acquainted with oriental history. But the task would be, on various

be manifest that there was a vast multitude of Christians, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in these countries, which are now either devoted to Mahomedism, or worshippers of imaginary gods. And that all these Christians followed the Nestorian creed, and were subject to the supreme pontiff of the Nestorians residing in Chaldea, is so certain as to be beyond all controversy.

§ 2. For the conversion of the European nations, who still lived buried in superstition and barbarism, as the Slavonians, the Obotrites, the Wends, the Prussians, and others, some pious and good men laboured indeed, but with either very little or no success. Near the close of the preceding century, *Adalbert*, bishop of Prague, visited the ferocious nation of the Prussians, with a view to instruct them in the knowledge of Christianity; and the result was, that he was murdered, in the year 996, by *Siggon*, a pagan priest.¹ The king of Poland, *Boleslaus Chrobry*, avenged his death by a severe war, and laboured to accomplish by arms and penalties what *Adalbert* could not effect by arguments.² Yet there were not wanting some, who seconded the king's violent measures, by admonitions, instructions, and persuasions. In the first place, we are told, one *Boniface*, of illustrious birth, and a disciple of *St. Romuald*, and afterwards one *Bruno*, with eighteen companions, went from Germany into Prussia, as Christian missionaries.³ But all these were put to death by the Prussians: nor could the valour of *Boleslaus* or of the subsequent kings of Poland, bring this savage nation to abandon the religion of their ancestors.⁴

§ 3. The Saracens seized upon Sicily, in the ninth century; nor could the Greeks or the Latins hitherto expel them from the country, though they made frequent attempts to do it. But in this century,

accounts, very difficult of execution. It was attempted by an excellent man, Theoph. Sigefr. Bayer, who was furnished with a large number of documents for the purpose, both printed and manuscript. But the premature death of this learned man intercepted his labours.

¹ See the *Acta Sanctor.* ad diem 23 Aprilis, p. 174, &c. [and Jo. Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* vii. 846, &c. Tr.]

² Solignac, *Histoire de Pologne*, i. 133.

³ [Bruno and Boniface were, in fact, one and the same person; the first being his original, and the other his assumed name. See Ditmar, l. vi. p. 82. *Chronicon Quedlinburg.* and Sigebert Gemblacens, ad ann. 1009. The Saxon annalist, on this year, says expressly, 'Sanctus Bruno qui et Bonifacius, Archiepiscopus gentium, primum Canonicus S. Mauritii in Magdaburh. xvi. Kal. Mart. martyr inclytus celos petiit.' He was of the highest rank of Saxon nobility, a near relative of Otto III., and beloved by him. Bruno served for a time at the imperial chapel. But in 997, he preferred a monastic life; and connected himself with St. Romuald, whom he accompanied first to Monte Cassino, and then to Perra, near Ravenna. He

obtained permission from the pope to preach to the pagans, and received ordination as an archbishop. He preached to pagans for twelve years, and was then killed, near the confines of Prussia and Lithuania [A.D. 1006]. The bodies of Bruno and his companions were purchased of the pagans by Boleslaus. *Schl.*—But see Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor.* viii. 79—81, and Fleury, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, l. lviii. § 26. Tr.]

⁴ Anton. Pagi, *Critica in Baronium*, t. iv. ad ann. 1008, p. 97, &c. Christ. Hartknoch, *History of the Prussian Church*, written in German, book i. ch. i. p. 12, &c. [Some of the principal Poles, to whom Christianity was burdensome, on account of tithes, relapsed into idolatry. See Dlugoss, *Hist. Polon.* ad ann. 1022. On the other hand, the Transylvanians were vanquished by the king of Hungary in 1002, and were brought to embrace Christianity, after their prince Geula, with his wife and children, were thrown into prison. And the same king undertook some successful campaigns against the Bulgarians and the pagan Slavonians. See Thuroczius, in *Chron. Hungar.* c. 29, 30. *Schl.*]

A.D. 1059, *Robert Guiscard*, the Norman duke of Apulia, with his brother *Roger*, under the authority of the Roman pontiff *Nicolas II.*, attacked them with great valour; nor did *Roger* relinquish the war, till he had gained possession of the whole island, and cleared it of the Saracens. After this great achievement, in the year 1090, *Roger* restored the Christian religion, now almost extinguished there by the Saracens, to its former dignity; and established bishops, founded monasteries, erected magnificent churches, and put the clergy in possession of ample revenues and honours, which they enjoy to the present times.¹ To this heroic man, is traced the origin of what is called *the Sicilian monarchy*, or the supreme power in matters of religion, which is claimed by the kings of Sicily: for *Urban II.* is said to have created this *Roger* and his successors, hereditary legates of the apostolic see, by a special diploma, dated A.D. 1097. The Roman court contends, that this diploma is a forgery: and hence, even in our times, those severe contests, between the Roman pontiffs and the kings of Sicily, respecting *the Sicilian monarchy*. The posterity of *Roger* governed Sicily down to the twelfth century; at first, under the title of dukes, and then under that of kings.²

¹ See Burigny, *Hist. Générale de Sicile*, i. 386, &c. [*Roger* is highly extolled by the historians of those times, among other things, for his tolerant disposition in regard to religion. For when he conquered Sicily, he allowed the Saracens, who chose to remain in the island, to live according to their own laws, and to follow their own religion, so long as they should continue obedient subjects. See Muratori, *Annal. Ital.* ad ann. 1090. *Schl.*]

² See Cæs. Baronius, *de Monarchia Sicilia Libr*; in his *Annales*, t. xi. and Lud. Ell. du Pin, *Traité de la Monarchie Sicilienne*. [The famous bull of the *monarchy of Sicily* is supposed to have been granted, at an interview of pope Urban II. with *Roger*, duke of Sicily and Calabria, at Salerno, A.D. 1098. The pope had appointed Robert, bishop of Trani, his legate *à latere* in Sicily. But the duke, no stranger to the authority claimed by such legates, and to the disturbances they produced, entreated the pope to revoke the commission, plainly insinuating that he would suffer no legate in his dominions. As the duke had rendered signal services to the apostolic see, had driven the Saracens out of Sicily, and subjected all the churches of that island to the see of Rome, though claimed by the patriarch of Constantinople, the pope recalled the commission he had given to the bishop, and, to engage the duke still more in his favour, conferred upon him all the power he had granted to his legate, declaring him, his heirs, and his successors, *hereditary legates*, and vested with the legatine power, in its full extent. The bull is dated at Salerno, July, Indiction

vii., Urban's reign xi. i. e. 1098. Here is some mistake, as the eleventh year of Urban was the sixth Indiction. And this error has been urged against the genuineness of the instrument, by Baronius, who inserts it, and endeavours to prove it a forgery, in the eleventh volume of his *Annals*. He also urges, that the bull, if genuine, related only to *Roger* and his immediate descendants; that it was a *family* privilege, given to reward the personal services of *Roger*. Though many learned men regard the bull as of very questionable origin, and especially as the Sicilian monarchs, when challenged to do it, have not produced the original writings, yet the kings of Aragon, to whom Sicily was long subject, claimed and exercised the legatine power, as the successors of *Roger*. And they would not suffer the eleventh volume of Baronius' *Annals* to circulate in their dominions. The same power has been likewise claimed, and sometimes exercised, by all the princes who have been masters of that island, down to modern times. In 1715, Clement XI., having published two bulls, the one abolishing the *monarchy*, as it is called, and the other establishing a new plan of ecclesiastical government, the duke of Savoy, as sovereign of Sicily, banished all who received either of them. Some compromise has since taken place, but the supreme ecclesiastical power is still in the hands of the temporal sovereign; that is, he is supreme head of the church there; has power to excommunicate and absolve all persons whatever, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, and cardinals themselves, if resident in the island; he has

§ 4. From the times of *Sylvester II.*, the Roman pontiffs had been meditating the extension of the limits of the church in Asia, and especially the expulsion of the Mahumedans from Palestine; but the troubles of Europe prevented the execution of their designs. *Gregory VII.*, the most daring of all the pontiffs that ever sat in St. Peter's chair, excited by perpetual complaints from the Asiatic Christians, respecting the cruelty of the Mahumedans, wished to engage personally, at the very beginning of his pontificate, in a holy war: and more than fifty thousand men prepared themselves for an expedition under him.¹ But his controversy with the emperor *Henry IV.*, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, and other unexpected events, obliged him to abandon the design. When the century, however, was near its close, a certain Frenchman of Amiens, *Peter*, surnamed the Hermit, gave occasion to the renewal of the design by *Urban II.* *Peter* visited Palestine in the year 1093, and there beheld, with great anguish of mind, the extreme oppressions and vexations which the Christians, travelling to the holy places, suffered from the Mahumedans. Being, accordingly, wrought up to an enthusiasm which he took for divine, he first implored aid from *Symeon*, patriarch of Constantinople,² and from *Urban II.*, the Roman pontiff, but without success. He then traversed Europe, and made Christian princes burn with a desire to wage war upon the tyrants of Palestine. More than this, he carried about an epistle to the Christian world, written from heaven upon this very thing, with a view to make the simple-minded a more easy prey.³

§ 5. Men's minds being thus heated, *Urban II.*, in the year 1095, assembled a very numerous council at Piacenza, in which he first recommended this holy war.⁴ But the dangerous enterprise was relished only by a few; although ambassadors from the Greek emperor, *Alexius Comnenus*, were present, and in the name of their master represented the necessity of opposing the Turks, whose power was daily increasing. The business succeeded better in the council of Clermont, which was assembled soon after; for the French, being more enterprising and ready to face dangers than the Italians, were so moved by the tunid eloquence of *Urban*, that a vast multitude,

a right to preside in all provincial councils, and to exercise all the jurisdiction of a legate *à latere*, vested with the fullest legislative power. And this power may be exercised by females, as in the instance of Jane of Aragon and Castile; and not only in person, but by a commissioner. For the more convenient exercise of this power, a commissioner, styled *the Judge of the monarchy*, is appointed by the king, whose tribunal is the supreme ecclesiastical court, for Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, Tarento, Malta, and the other islands. Yet from him lies an appeal to the royal audience. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, v. 340, and Stäudlin's *Kirchl. Geographie*, i. 476, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ Gregory VII., *Epist.* l. ii. ep. 31, and in Harduin's *Concilia*, vi. 1285.

² [The Greek patriarch of Jerusalem. *Tr.*]

³ This fact is mentioned by the abbot Dodechinus, in his *Continuat. Chronici Mariani Scoti*; in the *Scriptor. Germanicor.* Jo. Pistorii, i. 462. For an account of Peter, see Car. Du Fresne, *Notæ ad Annæ Comnenæ Alexiadem*, p. 79, ed. Venet.

⁴ [Berthold, a contemporary writer, says, there were present in this council about 4,000 clergymen, and more than 30,000 laymen, and that its sessions were held in the open air, because no church could contain the multitude. See Harduin's *Concilia*, vi. 1711, &c. *Tr.*]

of all ranks and ages, became eager at once to engage in a military expedition to Palestine.¹ This host seemed to be a very formidable army, and adequate to overcome almost any obstacles; but, in reality, it was extremely weak and pusillanimous: for it was composed chiefly of monks, mechanics, farmers, persons averse from their regular occupations, spendthrifts, speculators, prostitutes, boys, girls, servants, malefactors, and the lowest dregs of the idle populace, in quest of better fortune. From such troops, what steadiness could be expected? Those who followed this camp were called *Crusaders*,² and the enterprise itself was called a *Crusade*;³ not only because they professedly were going to rescue the cross of our Lord from the hands of its enemies, but also, because they wore upon their right shoulders a white, red, or green cross, made of woollen cloth, and solemnly consecrated.⁴

§ 6. Eight hundred thousand persons, therefore, as credible writers inform us, marched from Europe, in the year 1096, pursuing different routes, and conducted by different leaders, all of whom directed their way to Constantinople, that, after receiving instructions and aid from *Alexius Comnenus*, the Greek emperor, they might pass over into Asia. The author of the war, *Peter the Hermit*, girded with a rope, first led on a band of eighty thousand, through Hungary and Thrace. But this company, after committing endless enormities, was nearly all miserably butchered by the Hungarians and Turks.⁵ Nor did

¹ Theod. Ruinart, *Vita Urbani II.* § cccxv. &c. p. 224, 229, 240, 272, 274, 282, 296, of the *Opp. Posthum.* of Jo. Mabillon and Theodore Ruinart, t. iii. Jo. Harduin's *Concilia*, vi. 1726. Cæsar Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* t. xi. ad ann. 1095, No. xxxii. p. 648. [The number present at the council of Clermont is not definitely stated by the early writers, though they all agree that it was very great. There were thirteen archbishops, two hundred and fifty bishops, besides abbots and inferior clergy, with a multitude of laymen. The Acts of this council, with two speeches of Urban, are given by Harduin, *Concilia*, vi. 1718, &c. Tr.]

² Crucciati.

³ Expeditio cruciata.

⁴ See Abrah. Bzovius, *Continuat. Annal. Baronii*, t. xv. ad ann. 1410, § ix. p. 32, &c. ed. Colon. Jac. Lenfant, *Hist. du Concile de Pise*, t. ii. l. v. p. 60, &c. The writers who give account of the Crusades are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii*, §c. c. xxx. p. 518. [Most of the original writers, living in or near the times of the Crusades, were collected by Jac. Bongars, in his *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanov. 1611, 2 vols. fol. Of these original writers, the most important are, Robert of Rheims, Baldric or Baudri of Dol, Raimond of Agiles, Albert of Aix, Fulcher or Fulcard of Chartres, and Guibert of Nogent; but especially

William bishop of Tyre, and James de Vitry. To these may be added Marino Sanuto of the thirteenth century. The best moderns are said to be, I. Bapt. Mailly, *Esprit des Croisades, ou Histoire politique et militaire des Guerres entreprises par les Chrétiens pour le recouvrement de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1780, 4 vols. 12mo. Maimbourg, *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris, 1675, &c. 4 vols. 12mo. J. C. Mayer, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1780, 2 vols. 8vo. F. Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzz.* Lips. 1807—17, 3 vols. 8vo. I. Ch. Waken, *Gemälde der Kreuzz.* Francf. 1808—10, 3 vols. 8vo. A. H. Heeren, *Versuch e. Entwicklung d. Folg. d. Kreuzz.* (a prize essay), Gotting. 1808, 8vo. The English reader may consult Gibbon's *Hist. of the Decline*, &c. c. lviii. lix. Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vols. v. and vi. Mill's *History of the Crusades*, &c. Tr.]

⁵ [The army under Peter the Hermit vented their rage especially against the Jews; whom they either compelled to receive baptism, or put to death with horrid cruelty. The same thing was done by another division, in the countries along the Rhine, at Mentz, Cologne, Treves, Worms, and Spire; where, however, the Jews were sometimes protected by the bishops. See the Saxon *Annalist* ad ann. 1096, in Eccard's *Corpus Hist. Medii Ævi*, i. 579, &c. *Schl.*]

better fortune attend some other armies of these Crusaders; who roamed about, like robbers, under unskilful commanders, plundering and laying waste the countries over which they travelled. Rather more happy was the journey of those who were commanded by men of illustrious birth and military skill. *Godfrey* of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine, a man who may be compared with the greatest heroes of any age,¹ and who was commander-in-chief of the war, conducted, with his brother *Baldwin*, a well-organised body of eighty thousand horse and foot, through Germany and Hungary. Another body, under the command of *Raymond*, count of Toulouse, marched through Slavonia. *Robert*, count of Flanders, *Robert*, duke of Normandy, and *Hugo* the Great, brother to Philip, king of France, embarked with their forces at Brindisi and Tarento, and made for Durazzo. These were followed by *Boamund*, duke of Apulia and Calabria, at the head of a numerous and select band of Normans.

§ 7. This army, the greatest within the memory of man, when it arrived at Constantinople, though greatly diminished by various calamities, caused much alarm, and not without reason, to the Greek emperor. But his fears were dispelled when it had passed the straits of Gallipoli, and landed in Bithynia. The Crusaders first besieged Nice, the capital of Bithynia; which was taken in the year 1097. They then proceeded on, through Asia Minor into Syria; and, in the year 1098, took Antioch; which was given, with its territory, to *Boamund*, duke of Apulia. They also captured Edessa; of which *Baldwin*, the brother of *Godfrey* of Bouillon, was made sovereign. Finally, in the year 1099, these Latins reduced the city of Jerusalem by their victorious arms. And here the seat of a new kingdom was established, and the above-named *Godfrey* was declared the first king of Jerusalem. He refused, however, the title of *king*, from motives of modesty; and, retaining a few soldiers with him, permitted the others to return back to Europe. But this great man died not long after, and left his kingdom to his brother *Baldwin*, prince of Edessa, who did not hesitate to assume the title of king.

§ 8. With the Roman pontiffs, and particularly with *Urban II.*, the principal motive for kindling this holy war was furnished, I conceive, by the corrupted religion of that age. For, according to the prevailing views, it was a reproach upon Christians to suffer the land which had been consecrated by the footsteps and the blood of *Christ* to remain under the power of his enemies; and moreover, a great and essential part of piety to God consisted in pilgrimages to the holy places, which were most hazardous undertakings, so long as the Mahomedans should occupy Palestine. To these religious motives there was added an apprehension, that the Turks, who had already subdued a large part of the Greek empire, would march into Europe, and would, in particular, assail Italy. Those among the learned who suppose that the Roman pontiff recommended this terrible war, for

¹ Of this illustrious hero, the Benedictine monks treat professedly, in the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, viii. 598, &c. [Bohemond's proper title was Prince of Tarentum. *Ed.*]

the sake of extending his own authority, and of weakening the power of the Latin emperors and kings; and that the kings and princes of Europe encouraged it, in order to get rid of their powerful and warlike vassals, and to obtain possession of their lands and estates; bring forward indeed plausible conjectures, but they are mere conjectures.¹ Yet afterward, when the pontiffs, as well as the kings and princes, learned, by experience, how very beneficial to their interests these wars were, they felt new and additional motives for encouraging them; among the first of which, undoubtedly, was an eagerness to increase their own power and resources.

§ 9. These wars, however, whether just or unjust,² produced im-

¹ The first of these motives ascribed to the pontiffs is brought forward by many, both Protestants and Papists, as one not at all to be questioned. See Bened. Accoltus, *de Bello Sacro in Infideles*, l. i. p. 16. Jac. Basnage, *Hist. des Eglises Réformées*, t. i. period v. p. 235. Ren. de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers de Malthe*, t. i. l. iii. p. 302, 308, l. iv. p. 428. Andr. Baillet, *Hist. des Dèmêlez du Boniface VIII. avec Philip le Bel*, p. 76. *Hist. du Droit Ecclès. François*, i. 296, 299, and many others. But that this supposition has no solid foundation, will be clear to us as consider all the circumstances. The Roman pontiffs could not certainly foresee that so many princes, and people of every class, would march away from Europe to Palestine; neither could they discover, beforehand, that these expeditions would be so beneficial to themselves. For all the advantages accruing to the pontiffs and to the clergy from these wars, both the extension of their authority and the increase of their wealth, were not apparent, at once, and at the commencement of the war; but they gradually developed themselves, being the result rather of accidental circumstances than of design. This single fact shows, that the pontiffs who promoted these wars could have had no thoughts of extending their power by them. It may be added, that the general belief, and the expectation of the pontiffs, was, that the whole business would be accomplished in a single expedition, of no long continuance; and that God himself would, by miraculous interpositions, overthrow those enemies of Christianity who were the unjust possessors of Palestine. Besides, as soon as Jerusalem was taken, most of the European princes and soldiers returned back to Europe; which the popes surely would not have permitted, if from the continuance of this war they anticipated great accessions to their wealth and power.—But no conjecture on this subject is, in my view, more unfortunate, than that which supposes Urban II. to have eagerly pressed forward this holy

war, in order to weaken the power of the emperor Henry IV., with whom he was in a violent contest respecting the investiture of bishops. The advocates of this conjecture forget, that the first armies which marched against the Mahumedans of Asia were raised chiefly among the Franks and Normans, and that the Germans, who were opposed to Urban II., were at first the most averse from these wars. Other arguments are omitted, for the sake of brevity.—Nor is the other part of the conjecture, which relates to the kings and princes of Europe, better founded. It has received the approbation of Vertot (*Hist. de Malthe*, l. iii. p. 309), Boulainvilliers, and other great and eminent men, who think they see farther than others into the policy of the courts in those ages. But these excellent men have no other argument to adduce but this: many kings, especially of the Franks, were rendered more rich and powerful, by the death and the misfortunes of those who engaged in these wars; and therefore they craftily gave, not only permission, but also a direct encouragement, to these wars. All can see the inconclusiveness of this reasoning. We are too prone to ascribe more sagacity and cunning both to the Roman pontiffs, and to the kings and princes of those times, than they really possessed; and we too often judge of the causes of transactions by their results, which is a defective and uncertain mode of reasoning. I apprehend, that the Roman pontiffs (of whom alone I would speak) obtained their immense aggrandisement, not so much by shrewdly forming plans for enlarging their power, as by dexterously seizing the opportunities that occurred.

² The question of the justice of what are called the *Crusades*, I shall not take upon me to discuss; nor shall I deny that it is, when viewed impartially, an intricate and dubious question. But I wish the reader to be apprised, that there was discussion among Christians, as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, respecting the justice and injustice of those holy wars.

mense evils of every sort, both in church and state; and their effects are visible even to the present day. Europe was deprived of a very great part of its population, and immense sums of money were exported to foreign countries; and very many families, previously opulent and powerful, either became extinct, or were reduced to extreme poverty: for the heads of families either mortgaged or sold their territories, possessions, and estates, in order to defray the expense of their journey;¹ while others imposed such intolerable burdens upon their vassals and tenants, as frightened them into giving up their houses and lands, to take the cross themselves. Hence originated, quite over Europe, an immense confusion of interests of every kind. I say nothing of the murders, carnage, robberies, committed in all quarters with impunity, by these soldiers of God and Jesus Christ, as they were called; nor of the new, and often very grievous, privileges and prerogatives, to which these wars gave occasion.²

§ 10. These wars were no less prejudicial to the church and to religion. The power and greatness of the Roman pontiffs were wonderfully advanced by them; and the wealth of the churches and

For the *Cathari*, or Albigenses, and Waldenses, denied their justice. The arguments they used are collected and refuted by Fr. Moneta, a Dominican writer, of the thirteenth century, in his *Summa contra Catharos et Waldenses* (which was published a few years ago, at Rome, by Richini), lib. v. c. xiii. p. 531, &c. But the arguments of the *Cathari* against the *transmarine expeditions* (*viam ultramarinam*), as they called these wars, had not great weight; nor were the answers of the well-meaning Moneta very solid. An example will make this clear. The *Cathari* opposed the holy wars, by urging the words of Paul, 1 *Cor.* x. 32: *Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the gentiles, nor to the church of God.* By the *gentiles*, they said, may be understood the *Saracens*. Therefore European Christians ought not to make war upon the *Saracens*, lest they should *give offence to the gentiles*. The answer of Moneta to this singular argument we will give in his own words. 'We read, *Gen.* xii. 7, that God said to Abraham: *To thy seed will I give this land.* But we (the Christians of Europe) are the seed of Abraham; as says the apostle to the *Galat.* iii. 29. To us, therefore, has that land been given for a possession. Hence, it is the duty of the civil power to labour to put us in possession of that land; and it is the duty of the church to exhort civil rulers to do their duty.'—A rare argument this, truly! But let us hear him out.—'The church does not intend to harm the *Saracens*, or to kill them; nor have Christian princes any such design. And yet, if they will stand in the way of the swords of the princes, they will be slain. The church of God, therefore, is

without offence; that is, it injures no one in this matter, because it does no one any wrong, but only defends its own rights.'—Who can deny that here is ingenuity?

¹ Many and very memorable examples of this occur in ancient records. Robert, duke of Normandy, mortgaged to his brother William, king of England, the duchy of Normandy, to enable him to take his departure for Palestine. See Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, l. i. p. 24, &c. Odo, viscount of Bourges, sold his territory to the king of France. See the *Gallia Christiana*, by the Benedictines, ii. 45. For more examples, see Car. du Fresne, *Adnot. ad Joinvilli vitam Ludovici S.* p. 52. Boulainvilliers, *sur l'Origine et les Droits de la Noblesse*, in Molet's *Mémoires de Littér. et de l'Histoire*, t. ix. pt. i. p. 68. Jo. Geo. Cramer, *de Juribus et Prærogativis Nobilitatis*, i. 81, 409. From the time, therefore, of these wars, very many estates of the nobility, in all parts of Europe, became the property of the kings and more powerful princes, or of the priests and monks, or of private citizens of inferior rank.

² Those who took the badge of Crusaders acquired extraordinary rights and privileges, which were injurious to other citizens. Of these the Jurists may properly treat. I will only observe, that hence it became customary, whenever a person would contract a loan, or buy, or sell, or enter into any civil compact, to require of him to renounce the privileges of a Crusader, whether already acquired, or yet future (*privilegio crucis sumptæ ac sumendæ renunciare*). See Le Beuf, *Mémoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, Append. ii. 292.

monasteries was, in many ways, much augmented.¹ Moreover, as bishops and abbots in great numbers forsook their charges and travelled into Asia, the priests and monks lived without restraint, and addicted themselves freely to every vice. Superstition also, previously extravagant, now increased greatly among the Latins. For the long list of tutelary deities was amplified with new and often fictitious saints of Greek and Syrian origin, before unknown to the Europeans;² and an incredible number of relics, generally of a ridiculous character, was imported into our churches and chapels. Every one, in fact, who returned home from Asia brought with him, as a glorious trophy, some sacred relics which he had bought extravagantly dear of the cheating Syrians and Greeks. These he left, as a charge requiring especial care, either to a church, or to the members of his own family.³

¹ The accessions to the wealth and the power of the Roman pontiffs, arising from these wars, were too numerous and various to be conveniently enumerated here with particularity. And not only the visible head of the church, but likewise the church universal, augmented its power and resources by means of these wars. For they who assumed the cross, as they were about to place their lives in great jeopardy, conducted themselves as men do when about to die. They therefore generally made their wills; and in them they gave a part of their property to a church or monastery, in order to obtain the protection and favour of God. See Plessis, *Hist. de Meaux*, ii. 76, 79, 141. *Gallia Christiana*, ii. 138, 139. Le Beuf, *Mémoires pour l'Hist. d'Auxerre*, t. ii. Append. p. 31. Du Fresne, *Adnot. ad vitam Ludovici Sancti*, p. 52. Numerous examples of such pious donations are to be found in ancient records. Those who had controversies with priests or monks, very commonly would abandon their cause or lawsuit, and yield up the property in controversy. Those who had themselves seized on property of the churches or convents, or were told that their ancestors had done some wrong to the priests, freely restored what they had taken, and often with additions; and compensated for the injuries done, whether real or imaginary, by their donations. See Du Fresne, l. c. p. 52. [Whoever became a knight of the cross, became subject to the pope, and was no longer subject to the secular power of his temporal lord. Whoever had taken the vow to march to the holy land, and afterwards wished to be released from it, could purchase an exemption from the pope, who gave such dispensations, &c. *Schl.*]

² The Roman Catholics themselves acknowledge, that in the time of the crusades many saints, before unknown to the Latins, were brought from Greece and the East into

Europe, where they were worshipped most religiously. And among these new spiritual guardians, there were some of whose lives and history there is the greatest reason to doubt. For example, St. Catharine was introduced into Europe from Syria, as is admitted by Cæs. Baronius, *ad Martyrol. Rom.* p. 728; by Geo. Cassander, *Schol. ad Hymnos Ecclesiæ*, in his Opp. Paris, 1616, fol. p. 278, 279. Yet it is very doubtful whether this Catharine, the patroness of learned men, ever existed.

³ The sacred treasures of relics which the French, Germans, Britons, and other nations of Europe, formerly preserved with such care, and which are still exhibited with reverence, are not more ancient than the times of the crusaders, and were purchased at a great price by kings, princes, and other distinguished persons of the Greeks and Syrians. But that these avaricious and fraudulent dealers imposed upon the pious credulity of the Latins, the most candid judges will not doubt. Richard, king of England, in the year 1191, purchased of Saladin, the noted Mahumedan sultan, all the relics at Jerusalem. See Matthew Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 138, who also tells us (p. 666), that the Dominicans brought from Palestine a white stone, on which Christ had impressed the prints of his feet. The Genoese possess, as a present from Baldwin, the second king of Jerusalem, the dish from which Christ ate the paschal lamb with his disciples at his last supper. And this singular monument of ancient devotion is ridiculed by Jo. Baptist. Labat, *Voyages en Espagne et Italie*, ii. 63. Respecting the great amount of relics brought from Palestine to France by St. Lewis, the French king, see Joinville's *Life of St. Lewis*, edited by Du Fresne. Plessis, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Meaux*, i. 120. Lancelot, *Mémoires pour la Vie de l'Abbé de S. Cyrano*, ii. 175. Christ's pocket-handkerchief, which

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Sufferings of Christians from the Saracens and Turks in the East — § 2. Also in the West.

§ 1. THE principal conflicts of the Christians, in this century, were from the Saracens, and from the Turks, who were equally the enemies of both Saracens and Christians. The Saracens, though at war among themselves, and at the same time unable to arrest the daily encroachments of the Turks upon them, persecuted their Christian subjects in a most cruel manner, putting some to death, mutilating others, and plundering others of all their property. The Turks not only pressed hard upon the Saracens, but also subjugated the fairest provinces of the Greek empire, along the Euxine sea, and exhausted the remainder by perpetual incursions. Nor were the Greeks able to oppose their desolating progress, being miserably distracted with intestine discords, and so crippled by want of money, that they could neither raise forces, nor find means of paying them.

§ 2. In Spain, the Saracens seduced a large portion of the Christians, by rewards, marriages, and compacts, to pollute themselves with the Mahumedan religion.¹ And they would doubtless have gradually induced most of their subjects to apostatise from Christianity, had they not been weakened by the loss of various battles with the Christian kings of Aragon and Castile, especially with *Ferdinand I.* of Aragon, and been stripped of a large part of the territories which they held.² Among the Danes, Hungarians, and other nations, those who still adhered to their ancient superstitions (and there were many of this description among those nations) very cruelly persecuted their fellow-citizens, as well as the neighbouring nations who professed Christianity. To suppress this cruelty, the Christian princes, in various

is held sacred at Besançon, was brought from Palestine to Besançon by a Christian Jewess. See Jo. Jac. Chiflet, *Vesontio*, pt. ii. p. 108, and *de linteis Christi sepulchralibus*, cap. ix. p. 50. For other examples, see Anton. Matthæus, *Analecta veteris Ævi*, ii. 677. Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* vi. 52, and especially Jo. Jac. Chiflet, *Crisis historica de linteis Christi sepulchralibus*, cap. ix. x. p. 50, &c. Among other things, Chiflet says, p. 59, 'Sciendum est, vigente immani et barbara Turcarum persecutione, et imminente Christianæ religionis in Oriente naufragio, educta e sacrariis et per Christianos quovis modo recondita Ecclesi-

arum pignora. Hisce plane divinis opibus illecti præ aliis Galli, sacra *Αελφαρα* qua vi, qua pretio a detinentibus hac illac extorserunt.' And this learned writer brings many examples as proofs.

¹ Jo. Hen. Hottinger, *Historia Eccles.* sæcul. xi. sect. ii. p. 452. Mich. Geddes, *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain*; published among his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, i. 104, &c.

² These wars between the Christian kings of Spain and the Mahumedans, or Moors, are described by the Spanish historians, Jo. Mariana and Jo. Ferreras.

places, enacted capital punishment against such as continued to worship the gods of their ancestors. And this severity was undoubtedly more efficacious for extinguishing the inveterate idolatry than the instructions given by persons who did not understand the nature of Christianity, and who dishonoured its purity by their corrupt morals and their superstitious practices. The still unconverted European nations of this period, the Prussians, the Lithuanians, the Slavonians, the Obotriti, and others inhabiting the lower parts of Germany, continued to harass the neighbouring Christians with perpetual wars and incursions, and cruelly to destroy the lives of many.¹

¹ Helmold, *Chronicon Slavor.* l. i. c. xvi. p. 52. &c. Adam Bremensis, *Histor.* lib. ii. cap. xxvii. [Among the Slavonians many persons had professed Christianity, but re-

lapsed into paganism, and persecuted the Christians without mercy. Thus Helmold (l. i. c. 16, 24, 25) and Adam Bremens. (l. ii, c. 32) inform us. *Schl.*]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF LEARNING AND PHILOSOPHY.

§ 1. State of learning among the Greeks — § 2. Their most celebrated scholars — § 3. State of learning in the West — § 4. Schools opened in various places — § 5. The sciences taught in these schools — § 6, 7. Dialectics in high repute — § 8, 9. Disputes among the logicians. Nominalists and Realists.

§ 1. THE calamitous state of the Greek empire entirely subverted the prosperity of literature and science. The Turks as well as the Saracens were daily depriving it more and more of its glory and power; and what they left inviolate, the civil discords, the frequent insurrections, and the violent dethronement of emperors, gradually wasted and destroyed. Yet there was here and there an individual that cherished and encouraged the liberal arts, both among the emperors (as *Alexius Comnenus*) and among the patriarchs and bishops. Nor would the controversies of the Greeks with the Latins allow the former to spurn all cultivation of the understanding and all love of learning. Owing to these causes, the Greeks of this century were not entirely destitute of men who were respectable for their learning and intellectual culture.

§ 2. I omit the names of their poets, rhetoricians, and grammarians; who, if not the best, were at least tolerable. Among their historians, *Leo the Grammarian*,¹ *John Scylitzes*,² *Cedrenus*,³ and

¹ [He was the continuator of Theophanes' Chronicle, from 813 to 1013, the time when he is supposed to have lived and written. His work was published, Gr. and Lat., subjoined to Theophanes, ed. Combefis, Paris, 1655, fol. *Tr.*]

² [John Scylitzes, a civilian, and Curopalates at Constantinople, wrote a *History of Transactions in the East*, from 811 to 1057, and afterwards continued it to 1081. The whole was published in a Latin translation by J. B. Gabius, Venice, 1570, fol. and the latter

part in Gr. by Goar, Paris, 1648, fol. *Tr.*]

³ [George Cedrenus, a Greek monk, edited a chronicle, from the creation to A.D. 1057; compiled from the work of George Syncellus, up to the reign of Diocletian; then from Theophanes, to 813; and lastly, from John Scylitzes, to 1057. It was first published, Gr. and Lat., by Xylander, Basil, 1566, fol. and afterwards, much better and with notes, by Fabrotus and Jac. Goar, Paris, 1647, fol. *Tr.*]

some others, are not to be passed by in silence; although they adhered to the fabulous stories of their countrymen, and were not free from partiality. *Michael Psellus*, a man in high reputation, was a pattern of excellence in all the learning and science of his age. He also laboured to excite his countrymen to the study of philosophy, and particularly of Aristotelian philosophy, which he attempted to explain and recommend by various productions of his pen.¹ Among the Arabians the love of science still flourished, as is manifest from those among them who, in this age, excelled in the knowledge of medicine, astronomy, and mathematics.²

§ 3. In the West, learning revived, in some measure, among those who followed a solitary life, or the monks and priests. For other people, but especially the nobles and the great, despised learning and science, with the exception of such as devoted themselves to the church, or aspired to sacred offices. In Italy schools flourished here and there after the middle of this century; and a number of learned men acquired reputation as authors and as instructors. Some of these afterwards removed to France, and especially to Normandy, and there taught the youth dedicated to the service of the church.³ The French, while they admit that they were indebted in a degree to learned men who came from Italy, produce also a respectable list of their own citizens, who cultivated and advanced learning in this age; they name not a few schools, which were distinguished by the fame of their teachers, and the multitude of their students.⁴ And it is unquestionable, that the French paid great attention to letters and the arts, and that their country abounded in learned men, while the greatest part of Italy was still sunk in ignorance. For *Robert*, king of France, the son of *Hugh Capet*, and a pupil of *Gerbert* or *Sylvester II.*, was himself a learned man, and a great patron of learning and learned men. His reign terminated in the year 1031, and his great zeal for the advancement of the arts and learning of every kind

¹ See *Leo Allatius, Diatriba de Psellis*, p. 14, ed. Fabricius. [*Michael Psellus*, junior, was of noble birth, a senator at Constantinople, tutor to *Michael Ducas*, afterwards emperor. He retired to a monastery about 1077, and died not long after. He wrote a metrical paraphrase, and a prose commentary on the Canticles, a tract on the Trinity and the person of Christ, tracts on Virtue and Vice, on Tantalus and Circe, on the Sphinx, on the Chaldaic oracles, on the faculties of the soul, on diet, on the virtues of stones, on factitious gold, on food and regimen; notes on portions of *Gregory Nazianzen*, and on the eight books of *Aristotle's Physics*; a paraphrase on *Aristotle* *περὶ ἐμπνεύσεως*; a panegyric on *Simeon Metaphrastes*; some law tracts; and on the ecclesiastical canons, on the four branches of mathematics (arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy), several philosophical tracts, &c. &c. Many

of his pieces were never printed, and most of those published were published separately. *Tr.*]

² *Elmacin, Historia Saracen.* p. 281. *Jo. Henr. Hottinger, Historia Eccles. sæcul. xi.* p. 449, &c.

³ See *Muratori, Antiqq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, iii. 871. *Giannone, Histoire de Naples*, ii. 148.

⁴ See the Benedictine monks, *Hist. Litt. de la France*, t. vii. Introduction, *passim*. *Cæs. Egasse de Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris.* i. 355, &c. *Le Beuf, Diss. sur l'état des Sciences en France, depuis la mort du roy Robert, &c.* which is published among his *Dissertations sur l'Hist. Ecclési. et Civile de Paris*, ii. 1, &c. [Among their monastic schools, that of *Bec* in Normandy, taught by *Lanfranc* and *Anselm*, was particularly celebrated; and among their episcopal schools were those of *Rheims*, *Liege*, *Orleans*, *Tours*, *Angers*, and *Chartres*. *Schl.*]

was not unsuccessful.¹ The Normans from France, after they obtained possession of the lower provinces of Italy, Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, diffused the light of science and literature over those countries. To the same people belongs the honour of restoring learning in England. For *William* the Conqueror, duke of Normandy, a man of discernment, and the great Mæcenas of his time, when he had conquered England, in the year 1066, made commendable efforts, by inviting learned men from Normandy and elsewhere, to banish from that country barbarism and ignorance, the fruitful sources of so many evils.² For these heroic Normans, who had been so ferocious and hostile to all learning, before they embraced Christianity, imbibed, after their conversion, a very high regard both for religion and for learning.

§ 4. The thirst for knowledge, which gradually spread among the more civilised nations of Europe, was attended by this consequence, that more schools were opened, and in various places better teachers were placed over them. Until the beginning of this century, the only schools in Europe were those attached to the monasteries and the cathedral churches; and the only teachers of secular as well as sacred learning were the Benedictine monks. But in the beginning of this century, other priests and men of learning undertook the instruction of youth in various cities of France and Italy; who, besides teaching more branches of knowledge than the monks had done, adopted a happier method of inculcating some of the branches before taught. Among these new teachers, those were the most distinguished, who had either studied in the schools of the Saracens in Spain (which was a very common thing in this age with such as aspired after a superior education), or at least read the books of the Arabians, many of which were translated into Latin. For such masters taught philosophy, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, and the kindred sciences in a more learned and solid manner than they were taught by the monks and by those educated under them. Of medical knowledge, by far the most celebrated school in this century was that of *Salerno*, in the kingdom of Naples, and to it students of the healing art resorted from most of the countries of Europe. But whatever of this art was known to the teachers at Salerno, it had come to them from the schools of the Saracens in Spain and Africa, and from books written by Arabians.³ From the same schools and books, and at the same time, nearly all the nations of Europe derived those futile arts of predicting the fortunes of men by the stars, by the countenance, and by the appearance of the hands, which in the progress of time acquired such an extensive currency and influence.

¹ See Daniel, *Hist. de la France*, iii. 58. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. i. 636, et passim.

² See the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, viii. 171. 'The English,' says Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, l. i. p. 4, ed. Wats, 'before the time of William, were so illiterate, that one who understood grammar was looked upon with astonishment.'

³ Muratori, *Antiquit. Ital. Medii Ævi*, iii. 935, &c. Giannone, *Hist. de Naples*, ii. 151. Jo. Friend, *Hist. of Physic from the time of Galen*, Lond. 1726, 8vo. And who does not know, that the *Schola Salernitana*, or rules for preserving health, was written in this age, by the physicians of Salerno, at the request of the king of England?

§ 5. In most of the schools, what were called the *seven liberal arts* were taught. The pupil commenced with grammar, then proceeded to rhetoric, and afterwards to logic or dialectics. Having thus mastered the *Trivium*, as it was called, those who aspired to greater attainments proceeded with slow steps through the *Quadrivium*, to the honour of a perfectly learned man. But this course of study, adopted in all the schools of the West, was not a little changed after the middle of this century. For *logic* (which included *metaphysics*, at least in part), having been improved by the reflexion and skill of certain close thinkers, and being taught more fully and acutely, acquired such an ascendancy in the minds of the majority, that they neglected grammar, rhetoric, and the other sciences, both the elegant and the abstruse, and devoted their whole lives to *dialectics*, or to logical and metaphysical discussions. For whoever was well acquainted with dialectics, or what we call logic and metaphysics, was supposed to possess learning enough, and to lose nothing by being ignorant of all other branches of erudition.¹ And hence arose that contempt for the languages, for eloquence, and the other branches of polite learning, and that gross barbarism, which prevailed for several centuries in the occidental schools, and which had a corrupting influence on theology as well as philosophy.

§ 6. The philosophy of the Latins, in this age, was confined wholly to what they called *dialectics*; and the other branches of philosophy were scarcely known by name.² Moreover, their *dialectics* were miserably dry and barren, so long as they were taught either from

¹ See the citations in Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* i. 408, 409, 511, 512. To show how true the vulgar maxim is, that *there is nothing new under the sun*, I here subjoin a passage from the *Metalogicus* of John of Salisbury, a writer of no contemptible abilities, l. i. c. iii. p. 741, ed. Lugd. Bat. 1639, 8vo. 'The poets and historians were held in contempt; and if any one studied the works of the ancients, he was pointed at and ridiculed by every body, as being more stupid than the ass of Arcadia, and more senseless than lead or stone. For every one devoted himself exclusively to his own discoveries, or those of his master.'—'Thus men became, at once, consummate philosophers: for the illiterate novice did not usually continue longer at school, than the time it takes young birds to become fledged.'—'But what were the things taught by these new doctors, who spent more sleeping hours than waking ones, in the study of philosophy? Lo, all things became new: grammar was quite another thing; dialectics assumed a new form; rhetoric was held in contempt; and a new course for the whole Quadrivium was got up, derived from the very sanctuary of philosophy, all former rules and principles being discarded. They talked only of *suitableness* (convenientia) and *reason* :

proof resounded from every mouth—[and to name an ass, or a man, or any of the works of nature, was *not less than criminal*, or *too inept*, or *rude* and *unphilosophic*.] To say or do any thing *suitably* and *rationally*, was thought to be impossible, without the express statement of the *suitableness* and *reason* of it.' The author says more on the same subject, for which see his work.

² In the writings of this age, we find mention indeed of many *philosophers*: e. g. Manegold the philosopher, Adalard the philosopher, and many more. But it would mislead us, to attribute to the term the meaning that it had anciently among the Greeks and Romans, and which it now has. In the style of the middle ages, a *philosopher* is a man of learning. And this title was given to the interpreters of Scripture, though ignorant of every thing which is properly called philosophy. The *Chronicon Salernitanum* (in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* t. ii. pt. ii. c. cxxiv. p. 265), states, that *there were thirty-two philosophers at Benevento*, in the tenth century; at which time the light of science was scarcely glimmering in Italy. But what follows this statement, shows, that the writer intended to designate *grammarians*, and persons having some knowledge of the liberal arts.

the work on the *ten Categories*, falsely attributed to *Augustine*, or from the *Introductions to Aristotle* by *Porphry* and *Averroes*. Yet the schools had, in the former part of this century, no other guides in this science; and the teachers had neither the courage nor the skill to expand and improve the precepts contained in these works. But after the middle of the century, dialectics assumed a new aspect, first in France. For some of the works of *Aristotle* being introduced into France, from the schools of the Saracens in Spain, certain eminent geniuses, as *Berengarius*, *Roscelin*, *Hildebert*, and afterwards *Gilbert de la Porrée*, *Abelard*, and others, following the guidance of *Aristotle*, laboured to extend and perfect the science.

§ 7. None, however, obtained greater fame by their attempts to improve the science of dialectics, and render it practically useful, than *Lanfranc*, an Italian, who was promoted from the abbacy of St. Stephen's in Caen, to the archbishopric of Canterbury in England; *Anselm*, whose last office was likewise archbishop of Canterbury; and *Odo*, eventually bishop of Cambay. The first of these men was so distinguished in this science, that he was commonly called the *Dialectician*; and he applied the principles of the science, with acuteness, to the decision of the controversy with his rival, *Berengarius*, respecting the Lord's supper. The second, *Anselm*, in his dialogue *de Grammatico*, among other efforts to dispel the darkness of the dialectics of the age, investigated particularly the ideas of *substance*, and of *qualities* or *attributes*.¹ The third, *Odo*, both taught dialectics, with great applause, and explained the science in three subtle works, *de Sophista*, *de Complexibus*, and *de Re et Ente*; which, however, are not now extant.² The same *Anselm*, a man great and renowned in many respects, and who laboured to improve the science of dialectics, was likewise the first among the Latins that rescued *metaphysics* and *natural theology* from obscurity and neglect; and explained, acutely, what reason can teach us concerning God, in two treatises, which he entitled *Monologion* and *Proslogion*.³ He it was who invented that very famous argument, commonly called the *Cartesian*; which aims to prove the existence of a God, from the very conception of an all-perfect Nature, implanted in the minds of men. The conclusiveness of this argument was assailed, in this very century, by the French monk *Gaunilo*, whom *Anselm* attempted to refute in a tract expressly on the subject.⁴

§ 8. But the science of dialectics was scarcely matured, when a fierce contest broke out among its patrons respecting the *subject-matter* which it proposed. This controversy was of little importance

¹ This dialogue is among his Works, published by Gabr. Gerberon, i. 143, &c.

² See Herimann, *Narratio Restaurationis Abbatie S. Martini Tornac*, in D'Achery's *Spicilegium Scriptor. Veterum*, ii. 889, &c. of the new edition. 'Odo, though well skilled in all the liberal arts, was particularly eminent in *dialectics*; and for this, especially, his school was frequented by the clergy.'

³ [In the *Monologion*, a person is represented as meditating or *reasoning with himself alone*; in the *Proslogion*, the same person is represented as *addressing himself to God*. Tr.]

⁴ Gaunilo's Tract against Anselm, as well as the Answer to it, is to be found in Anselm, *Opp.* p. 35, 36.

in itself, and one that had long been agitated in the schools; but, considered in its consequences, it became great and momentous; for the parties applied their different theories to the explanation of religious doctrines, and they mutually charged each other with the most odious consequences. They were all agreed in this, that dialectics are occupied with the consideration and comparison of *general ideas*;¹ because *particular* and individual things, being liable to change, cannot become the subject-matter of fixed and invariable science. But it was debated whether these *general ideas*, with which dialectics are concerned, are to be referred to the class of *things*, or to the class of mere *words* or *names*. Some maintained that *general ideas* are *things* that have real existence; and they supported their opinion by the authority of *Plato*, *Boëthius*, and others among the ancients. On the contrary, others affirmed that these *general ideas*² are nothing more than *words* or *names*; and these quoted the authority of *Aristotle*, *Porphyry*, and others. The former were called *Realists*, and the latter *Nominalists*. Each of these parties became, in process of time, subdivided into various sects, according to the different ways in which they explained their peculiar doctrine.³ This controversy filled all the schools in Europe for many centuries; and it produced frequently mortal combats among the theologians and the philosophers. Its origin some learned men trace back to the controversy with *Berengarius*, respecting the Lord's supper;⁴ and although they have no authorities to adduce, the conjecture is very probable, because the opinion of the *Nominalists* might be used very conveniently, in defending the doctrine of *Berengarius* respecting the Lord's supper.

§ 9. The father of the *Nominalist* sect was one *John*, a Frenchman, called the *Sophist*, of whom almost nothing is now known except the name.⁵ His principal disciples were *Robert* of Paris, *Roscelin* of Compiègne, and *Arnulph* of Laon; and from these many

¹ Rebus universalibus.

² Universalia.

³ Of the *Nominalists*, and likewise of the dialectic controversy, there is a full account in Jac. Brûcker's *Historia Crit. Philosoph.* iii. 904, &c. He also, as his custom is, mentions the other writers concerning this sect. Among these writers, is John Salabert, a presbyter of Agen; whose *Philosophia Nominalium Vindicata*, was published at Paris, 1651, 8vo. None of those who have treated expressly of the *Nominalists*, have made use of this very rare book. I have before me a manuscript copy, transcribed from one in the library of the king of France; for the printed work was not to be obtained in that country. The acute Salabert, however, is at more pains to defend the philosophy of the *Nominalists*, than to narrate its history. And yet he relates some facts, which are generally little known.

⁴ Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* i. 443. Gerh.

Du Bois, *Hist. Eccles. Paris.* i. 770.

⁵ This is stated by the unknown author of the *Fragmentum Historiæ Franciæ a Roberto Rege ad Mortem Philippi I.* which is extant in Andr. Du Chesne's *Scriptores Histor. Franciæ*, iv. 90. This writer says: 'In Dialectica hi potentes extiterunt Sophistæ, Johannes, qui artem Sophisticam vocalem esse disseruit,' &c. Cæs. Egasse De Boulay, in his *Hist. Acad. Paris.* i. 443 and 612, conjectures that this John was John of Chartres, surnamed the Deaf, an eminent physician, and first physician to Henry I., the king of France. And he tells us, p. 377, that John's instructor was Giraldus of Orleans, an extraordinary poet and rhetorician: but of this he brings no proof. Jo. Mabillon, in his *Annales Benedictini*, t. v. l. lxxvii. § 78, p. 261, supposes him to be that John, who made known to Anselm the error of Roscelin, concerning the three Persons in the Godhead.

others learned the doctrine. Perhaps also we may reckon among the disciples of *John*, that *Raimbert*, who taught a school at Lisle in Flanders; for he is said to have *read logic to his clergy, in voce*; whereas *Odo*, of whom mention has been made, *read it to his disciples, in re*.¹ But of all the *Nominalists* of this age, no one acquired greater celebrity than *Roscelin*; whence he has been regarded, and still is regarded, by many, as the founder of this sect.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS, AND OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Corruption of the clergy—§ 2, 3, 4, 5. The Roman pontiffs—§ 6. Prerogatives of the cardinals in their election—§ 7, 8. Their authority—§ 9. Hildebrand, pope—§ 10, 11. His acts—§ 12. The decrees of Gregory VII. against simony and concubinage—§ 13. Commotions arising from the severity of the pope against concubinage—§ 14. The enactments against simony produce the contest about investitures—§ 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. History of this contest—§ 21, 22. State of monkery—§ 23. The Cluniacensians—§ 24. The Camaldulensians, Vallumbrosians, and Hirsaugians—§ 25. The Cistercians—§ 26. New orders of monks; the Grandimontensians—§ 27. The Carthusians—§ 28. The order of St. Anthony—§ 29. The order of Canons—§ 30. The more distinguished Greek writers—§ 31. The Latin writers.

§ 1. ALL the records of these times bear testimony to the vices of those who managed the affairs of the church, and to the consequent prostration of discipline and of all religion. The western bishops, when raised to the rank of dukes, counts, and nobles, and enriched with territories, towns, castles, and wealth of all sorts, became devoted to their pleasures, and to magnificence, and hovered about courts, attended by splendid retinues of servants.² At the same time, the inferior clergy, few of whom exhibited any degree of virtue and integrity, gave themselves up, without shame, to frauds, debaucheries, and crimes of various descriptions. The Greeks practised a little more restraint; for the calamities of their country would not allow them to indulge themselves extravagantly. Yet the examples of virtue among them are few and rare.

§ 2. The power and majesty of the Roman pontiffs attained their

¹ Herimann, *Hist. Restaurat. Monasterii S. Martini Tornac.* in D'Achery's *Spicilegium Vetr. Scriptorum*, ii. 889.

² See the examples of Adalbert (in Adam Brem. l. iii. c. 23, p. 38, l. iv. c. 35, p. 52), of Gunther (in Henr. Canisius, *Lectiones Antiq.* t. iii. pt. i. p. 185), of Manasses (in Joh. Mabillon, *Museum Italic.* t. i. p. 114), and those collected by Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, vi. 72, &c. [Among the servants of bishops, in these times, we meet

with the ordinary officers of courts. In Harzheims's *Concilia German.* iii. 17, &c. we read: 'The duke of Brabant—is *carver* to the bp. of Utrecht. The count of Guelders——his *huntsman*. The count of Holland is styled, and is, the bp. of Utrecht's *marshal*. The count of Cleves is the bishop's *chamberlain*. Count de Bentheim is the bishop's *janitor*. Lord de Cucke is the bishop's *butler*. Lord de Choer is the bishop's *standard-bearer*.' *Schl.*]

greatest height during this century, though it was by gradual advances, and through great difficulties. They exercised, indeed, at the commencement of this century, very great power in sacred and ecclesiastical affairs; for they were styled by most persons *masters of the world*,¹ and *popes*, or *universal fathers*. They presided also everywhere in the councils by their legates; they performed the functions of arbiters, in the controversies that arose respecting religious doctrines or discipline; and they defended with moderation the supposed rights of the church against the encroachments of kings and princes. Their authority, in fact, had certain limits; for the sovereign princes on the one hand, and the bishops on the other, opposed such resistance, that the court of Rome could not overthrow civil governments, nor destroy the authority of councils.² But from the time of *Leo IX.* especially,³ the pontiffs laboured by various arts to remove these limitations. With incessant efforts, they strove to be acknowledged, not only the sovereign legislators of the church, superior to all councils, and the divinely-constituted distributors of all the offices, and dispensers of all the property connected with religion; but also—what was the extreme of arrogance—to be acknowledged as lords of the whole world, and judges of kings, or, if you please, kings of all kings.⁴ These unrighteous designs were opposed by the emperors, by the kings of France, by *William the Conqueror*, duke of Normandy, now become king of England, a most vigorous assertor of regal rights against the pontiffs,⁵ and by other sovereigns. Nor were the bishops wholly silent, especially those of France and Germany; but others of them succumbed, being influenced either by superstition or by motives of interest. Thus, although the pontiffs did not obtain all that they wished for, yet they secured no small part of it.

§ 3. Those who presided over the Latin church, from the death of

¹ Magistri mundi.

² A very noticeable summary of the ecclesiastical law of this age, has been collected from the Epistles of Gregory VII., by Jo. Launoy, in his *Assertio contra Privilegium S. Medardi*, pt. ii. cap. xxxi. Opp. t. iii. pt. ii. p. 307. From this summary, it appears, that even this Gregory himself did not claim absolute power over the church.

³ [A.D. 1048.]

⁴ Before *Leo IX.*, there is no example of a Roman pontiff's assuming the power to transfer countries and provinces from their owners to other persons. But this pope generously gave to the Normans, then reigning in the south of Italy, both the provinces which they then occupied, and also such as they might wrest from the Greeks and the Saracens. Gaufr. Malaterra, *Historia Sicula*, l. i. c. xiv. in Muratori's *Scriptores Ital.* v. 553.

⁵ See Eadmer, *Hist. Novorum*, l. i. p. 29, &c. subjoined to the *Opp.* Anselmi Cantuar. And yet this very William, who so openly

and vigorously resisted the extension of pontifical and episcopal power, is himself a proof, that the kings of Europe, when the desire of extending or confirming their power demanded it, did imprudently feed the lust of dominion which reigned in the breasts of the pontiffs. For when he was preparing to invade England, he sent ambassadors to the pontiff, Alexander II., 'in order' (as Matthew Paris says, *Hist. Major*, l. i. p. 2), 'that the enterprise might be sanctioned by Apostolic authority. And the pope, after considering the claims of both the parties, sent a standard to William as the omen of kingly power.'—And the Normans, I can suppose, did the same thing; humbly requesting *Leo IX.* to confer on them the territories which they now occupied, and those that they might afterwards seize. What wonder, then, that the pontiffs should claim dominion over the whole world, when kings and princes themselves suggested to them this very thing?

Sylvester II. in the year 1003, till A.D. 1012, namely, *John XVII.*, *John XVIII.*, and *Sergius IV.*, neither did nor suffered anything great or memorable. It is beyond a doubt, however, that they were elevated to the chair, with the approbation and by the authority of the emperors. *Benedict VIII.*, who was created pontiff in 1012, being driven from Rome by one *Gregory*, his competitor, implored the aid of the emperor, *Henry II.*, called the Saint,¹ was restored by him, and reigned peacefully till the year 1024. Under his reign, the celebrated Normans, who afterwards acquired so much fame, came into Italy, and subdued the southern extremity of it. *Benedict* was succeeded by his brother, *John XIX.*, who presided over the church till A.D. 1033. The five above-named pontiffs appear to have sustained respectable moral characters.² But very different from them, or a most flagitious man, and capable of every crime, was their successor, *Benedict IX.* The Roman citizens, therefore, in the year 1038, hurled him from St. Peter's chair; but he was restored soon after by the emperor *Conrad*. As he continued, however, to be as bad as could be, the Romans again expelled him in the year 1044; and gave the government of the church to *John*, bishop of Sabina, who assumed the name of *Sylvester III.* After three months, *Benedict* forcibly recovered his power, by the victorious arms of his relatives and adherents; and *Sylvester* was obliged to flee. But soon after, finding it impossible to appease the resentments of the Romans, he sold the pontificate to *John Gratian*, arch-presbyter of Rome, who took the name of *Gregory VI.* Thus the church now had two heads, *Sylvester* and *Gregory*. The emperor, *Henry III.*, terminated the discord; for, in the council of Sutri, A.D. 1046, he caused *Benedict*, *Gregory*, and *Sylvester*, to be all declared unworthy of the pontificate; and he placed over the Roman church *Swidger*, bishop of Bamberg, who assumed the pontifical name of *Clement II.*³

¹ [This statement is given also by Baronius, ad ann. 1012, § 6, and by Pagi, *Breviar. Pontif. Vita Bened.* viii. § 2. But it is founded on a misinterpretation of Ditmar's *Chronicon*, lib. iv. near the end, p. 399. Ditmar says: 'Papa Benedictus Gregorio cuidam in electione prævaluit. Ob hoc iste (not Benedict, for he had the superiority; but Gregory) ad nativitatem Domini ad regem in Palithi (Pælde) venit cum omni apparatu apostolico, expulsionem suam omnibus lamentando innotescens.'—See Muratori, ad ann. 1012, and the (German) translator's notes there. *Schl.*—But it is not so certain, that Gregory was the suitor to king Henry. If he lost his election, how could he appear before the king in the *pontifical habiliments*, never having been pope? But suppose Benedict, after 'prevailing in the election,' and being put in possession of the papacy, to have been vanquished and 'expelled' from Rome by his antagonist, he might well flee to the king in the *habiliments*, and might there plead, that he had

prevailed in the election, and complain of his expulsion. Besides, it is certain, that it was Benedict who crowned king Henry, as emperor, upon his first arrival at Rome, Feb. 1014. It is therefore supposed, that the people of Rome finding Benedict supported by the king, restored him of their own accord. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* xxii. 322, &c. *Tr.*—Gregory's applying to the emperor for help by no means involves his receiving it: and the supposition that Benedict was the suppliant is irreconcilable with the 'ob hoc' of Ditmar. See Robertson, ii. 409. *Ed.*

² [Yet Benedict was rescued from purgatory by the prayers of St. Odilo; and John obtained the papacy by base means;—according to Baronius, ad ann. 1012, § 1—4. *Tr.*]

³ In this account of the pontiffs I have followed the best historians, Anton. and Fran. Pagi, Papebroch, and Muratori in his *Annales Italiæ*; disregarding what Baronius and others allege in defence of Gregory VI.

§ 4. On the death of *Clement II.*, A.D. 1047, *Benedict IX.*, who had been twice before divested of the pontificate, seized the third time upon that dignity. But the year following, he was obliged to yield to *Damasus II.*, or *Poppo*, bishop of Brixen, whom the emperor *Henry III.* had created pontiff in Germany, and sent into Italy. *Damasus* dying after a very short reign of twenty-three days, *Henry III.*, at the diet of Worms, in the year 1048, elevated *Bruno*, bishop of Toul, to the throne of St. Peter. This pontiff bears the name of *Leo IX.* in the pontifical catalogue, and on account of his private virtues, and his public acts, has been enrolled among the Saints. Yet, if we except his zeal for augmenting the wealth and power of the church of Rome, and for correcting some more flagrant vices of the clergy, by the councils which he held in France and Germany, we shall find nothing in his character or life to entitle him to such honour. At least, many of those who on other occasions are ready to palliate the faults of the Roman pontiffs, censure freely the last acts of his reign. For, in the year 1053, he rashly made war upon the Normans, whose dominion in Apulia, near his estates, gave him uneasiness. And the consequence was, that he became their prisoner, and was carried to Benevento. Here his misfortunes so preyed upon his spirits, that he fell sick; but after a year's captivity he was set at liberty, conducted to Rome, and there died, on the 19th of April, A.D. 1054.¹

§ 5. *Leo IX.* was succeeded, in the year 1055, by *Gebhard*, bishop of Eichstadt, who assumed the name of *Victor II.*,² and he was followed, A.D. 1058, by *Stephen IX.*, brother to *Godfrey*, duke of Lorraine. Neither of these, so far as is now known, performed anything worthy of notice. Greater celebrity was obtained by *Nicolas II.*, who had previously been bishop of Florence, and was raised to the pontificate in 1058.³ For *John*, bishop of Velletri, who, with the appellation of *Benedict X.*, has been inserted between *Stephen IX.* and *Nicolas II.*, does not deserve to be reckoned among the popes; because, after nine months, he was compelled to renounce the office, which a faction at Rome had induced him to usurp. In a council at Rome, which he assembled in the year 1059, *Nicolas* sanctioned, among other regulations calculated to remedy the inveterate evils in the church, a new mode of electing the Roman pontiffs; which was intended to put an end to the tumults and civil wars, which so often

¹ See the *Acta Sanctor.* ad d. 19 Aprilis, iii. 642, &c. *Hist. Littér. de la France*, vii. 459. Giannone, *Hist. de Naples*, ii. 52.

² [Leo of Ostia states, that Hildebrand, a subdeacon of the Roman church, was sent by the clergy and people of Rome, to the emperor in Germany, requesting permission to elect, in the name of the Romans, whom he should deem most fit to be pope; and the request being granted, Hildebrand selected this bishop of Eichstadt. But this story is very improbable; and it is supposable, that Hermannus Contractus was better

acquainted with the facts, who states (ad ann. 1054), that the emperor held a council at Mentz, in which Victor II. was elected. It is also worthy of notice, that this pope, and his predecessors, continued to hold their former bishoprics, when elevated to the papal throne. See Muratori, *Annales*, ad ann. 1055. *Schl.*]

³ Of Nicolas II., besides the common historians of the pontiffs, the Benedictine monks have treated particularly in their *Hist. Litt. de la France*, viii. 515.

took place at Rome and in Italy, and divided the people into factions, when a new head of the church was to be appointed. He also, in due form, created *Robert Guiscard*, a Norman, duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, on the condition that he would be a faithful vassal of the Roman church, and would pay an annual tribute. By what right *Nicolas* could do this, does not appear; for he was not lord of those territories which he thus gave to the Normans.¹ Perhaps he relied upon the fictitious donation of *Constantine the Great*; or perhaps with *Hildebrand*, archdeacon of Rome, who afterwards became supreme pontiff, under the title of *Gregory VII.*, he believed that the whole world belonged to the Roman bishop, as Christ's vicerent. For it is well known, that this *Hildebrand* guided him in all his measures. This was the beginning of the Neapolitan kingdom, or that of the two Sicilies, which still exists; and of that right of sovereignty over this kingdom which the Roman pontiffs assert, and the Neapolitan kings recognise from year to year.

§ 6. Before the reign of *Nicolas II.*, the Roman pontiffs were elected, not by the suffrages of those who were called *cardinals*, but by those of the whole Roman clergy; nor by theirs alone, for persons of knightly rank—that is, the nobles, the citizens too, and, in fine, all the people—gave their voices. Among such a mixed and heterogeneous multitude, it was unavoidable that there should be parties, cabals, and contests. *Nicolas* therefore ordered, that the *cardinals*, as well bishops as presbyters, should elect the pontiff; yet without infringing the established rights of the Roman emperors in this important business. At the same time, he did not exclude the rest of the clergy, nor the citizens and people, from a share in the election; for he required that the assent of all these should be asked, and be obtained.² From this time onwards, the *cardinals* always acted the principal part in the choice of a new pontiff: and yet, for a long time, they were much impeded in their functions, both by the priests and the Roman citizens, who either laid claim to their ancient rights, or abused the power given to them of approving the election. These altercations were at length terminated in the following century by *Alexander III.*, who was so fortunate as to perfect what was begun by *Nicolas*, and to transfer the whole power of creating a pontiff to the college of cardinals.³

§ 7. From this period, therefore, the august college of Roman *cardinals*, and that high authority which they possess, even to this

¹ See Muratori, *Annal. d'Italia*, vi. 186. Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 1060.

² The decree of *Nicolas* respecting the election of Roman pontiffs, is found in the Collections of the Councils, and in many other works. But the copies of it, as I have learned by comparing them, differ exceedingly; some being longer, and others shorter; some favouring the imperial prerogative more and some less. The most extended form of it is found in the *Chronicon Farfense*, published in Muratori's *Scriptores*

Rerum Italicar. t. ii. pt. ii. p. 645. Very different from this is the form exhibited by Hugo of Fleury, in his book *de Regia potestate et Sacerdotali dignitate*: in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, iv. 62. Yet all the copies, universally, agree in the points we have stated.

³ See Jo. Mabillon, *Comment. in Ord. Roman.* t. ii. of his *Musæum Italicum*, p. cxiv. Constant. Cenni, *Præf. ad Concilium Lateran. Stephani III.* p. xviii. Rom. 1735, 4to. Franc. Pagi, *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* ii. 374.

day, both in the election of the pontiffs and in other matters, must be dated. By the title *cardinals*, *Nicolas* understood the seven bishops in the immediate vicinity of Rome, or the *suffragans* of the bishop of Rome, of whom the bishop of Ostia was chief, and who were thence called *cardinal bishops*; together with the twenty-eight ministers of the parishes in Rome, or presbyters of the churches, who were called *cardinal clerks* or *presbyters*. To these, in process of time, others were added, first by *Alexander II.*, and then by other pontiffs, partly to satisfy those who complained that they were unjustly excluded from a share in the election of pontiffs, and partly for other reasons. Therefore, although that exalted order of em-purpled members of the Roman court, who figure under the name of *cardinals*, had its commencement in this century, yet it did not acquire the settled character and the form of a real college before the times of *Alexander III.*, in the next century.¹

¹ Concerning the *cardinals*, their name, their origin, and their rights, very many persons have written treatises; and these are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Bibliographia Antiquar.* p. 455, 456, by Casp. Sagittarius, *Introduct. ad Hist. Eccles. cap. xxix.* p. 771, and in J. A. Schmidt's *Supplement*, p. 644, by Christ. Gryphius, *Isagoge ad Hist. Seculi XVII.* p. 430. To these I add Lud. Thomassinus, *Disciplina Ecclesie vet. et nova*, t. i. l. ii. c. cxv. cxvi. p. 616, and Lud. Ant. Muratori, whose *diss. de Origine Cardinalatus* is in his *Antiquit. Ital. Medii Ævi*, v. 156. — Among these writers are many who are both copious and learned; but I am not certain that any one of them is so lucid and precise as he should be, in respect to the grand points of inquiry, the origin and nature of the office. Many expend much time and labour in ascertaining the import of the word, and tracing its use in ancient authors; which is not unsuitable indeed for a philologist, but is of little use to give us clear views of the origin of the college and dignity of *cardinals*. It is certain that the word *cardinal*, whether used of things or persons, or as the appellation of a certain clerical order, was of dubious import, being used in various senses by the writers of the middle ages. We also know, that this title, anciently, was not peculiar to the priests and ministers of the church of Rome, but was common to nearly all the churches of the Latins: nor was it applied only to what are called *secular* clergymen, but likewise to *regular* ones, as abbots, canons, and monks, though with some difference in signification. But after the times of *Alexander III.*, the common use of the word was gradually laid aside, and it became the exclusive and honorary title of those who had the right of electing the pontiffs. When we undertake to investigate the origin of the college of *cardinals*

at Rome, the inquiry is not, who were they that were anciently distinguished from the other clergy by the title of cardinals, both among the Latins generally, and at Rome in particular; nor is the object to ascertain the original import and the propriety of the term, or in how many different senses it was used; but the sole inquiry is, whom did *Nicolas II.* understand by the appellation *cardinals*, when he gave to the *cardinals* of Rome the sole power of electing the pontiffs, excluding the other clergy, the soldiery, the citizens, and the people at large. If this can be ascertained, the origin of the college of cardinals will be seen; and it will likewise appear, how far the modern cardinals differ from those who first held the office. Now the answer to this inquiry, in my view, is manifest from the edict of *Nicolas* itself. 'We ordain,' says the pontiff (according to Hugo of Fleury, in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, iv. 62), 'that on the demise of a pontiff of this universal Roman church, the *cardinal bishops*, in the first place, hold a solemn consultation among themselves; and then forthwith advise with the *cardinal clerks*; and so let the rest of the clergy and the people give their assent to the new election.' The pontiff here, very obviously, divides the cardinals who are to elect a pope into two classes, *cardinal bishops*, and *cardinal clerks*. The former, beyond all controversy, were the seven bishops of the city and its dependent territory, the *comprovinciales Episcopi*, as *Nicolas* afterwards calls them, borrowing a phrase from *Leo I.* [These seven bishops were, those of Ostia (*Ostiensis*), of Porto (*Portuensis*), of Albano (*Albanensis*), of St. Rufina, or Silva Candida, of Frascati (*Tusculanus*), of Palestrina (*Prænestinus*), and of Sabina (*Sabinensis*). *Tr.*] These seven bishops, long before this period, bore the title of *cardinal bishops*. And the pontiff himself puts this

§ 8. Notwithstanding that *Nicolas II.* had forbidden any infringement of the emperor's right to ratify the election of a pontiff, yet on

construction beyond all doubt, by indicating that he understood the *cardinal bishops* to be those to whom belonged the consecration of a pontiff after his election: 'Because the apostolic see can have no metropolitan over it' (to whom, in that case, would belong the principal part in the ordination), 'the *cardinal bishops*, undoubtedly, supply the place of a metropolitan; for they, it is, who raise the pontiff elect, to the summit of his apostolic elevation.' And that it was the custom, for those seven bishops above named, to consecrate the Roman pontiffs, is a fact known to all men. These *cardinal bishops*, therefore, *Nicolas* would have to first hold a consultation by themselves, and discuss the merits of the candidates for the high office of pontiff. Immediately after, they were to call in the *cardinal clerks*, and with them, as forming one body of electors, they were to choose a pontiff. Clerk here is the same as *presbyter*. And all admit that the *cardinal presbyters* were the ministers who had charge of the twenty-eight *parishes*, or principal churches in Rome. All the remaining clergy of Rome, of whatever rank or dignity, *Nicolas* excludes expressly from the office of electors of the pontiffs. And yet, he would have 'the clergy and the people give their *assent* to the new election;' that is, he leaves them what is called a *negative voice*, or the right of approving the election. It is therefore clear, that the college of electors of the Roman pontiffs, who were afterwards denominated *cardinals* in a new and peculiar sense of the word, as this college was at first constituted by *Nicolas*, embraced only two orders of persons, namely, *cardinal bishops* and *cardinal clerks* or *presbyters*. And of course, we are not to follow Onuphr. Panvinus (cited by Jo. Mabillon, *Comment. in Ordinem Roman.* in his *Museum Italicum*, t. ii. p. cxv.) who undoubtedly errs when he says, that Alexander III. added the *cardinal bishops* to the college of *cardinals*. And they, also, are to be disregarded, who suppose there were *cardinal deacons* in the electoral college from the beginning. There were indeed then, and there had long been, as there are at the present day, *cardinal deacons* at Rome, that is, superintendents of the *diaconæ* or churches, from whose revenues the poor are supported, and to which hospitals are annexed. But *Nicolas* committed the business of electing the pontiffs solely to such *cardinals* as were *bishops* and *clerks*; so that he excluded *deacons*. And hence in the diploma of the election of Gregory VII., the *cardinals* are plainly distinguished from *deacons*. But this decree of *Nicolas* could not acquire at all

the force of a fixed law. 'It is evident,' says Anselm of Lucca (*Libro ii. contra Wibertum, Antipapam, et ejus sequaces*; in the *Lectiones Antiq.* of H. Canisius, t. iii. pt. i. p. 383). 'It is evident that the above-mentioned decree' (of *Nicolas*, for of that he is speaking), 'is of no importance; nor did it ever have any force. And by saying this, I do not injure pope *Nicolas*, of blessed memory, nor derogate at all from his honour. —Being a man, he could not be secured against doing wrong.' Anselm is speaking especially of that part of the decree which secures to the emperors the right of confirming the elections of pontiffs: but what he says, is true of the whole decree. For those who were excluded by it from this most important transaction; namely, first, the seven *palatine judges*, as they were called, that is, the *Primicerius*, *Secundicerius*, *Arcarius*, *Saccellarius*, *Protoscriniarius*, *Primicerius Defensorum*, and the *Admiculator*; next, the higher clergy, who filled the more important offices, and also the inferior clergy, priests, deacons, &c. and lastly, the soldiery, the citizens, and the common people, — complained that injury was done them; and they raised commotions and gave trouble to the *cardinals* whom *Nicolas* had constituted [sole electors]. Therefore, to appease these tumults, Alexander III. thought proper to extend and enlarge the college of those now called *cardinals*, in the restricted sense. And he accordingly added to the list of *cardinals*, certain priests of high rank, namely, the prior, or arch-presbyter of the Lateran church, the arch-presbyters of St. Peter and St. Maria Maggiore, and the abbots of St. Paul and St. Laurence without the walls; and after these the seven *palatine judges* which have been mentioned. See Cenni, *Præf. ad Concil. Lateran. Stephani III.* p. xix. Mabillon, *Comment. ad Ord. Roman. ex Panvinio*, p. cxv. By this artifice, the *higher clergy*, or those of superior rank, were vanquished, and ceased to disturb the elections of the *cardinals*. For the heads of this body of clergy being admitted into the electoral college, the rest could neither effect nor attempt any thing. The *inferior clergy* still remained. But they were reduced to silence in the same way: for their leaders, the *cardinal deacons*, or *regionarii*, were admitted into the electoral college; and after this, the whole mass of deacons, sub-deacons, acolyths, &c. had to be quiet. But which of the pontiffs it was, whether Alexander III. or some other, that admitted the principal deacons at Rome to the ranks of *cardinals*, I have not been able to ascertain. This, however, I am sure of,

on the death of *Nicolas*, in 1061, the Romans, at the instigation of *Hildebrand*, then archdeacon, and afterwards pontiff of Rome, proceeded, without consulting *Henry IV.*, not only to elect, but also to consecrate *Anselm* the bishop of Lucca, who assumed the name of *Alexander II.* When the news of this reached *Agnes*, the mother of *Henry*, through the bishops of Lombardy, she assembled a council at Bâle; and to maintain the majesty and authority of her son, then a minor, she there caused *Cudulous*, bishop of Parma, to be appointed pontiff, who took the name of *Honorius II.* Hence a long and severe contest arose between the two pontiffs; in which *Alexander* indeed prevailed, but he could never bring *Cudulous* to abdicate the papacy.¹

§ 9. This contest was a trifle, compared with those direful conflicts which *Gregory VII.*, the successor of *Alexander*, and whose former name was *Hildebrand*, produced, and kept up to the end of his life. He was a Tuscan by birth, of obscure parentage, once a monk of Cluny, then archdeacon of the church of Rome, and for a long time, even from the reign of *Leo IX.*, he had governed the pontiffs by his counsels and influence; when, in the year 1073, and during the very obsequies of *Alexander*, he was hailed pontiff, by the concordant suffrages indeed of the Romans, but contrary to the mode of proceeding enjoined by the decree of *Nicolas*. When the election was laid before *Henry IV.*, king of the Romans, by the ambassadors from Rome, he gave it his approbation; but greatly to his own injury, and to the detriment both of the church and of the public.² For *Hildebrand* being elevated to the chair of *St. Peter*—a man of extraordinary abilities, and competent to the greatest undertakings, intrepid, sagacious, and full of resources, but beyond measure proud, pertinacious, impetuous, untractable, and destitute of true religious principle and piety—he being elevated, I say, to the highest post in the Christian commonwealth, laboured during his whole life to enlarge the jurisdiction and augment the opulence of the see of Rome, to subject the

that it was done in order to pacify the inferior clergy, who were dissatisfied at the violation of their rights. When all the clergy, both the higher and the lower, were placated, it was an easy matter to exclude the Roman people from the election of pontiffs. Hence, on the death of *Alexander III.* when his successor, *Victor III.** was to be chosen, the assent and approbation of neither the clergy nor the people were sought, as had always been done before; but the college of cardinals alone, to the exclusion of the people, created the pontiff. And the same custom has continued down to the present age. Some tell us, that *Innocent II.* [A. D. 1130], was chosen by the cardinals only, or without the voice of the clergy and people. See Pagi, *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* ii. 615. Suppose it was so; but it is also true that this election of *Innocent* was irregular and disorderly; and therefore

was no example of the ordinary practice at that time.

¹ Ferd. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ii. 166. Jo. Jac. Mascovius, *de Rebus sub Henrico IV. et V. l. i. p. 7*, &c. Franc. Pagi, *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* ii. 385, &c. Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, vi. 214, &c.

² The writers who describe the life and achievements of *Gregory VII.* are mentioned by Casp. Sagittarius, *Introduct. ad Hist. Eccles.* i. 687, &c. and Jo. And. Schmidt, in his *Supplem.* ii. 627, &c. But especially should be consulted the *Acta Sanctor. Maii*, ad d. xxv. t. v. p. 568, and Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. sæcul. vi. pt. ii. p. 406*, &c. Add *Vita Gregorii VII.*, by Just. Christ. Dithmar, Francf. 1710, 8vo, and all those who have written the history of the contest between the civil and the ecclesiastical powers, and of the controversy respecting investitures. [Also *Gregor. VII. und seiner Zeitalter*, by I. Voigt, Weimar, 1815, 8vo. Tr.]

* [It should be *Lucius III.* Tr.]

whole church to the sole will and power of the pontiff, to exempt all clergymen and all church property wholly from the jurisdiction of kings and princes, and to render all kingdoms tributary to *St. Peter*. The vastness of his mind, and the obvious extravagance of his plans, are set forth in those most noted propositions, which from his name are called the *Dictates of Hildebrand*.¹

§ 10. Nearly the whole form of the Latin church, therefore, was changed by this pontiff; and the most valuable rights of councils, of bishops, and of religious societies, were subverted and handed over

¹ By the *Dictates*, or, as some write it, the *Dictate of Hildebrand*, are to be understood twenty-six short propositions, relating to the supreme power of the Roman pontiffs, over the whole church and over states; which are found in the second book of the epistles of Gregory VII. inserted between the 55th and 56th epistles. See Jo. Harduin's *Concilia*, vi. 1304, and nearly all the Ecclesiastical Historians, large or small, Cæs. Baronius, and Christian Lupus (whose full Commentary on these *Dictates*, which he considers most sacred, is among his Notes and Dissertations on the Councils; *Opp.* v. 164), and nearly all the patrons and friends of the Roman pontiffs, maintain, that these *Dictates* were drawn up and ratified, perhaps in some council, by Gregory VII. himself; and therefore the Protestants have not hesitated to ascribe them to Hildebrand. But the very learned French writers, Jo. Launoy (*Epistolar.* l. vi. Ep. xiii. in his *Opp.* t. v. pt. ii. p. 309), Natalis Alexander (*Historia Eccles. sæcul.* xi. xii. t. vi. diss. iii. p. 719), Antony and Francis Pagi (the former in his *Critica in Baron.* the latter in his *Breviarium Pontif. Roman.* ii. 473), Lewis Ellies du Pin, and many others, zealously contend that these propositions, called *Dictates*, were palmed upon Hildebrand by some crafty flatterer of the Roman see. And to prove this, they allege that although some of those sentences express very well the views of the pontiff, yet there are others among them which are clearly repugnant to his opinions, as expressed in his epistles. The French have their reasons (which need not be here detailed) for not admitting that any pontiff ever spoke so arrogantly and loftily of his own power and authority. I can readily concede, that so far as respects the form and arrangement of these *Dictates*, they are not the work of Gregory. For they are void of all order and connexion; and many of them also of clearness and perspicuity. But Gregory, who was a man of no ordinary genius, if he had attempted to draw up and describe what he conceived to be the prerogatives of the pontiffs, would have expressed, with neatness and perspicuity, what he had revolved in his own mind. But the matter of these *Dictates* is undoubtedly

Hildebrand's: for the greater part of them are found, couched in nearly the same terms, here and there in his epistles. And those which seem to deviate from some assertions in his epistles, may, without much difficulty, be reconciled with them. It is probable, therefore, that some person collected these sentences out of his epistles, partly the printed ones, and partly such as are lost or unknown, and perhaps likewise from his oral declarations; and then published them without judgment and without arrangement.—[The following are the principal propositions which compose these *Dictates*. I. 'That the Roman church was founded by our Lord alone. II. That the Roman pontiff alone is justly styled *universal*. III. That he alone can depose bishops and restore them. IV. That his legate has precedence of all bishops in a council, though he be of an inferior order; and can issue sentence of deposition against them. V. That the pope can depose absent persons. VI. That no person, among other things, may live under the same roof with one excommunicated by the pope. VII. That the pope alone is competent, as occasion shall require, to enact new laws, to gather new congregations,—to divide rich bishoprics, and to unite poor ones. VIII. That he alone can use the imperial insignia. IX. That all princes should kiss his feet only.—XII. That it is lawful for him to depose emperors.—XVI. That no council, without his order, is to be accounted a *general* council.—XVIII. That his sentence is not to be reversed by any one; while he alone can reverse the decisions of all others. XIX. That he can be judged by no one. XX. That no one may presume to condemn a person who appeals to the apostolic see. XXI. That the greater causes of every church should be carried up to that see. XXII. That the Roman church never erred; nor will it, according to the Scriptures, ever err.—XXIV. That with his licence, subjects may impeach [their sovereigns].—XXVI. That no one is to be accounted a catholic who does not agree with the Roman church. XXVII. That he can absolve subjects from their allegiance to unrighteous rulers.' See Harduin's *Concilia*, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1304, &c. *Tr.*]

to the Roman bishop. The evil, however, was not equally grievous throughout all the countries of Europe, for in several of them, through the influence of different causes, some shadow of pristine liberty and ancient usage was preserved. *Hildebrand*, as he introduced a new code of ecclesiastical law, would also have introduced a new code of civil law, if he could have accomplished fully his designs. For he wished to reduce all kingdoms into fiefs of *St. Peter*, i. e. of the Roman pontiffs; and to subject all causes of kings and princes, and the interests of the whole world, to the arbitrament of an assembly of bishops, who should meet annually at Rome.¹ The complete accom-

¹ Proofs of this most audacious design, which are above all exception or doubt, have been collected by learned men; and still more may be collected from the epistles of this pontiff, and from other ancient monuments. In his *Epist.* l. ix. ep. iii. p. 1481, (I use, all along, the edition of *Harduin, Concilia*, t. vi. pt. i.) he prescribes this form of an oath, to be taken by future kings of the Romans or emperors: 'From this hour onward, I will be faithful, with upright integrity, to the apostle Peter, and to his vicar pope Gregory—and whatever the said pope shall command me, under the following form: *by true obedience* (per veram obedientiam), I will observe with fidelity. And on the day when I shall first see him, I will, with my own hands, make myself a vassal (*miles*) of St. Peter and him.' What is this but a feudal oath (*ligium*), as the jurists call it; and a perfect homage (*hominium*)? That the pontiffs of Rome derived all their civil power from the kings of France is a fact well known. And yet Gregory contended that the kingdom of France was tributary to the church of Rome; and he directed his ambassadors to demand an annual contribution or tribute from the French. *Lib.* viii. ep. xxiii. p. 1476. 'You must declare to all the Franks, and command them, by true obedience, that each family is to pay, annually, at least one denarius to St. Peter, if they recognise him as their father and shepherd, according to ancient custom.' It should be remembered, that the phrase, *by true obedience*, here used, denotes, as those versed in antiquities well know, that the injunctions and commands to which it was annexed, were to be inevitably obeyed. But in vain did Gregory lay this command upon the French; for he never obtained the least tribute from them. In the same epistle he vainly asserts that Saxony was a *fief* of the Roman church; or, that Charles the Great had presented it to St. Peter. He insolently addresses Philip I., the king of France, in the following manner: (l. vii. ep. xx. p. 1468,) 'Strive to the utmost to make St. Peter (i. e. the pontiff, St. Peter's vicar) your debtor; for in his hands are your kingdom and your soul, and he is able to bind

and loose you, both in heaven and on earth.' He endeavoured to instil the same principles into the Spaniards as into the French, l. x. ep. vii. 'that the kingdom of Spain was, from ancient times, the property of St. Peter—and rightfully belongs solely to the Apostolic see.' But in lib. x. ep. xxviii., where he most earnestly inculcates the same doctrine upon the Spaniards, he has to acknowledge, that the record of this important transaction was worn out and lost. Yet with the Spaniards he was rather more successful than with the French. For Peter de Marca, in his *Hist. de Bearn*, l. iv. p. 331, 332, proves from ancient documents, that the king of Aragon, and Bernhard count of Besalva, promised and paid an annual tax to our Gregory. And it might be shown, if there was room for it, that other Spanish princes did the same. William the Conqueror, a king of enlarged views, and a most watchful guardian of his rights, when Gregory required him to pay Peter-pence, and to render his kingdom a *fief* of St. Peter, replied with spirit, 'Hubert your legate has admonished me to do fealty to you and your successors, and to be more careful to send the money which my predecessors were accustomed to remit to the Roman church. One of these I accede to, the other I do not. Fealty I have not done, nor will I do it. The money, when there shall be opportunity, shall be transmitted.' The letter of king William is in *Steph. Baluze, Miscellanea*, vii. 127. With this answer Gregory had to be contented; for, though he might fear no other, he stood in fear of William. To Geusa, king of Hungary, he writes, l. ii. ep. lxx. p. 1316, thus, 'It cannot be unknown, we think, to your prudence, that the kingdom of Hungary is the property of the Apostle Peter.' [He had before, l. ii. ep. xiii. p. 1273, written to Solomon, king of Hungary, claiming that kingdom by virtue of an absolute surrender of it to the see of Rome, made by king Stephen, and in consequence of an acknowledgment by the emperor Henry II. after conquering it, that it belonged to St. Peter. And as Solomon had done homage for it to the king of the

plishment of this arduous design, either by himself or his successors, was, however, made impossible by the firmness and vigilance of the emperors chiefly, but also of the kings of France and Britain (England).

§ 11. *Gregory* was more successful, in extending the territories of the Roman church in Italy, or enlarging the patrimony of *St. Peter*. For he persuaded *Matilda*, daughter of *Boniface*, the very opulent duke and marquis of Tuscany, who was a very powerful Italian princess, and with whom he was on terms of peculiar intimacy, after the death of her first husband, *Godfrey* the Hump-backed, duke of Lorrain, and of her mother *Beatrice*, in the year 1076 or 1077, to make the church of Rome heir to all her estates, both in Italy and out of it.¹ This very spirited and most fortunate female's more than royal donation appeared in a bad way, on the celebration of her second marriage, in 1089, *Urban II.* the Roman pontiff consenting, with *Welf*, son of *Welf*, duke of Bavaria. But having been abandoned by her husband, in the year 1095, and again made mistress of

Germans, *Gregory* now threatens him with the loss of his kingdom unless he shall acknowledge the pope, and him only, to be his liege lord. *Tr.*] He laboured most zealously to bring the more potent princes, of Germany in particular, under subjection or fealty to *St. Peter*. Hence, in l. ix. ep. iii. p. 1480, he strongly exhorts the bishop of Passau to persuade *Welfo*, duke of Bavaria, and the other German chiefs, by all the means in his power, to subject their territories to the see of *St. Peter*. 'We should have you admonish Duke *Welfo*, to do homage to *St. Peter*.—For we wish to place him wholly in the bosom of *St. Peter*, and to draw him in a special manner into his vassalage. If you shall find such a disposition in him, or in other men of power, influenced by love of *St. Peter*, labour to bring them to do fealty.' He approaches *Suein*, king of Denmark, l. ii. ep. li. p. 1300, with much flattery, to persuade him, 'To commit, with pious devotedness, his kingdom to the prince of the Apostles, and to obtain for it the support of his authority.' Whether he was more successful in Denmark than in England and France, I know not; but in other places his efforts certainly were not fruitless. A son of *Demetrius*, king of the Russians (to whom he addressed the lxxiv. ep. book ii. p. 1819), came to Rome, 'and wished to inherit from his father) 'by gift from *St. Peter* through the hands of *Gregory*, paying due fealty to *St. Peter*, the Prince of Apostles:' the import of which language will be quite intelligible from what has been said. *Gregory* granted his 'devout prayer,' being certainly not backward to perform such offices, and 'in behalf of *St. Peter* committed the government of the kingdom'

to the Russian prince. More such examples might be adduced. *Demetrius*, surnamed *Suinimer*, duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, was created a king by *Gregory* in 1076, and was solemnly inaugurated at Salona by the pope's legate, on condition that he should annually pay to *St. Peter*, on Easter day, a tribute of Two hundred golden Byzantines, [a Grecian golden coin, of from twenty-three to twenty-four carats. *Schl.*] See *Du Mont's Corps Diplomatique*, t. i. pt. i. no. 88, p. 53. *Jo. Lucius, de Regno Dalmatiae*, l. ii. p. 85. Up to this time, however, the emperors of Constantinople held the sovereignty over the province of Croatia. *Boleslaus II.*, king of Poland, having killed *Stanislaus*, bishop of Cracow, *Gregory* not only excommunicated him, but likewise deprived him of his crown; and not contented with this severity, he, by a special mandate, forbade the Polish bishops to crown any one king of Poland without first obtaining the consent of the pope. *Dlugoss, Hist. Polon.* i. 295. But I desist.—If *Gregory's* success had equalled his wishes and his purpose, all Europe would at this day have been one great empire of *St. Peter*, or tributary to the popes; and all kings, feudal lords or vassals of *St. Peter*. But *Gregory* did not utterly fail in his attempts. For from his time onward, the state of the whole of Europe was changed; and many of the rights and prerogatives of emperors and kings were either abridged or annulled. Among those annulled was the right of the emperor to ratify the election of a pope, which became extinct in *Gregory*, and could never after be revived.

¹ [This reversionary grant has been referred to the year 1079, but it seems really to have taken place in 1077, being posterior to the emperor's humiliation at Canossa. *S.*]

herself, *Matilda* renewed her act with all due solemnity, in the year 1102.¹ The pontiffs, indeed, had to encounter severe contests, first with the emperor *Henry V.*, and then with others, respecting this splendid inheritance; nor were they so fortunate at last as to secure the whole of it to *St. Peter*; yet, after various struggles and hazards, they succeeded in obtaining no small share of it, which they hold to this day.²

§ 12. *Gregory VII.* was, however, chiefly obstructed in his mighty scheme of raising the church above all human authority, and of asserting its total independence, by those two capital vices of the European clergy, *concubinage* and *simony*. The Roman pontiff's had already, from the time of *Stephen IX.*, made sharp assaults upon these monstrous vices, but could nowise get the better of them, because they were too inveterate.³ *Gregory*, therefore, had no sooner

¹ The life and achievements of this very great princess (than whom the Roman church had no stronger bulwark against the emperors, and *Gregory VII.* no more obedient daughter) are described by *Bened. Luchin*, *Domin. Mellin*, *Felix Contelorius*, *Julius de Puteo*, and especially by *Fran. Maria Florentini*, in his *Monuments of the Countess Matilda*, written in Italian; and by *Bened. Bachini*, in his *Historia Monasterii Podalironensis*, which was founded by her. The ancient biographies of her, one by *Donizo*, and another anonymous, are given by *Godfr. William von Leibnitz*, in his *Scriptores Brunsvicens.* i. 629, &c. and by *Lud. Anton. Muratori*, in his *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* v. 335, &c. with notes; and also the formula of her second donation, mentioned above. Well worth perusing, also, are the remarks concerning this woman of so masculine an understanding, which are found in the *Origines Guelphicæ*, t. i. l. iii. c. v. p. 444, &c. and t. ii. l. vi. c. iii. p. 303, &c., where also is an account of her second husband *Welf*. [*Matilda*, ordinarily called the great countess, and who was, from her prominence in *Gregory's* history, treated by some very much as a saint, and by others, as a woman of rather suspicious character, died in 1115, aged 69. *Mabillon*, *Annal. Bened.* iv. 479. S.]

² Some distinguished men infer from the terms of the conveyance, that *Matilda* gave to the church of *Rome* only her *allodial* possessions, and not the territories which she held as *fiefs of the empire*; and of course, that she did not include in the donation the marquisate of *Tuscany*, and the duchy of *Spoleto*. For she says, 'Ego *Mathildis*—dedi et obtuli ecclesiæ S. Petri—omnia bona mea jure proprietario, tam quæ tunc habueram, quam ea, quæ in antea acquisitura eram, sive jure successionis, sive alio quocunque jure ad me pertinent.' See the *Origines Guelph.* t. i. l. iii. p. 148, &c. But I doubt, whether this

is so clear that it must be admitted without hesitation. For the words *jure proprietario*, from which learned men conclude that *Matilda* gave to *St. Peter* only what she possessed *jure proprietario*, or her *allodial* possessions, manifestly refer, or I am greatly mistaken, not to the possession by the owner, but to the mode of the gift; and are to be construed with the verbs *dedi* and *obtuli*. The princess does not say, 'I have given all the estates which I possess and hold *jure proprietario*;' which had she said, we must have acceded to the opinion of the learned gentlemen; but she says, 'I have given all my estates to the church *jure proprietario*;' i. e. it is my will that the church should possess all my estates, *jure proprietario*, as their real property. Besides, the words which follow refute the construction of the learned gentlemen. Had *Matilda* intended to include only what she possessed, *jure allodii*, she could not have said, as she does say, 'whether belonging to me, by right of inheritance, or (*alio quocunque jure*) by any other right whatever.' Certainly, she excludes no species of possessions; but by using this very comprehensive language embraces all. Possibly, some one, however, may object, and say, The church of *Rome* never contended that the *fiefs of the empire*, which *Matilda* possessed, were included in this donation; and therefore they claimed only her *allodial* possessions. I am not sure that such was the fact: many reasons induce me to believe that the pontiffs wished to secure to their church all the estates of *Matilda*. But allow it to be so, as I cannot now go into the inquiry, that fact will not disprove what I contend for. Our inquiry is not how moderate were the Roman pontiffs in claiming the property bequeathed to them by *Matilda*, but what is the import of the words used in the bequest.

³ *Monstrous vices*, we may justly call them. For although no honest man will

completed his first official year, that is, reached 1074, than he attacked them with increased firmness and energy. He then held a council at Rome, which renewed all the laws of the former pontiffs against *simony*; severely forbade the sale of ecclesiastical benefices; enacted besides that no priests should henceforth marry, and that such as now had either wives or concubines, should relinquish either *them* or the sacred office. After these enactments, he wrote letters to all bishops, requiring them to obey these decrees, on pain of incurring severe punishments; and also sent ambassadors into Germany, to *Henry IV.*, king of the Romans, demanding of him a council, for trying the causes of those especially who were contaminated with *simony*.

§ 13. Both these decrees appeared very proper, salutary, and accordant with the principles of the religion of the age; for it was then

deny, that in hunting down these vices, Gregory violated not only the principles of religion, but also those of natural justice and equity, and committed deeds without number, that were most incompatible with the character he professed to sustain; yet it must be acknowledged, that evils of no slight magnitude resulted from both these vices of the clergy to the church and to civil society; and that it was necessary that restraint should be laid upon them. Very many among the married clergy were pious and upright men, whom Gregory ought to have spared. But there were also, in all parts of Europe, a vast number, not only of priests and canons, but likewise of monks, implicated in illicit amours; who kept concubines under the name of wives, whom they dismissed at their pleasure, substituting others, and often a plurality, in their place; who basely squandered the property of the churches and colleges which they served, even dividing it up among their spurious offspring, and committed other insufferable offences. How extensive the crime of *simony* had become, in this age, and what pernicious effects it produced every where, will be manifest from those examples (not to mention innumerable others) which the Benedictine monks have interspersed in various parts of their *Gallia Christiana*. I will give a few specimens. In the first volume of this excellent work, *Append. Docum.* p. 5, we have the document by which Bernard, a viscount, and Froterius, a bishop, give, or rather openly *sell*, to Bernard Aimard and to his son the bishopric of Alby, reserving to themselves a large part of its revenues. Immediately after, follows a writing of Pontius, a count, in which he bequeaths to his wife this bishopric of Alby [and moieties of another bishopric, and an abbey; the reversion of which, at her death, was to belong to his children]: ‘Ego Pontius dono tibi dilectæ sponse meæ episcopatum Albiensem—cum ipsa ecclesia et cum omni

adjacentia sua—et medietatem de episcopatu Nemauso—et medietatem de Abbatia S. Ægidii:—post obitum tuum remaneat ipsius alodis ad infantes qui de me erunt creati.’ Similar and even worse instances are stated, p. 24, 37, and elsewhere. In vol. ii. *Append. Documentorum*, p. 173, there is a letter of the clergy of Limoges, in which they humbly entreat William, count of Aquitaine, that he would not sell the bishopric: ‘Rogamus tuam pietatem, ne propter mundiale lucrum vendas S. Stephani locum; quia si tu vendis episcopalia, ipse nostra manducabit communia.—Mitte nobis ovium custodem, non devorantorem.’ In vol. ii. p. 179, Ademar, viscount of Limoges, laments that he ‘had heretofore simoniacally sold the charge of souls to abbots that purchased of him.’ In fact, it appears from authors and documents, which are above all exception, that the licentiousness of this age in buying and selling sacred offices, exceeded all bounds and almost all credibility. I will subjoin only one short extract from Abbo’s *Apologeticus*, in Pithæus, *Codex Canon. Ecclesiæ Romanæ*, p. 398, which is worthy of notice, as containing the argument by which the traders in sacred offices attempted to justify their base conduct. ‘There seems to be almost nothing appertaining to the church which is not put upon sale; viz. the episcopate, the priesthood, the diaconate, and the other lower orders, archdeaconries also, deaneries, provostships, treasurers’ offices, baptisteries.’—‘And these traffickers are accustomed to offer the cunning excuse, that they do not buy the *blessing*, by which the grace of the Holy Spirit is conveyed, but the *property* of the church, or the *possessions* of the bishop.’ An acute distinction truly!—[So also Glaber Radulphus, lib. v. cap. v. says of the Italian churches, in the middle of this century: ‘All ecclesiastical offices were at that time as much accounted things vendible, as merchandise is in a common market.’ *Schl.*]

maintained, that priests should be *elected*, and that they ought to *live single*. Yet both gave rise to the most lamentable contentions, and to very great calamities. When the decree respecting celibacy was promulgated, horrible tumults were excited, in most of the countries of Europe, by those priests who were connected with either lawful wives or concubines,¹ many of whom, especially in the Italian province of Milan, were willing rather to relinquish the priesthood than to part with their wives; and, accordingly, they seceded from the church of Rome; and they branded the pontiff and his adherents, who condemned the marriage of priests, with the odious appellation of *Paterini*, i.e. Manichæans.² The impartial, however, though they wished priests to lead single lives, blamed *Gregory* for two things:

¹ The histories of those times are full of the commotions excited by those priests who had either wives or concubines. For an account of the insurrections among the German priests, see Car. Sigonius, *de Regno Italiae*, l. ix. t. ii. p. 557, and Seb. Tengel's *Collectio veter. Monumentor.* p. 45, 47, 54. &c. and the other writers of German history. [Two councils were held in Germany, one at Erfurth, and the other at Mentz, in which the papal decree against the marriage of priests was made known. But in both, tumults were excited; and the adherents of the pope were in jeopardy of their lives, especially the abp. of Mentz, and the papal legate the bp. of Chur. The German clergy said, 'they would rather lose their priesthood than part with their wives. Let him who despises *men*, see whence he can procure *angels* for the churches.' See Trithemius, in *Chron. Hirsang.* and Lambert of Aschaffenh. *ad ann.* 1074.—The clergy of Passau, when the papal prohibition was published, said to their bp. Altmann, 'that they neither could nor would abandon the custom which it was clear they had followed from ancient times, under all preceding bishops.' The French also declared, in an assembly at Paris, that they would not suffer the pope's insupportable yoke to be laid upon them. See Mansi, *Suppl. Concil.* ii. 5. *Schl.*]—Of the commotions in England, Matthew Paris treats, *Histor. Major*, l. i. p. 9. For those in the Netherlands and France, see the epistles of the clergy of Cambay to those of Rheims, in behalf of their wives, in Jo. Mabillon's *Ann. Benedict.* v. 634, and the epistle of the clergy of Noyon to those of Cambay, in Mabillon's *Museum Italicum*, i. 128. How great a commotion this thing produced in Italy, and especially among the Milanese, is fully stated by Arnulph senior, and Landulf, historians of Milan; extant with notes, in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italic.* iv. 36, &c. Each of these historians favours the marriage of priests, in opposition to Gregory and the pontiffs.

² Paterini was one of the names by which the Paulicians or Manichæans were designated in Italy (who are well known to have migrated from Bulgaria to Italy in this age), and who were the same as were also called Cathari. In process of time this became the common appellation of all heretics; as might easily be shown by many examples from writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Respecting the origin of the name, there are many opinions, the most probable of which is, that which derives it from a certain *place*, called Pataria, where the heretics held their meetings. And a part of the city of Milan is still vulgarly called *Pattaria*, or *Contrada de' Pattari*. See the notes on Arnulphus Mediolan. in Muratori's *Scriptores Rer. Italicar.* iv. 39. Saxius ad Sigonius, *de Regno Italiae*, l. ix. Opp. Sigon. ii. 536. An opinion has prevailed, perhaps originating from Sigonius, that this name was given at Milan to those priests who retained their wives contrary to the decrees of the pontiffs, and who seceded from the Roman church. But it appears from Arnulph and other ancient writers, that it was not the married priests that were called Paterini, but that these priests gave that appellation, by way of reproach, to such friends of the pontiffs as disapproved of the marriage of clergymen. See Arnulph, l. iii. c. x. and the copious and learned proofs of this fact by Anton. Pag. *Critica in annal. Baron.* t. iv. ad ann. 1058, § iii. and Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Antiqq. Ital. Medii Aevi*, v. 82. Nor need we look farther for the origin of this term of reproach. For the Manichæans, and their brothers, the Paulicians, were opposed to marriage; which they considered as an institution of the evil demon: and, therefore, such as held the marriage of priests to be lawful and right, by applying the designation Paterini to the pontiffs and their adherents, who prohibited such marriages, would represent them as following the opinions of the Manichæans.

first, that he fell indiscriminately upon the virtuous and the profligate with equal severity; and dissolved the most honourable marriages, to the great disgrace, and hazard, and grief of husbands, wives, and children:¹ and, *secondly*, that he did not correct the married clergy with moderation, and with only ecclesiastical penalties; but delivered them over to the civil magistrates, to be prosecuted, deprived of their properties, and subjected to indignities and sufferings of various kinds.²

§ 14. This first conflict gradually subsided, in process of time, through the firmness and perseverance of the pontiff: nor was there any one, among the European sovereigns, disposed to become the patron of clergymen's wives. But the conflict arising from the other law (that for the suppression of *simony*) was extremely difficult to be closed; and being protracted through many years, it involved both the church and the state in very great calamities and incredible miseries.³ Henry IV. received indeed the legates of the pontiff in a gracious manner, and he commended the pontiff's design of putting

¹ For there was a vast difference among those priests who were more attached to their women than to the decrees of the pontiffs; all of them being, by no means, equally censurable. The better sort of them, among whom those of Milan stood conspicuous, also those of the Netherlands, and some others, only wished to live according to the laws of the Greek church; maintaining that it should be allowed to a priest before his ordination to marry one wife, a virgin, and no more. And they supported their opinions by the authority of Ambrose. See Jo. Petri Puricelli *Diss. Utrum S. Ambrosius Clero suo Mediolan. permiserit, ut Virgini semel nubere possent*; republished in Muratori's *Scriptores Rer. Italicar.* iv. 123, &c. With this class of priests, Gregory and the other Roman pontiffs ought, as some advocates of the pontiff have themselves acknowledged, to have been more indulgent than to those who claimed the right of marrying many wives, and those who advocated concubinage. The case of the monks also, whose vows bound them to perpetual celibacy, was very different from that of priests, who were unwilling to be separated from their children and their lawful wives, whom they had espoused with upright intentions.

² Theodoric of Verdun, *Epistola ad Gregorium VII.* in Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* i. 218. 'They put me to the greatest confusion, for this, that I should ever admit of a law for restraining the incontinence of the clergy, by the intemperate proceedings of laymen' (*per laicorum insanias*).—'Nor must you suppose, that persons of these sentiments, when they bring forward such vindications, wish to encourage incontinence in the clergy. They

sincerely desire to see them lead blameless lives; but they wish to have only the restraints of ecclesiastical terrors, as is proper, held out to them' (*nec aliter, quam oportet, ecclesiasticæ ultionis censuram intentari gaudent*).

³ We have numerous histories, both ancient and modern, of this famous contest about *investitures*, which was so calamitous to a large part of Europe, and which being commenced by Gregory VII., was carried on by him and the succeeding pontiffs, on the one part, and by the emperors Henry IV. and V. on the other. Yet few, if any of these histories, are entirely impartial. For all the writers espouse the cause either of the popes, or of the emperors; and they decide the controversy, not (as in my opinion they should do) by the laws then in force, and according to the principles then universally admitted, but according to a supposed system of laws, and the opinions of the present age. The principal ancient writers on the side of Gregory, are collected by the noted Jesuit Jac. Gretser, in his *Apologia pro Gregorio VII.* which was published separately, and also in his *Opp. t. vi.* Those who defend Henry IV. are collected by Melch. Goldastus, in his *Replicatio contra Gretserum, et Apologia pro Henrico IV.* Hanov. 1611, 4to. Of the moderns, besides the *Centuriatores Magdeburgenses*, Baronius, the writers of Germanic and Italian history, and the biographers of Matilda, the reader may consult Jo. Schilterus, de *Libertate Ecclesiæ Germanicæ*, l. iv. p. 481, &c. Christ. Thomasius, *Historia Contentionis inter Imperium et Sacerdotium*: Henr. Meibomius, de *Jure Investituræ episcopalis*, in the *Scriptores Rer. Germanicarum.* t. iii. Just. Chr. Dith-

an end to *simony*. But neither he, nor the German bishops, would grant leave to the legates to assemble a council in Germany, for the purpose of trying those who were guilty of *simony*. The next year, therefore, A.D. 1075, in a new council at Rome, *Gregory* proceeded still farther; for, in the first place, he excommunicated some of the favourites of king *Henry*, whose advice and assistance he was said to have used in the sale of benefices; and likewise certain bishops of Germany and Italy; and, in the next place, he decreed, that 'whoever should confer a bishopric or abbacy, or should receive an investiture from the hands of any layman, should be excommunicated.'¹ For it had long been customary with the emperors, and kings and princes of Europe, to confer the larger benefices, and the government of monasteries, by the delivery of a ring and a staff. And as this formal inauguration of the bishops and abbots was the main support, both of the power claimed by kings and emperors to create whom they chose bishops and abbots, and also of the licentious sale of sacred offices to the highest bidders, or of *simony*, the pontiff judged that the custom ought to be wholly extirpated and suppressed.²

mar, *Historia Belli inter Imperium et Sacerdotium*, Francf. 1714, 8vo, and others. Superior to all these in learning, is Henry Noris, in his *Istoria delle Investiture della Dignità Ecclesiastiche*, which was published after the death of this great man, Mantua, 1741, fol. It is a very learned work, but unfinished and defective; and, what is not surprising in a friend of the pontiffs, or a cardinal, not candid towards the adversaries of the pontiffs, or the emperors. With advantage, also, may be consulted, Jo. Jac. Masceov's *Commentarii de Rebus Imperii German. sub Henrico IV. et V.* Lips. 1749, 4to.

¹ See Ant. Pagi, *Critica in Baronium*, t. iv. ad ann. 1075. Henr. Noris, *Istoria delle Investiture*, p. 39, &c. Christ. Lupus, *Scholia et Diss. ad Concilia*, Opp. vi. 39, &c. 44, &c.

² I must be allowed here to go into an investigation respecting the right of inaugurating bishops and abbots with the ring and staff; because it is misunderstood by many, and not very intelligibly explained by others. Among these last, I may place the name of Henry Noris, the author of a *History of Investitures*, in Italian; for in chap. iii. p. 56, where he treats of the motives which induced Gregory to prohibit investitures, though he states many things well, and better than other writers do, yet he does not see through the whole thing, and he omits some circumstances important to be known. The *investiture* itself of bishops and abbots undoubtedly commenced at the time when the emperors, kings, and princes of Europe conferred on them the possession and use of territories, forests, fields, and castles. For according to the laws of those

times (and they have not yet ceased to operate), persons holding territories, &c. by favour of the emperors and sovereigns, were not considered to be in legal possession of them, until they had repaired to the court, sworn fealty to the sovereign, and received from his hand the token of the transfer and dominion of the property. But the mode of inaugurating or *investing* bishops and abbots, with the *ring* and the *staff* or *crozier* (which are the insignia of the sacred office), was of later date, and was introduced at the time when the emperors and kings, subverting the free elections which the ecclesiastical laws required, assumed to themselves the power, not only of conferring, but also of selling sacerdotal and abbatial offices at their pleasure. At first, the emperors and kings handed over to men of the sacred orders the same tokens of transferred use and possession, as they did to soldiers, knights, counts, and others, who approached the throne as vassals, namely, written instruments, green twigs, and other things. Humbert, a cardinal of the Roman church, who wrote before the contest about investitures was moved by Gregory VII., in his l. iii. *Adversus Simoniacos*, c. xi. (in Marteno's *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* v. 787), says: 'The secular authority favoured the ambitious, who coveted ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, first by making request for them, next by threats, and afterwards by formal grants: and in all this, finding no one to gainsay it, none who moved a pen, or opened his mouth and uttered a murmur, it proceeded to greater things; and now, under the name of *investiture*—gave, first, written instruments, or delivered small

§ 15. But *Henry* was not dismayed at the decree of the pontiff. He acknowledged, indeed, that he had done wrong in selling sacred

wands of some kind; afterwards, staffs—which horrid abomination has become so well established, that it is accounted the only canonical way, and what the ecclesiastical rule is, is neither known nor thought of.—And this custom of inaugurating or investing clergymen and laymen in the same manner, would doubtless have continued unchanged, had not the clergy, who had the legal power and right of electing their bishops and abbots, artfully eluded the designs of the emperors and sovereigns. For they, as soon as their bishop or abbot was dead, without delay, and in due form, elected a successor to him, and caused him to be consecrated. And the consecration having taken place, the emperor or prince, who had proposed to give or sell that office to some one of his friends, was now obliged to desist from his purpose, and to confirm the person who was elected and consecrated. There is not room here for examples and proof of this shrewd management of the canons and monks, by which they eluded the intentions of emperors and kings to sell or give away sacred offices. But many may be collected out of the records of the tenth century. For this reason, the sovereigns, that they might not lose the power of conferring the sacred offices on whom they pleased, required the insignia of such offices, namely, the staff and ring, immediately after the decease of a bishop to be transmitted to them. For according to ecclesiastical law, official power is conveyed by delivering the staff and ring; so that, these being carried away, if the clergy should elect any one for their bishop, he could not be consecrated in due form. And every election till it had been ratified by consecration, could be set aside, without violation of ecclesiastical law; nor could a bishop elect perform any episcopal function till he was consecrated. As soon therefore as any one of the higher officers in the church died, the magistrate of the city where he lived, or the governor of the province, seized upon his staff and ring, and transmitted them to court. Ebbo, in his life of Otto of Bamberg, (who lived in the court of Henry IV.) l. i. § 8, 9 (in the *Acta Sanctorum Julii*, i. 426), says: ‘Soon after, the ring and the pastoral staff of the bishop of Bremen were brought to the royal court. For at that period, the church had not free elections,—but when any bishop had gone the way of all the earth, presently the commandants of his city transmitted his ring and pastoral staff to the palace; and thus by royal authority, after consulting with his courtiers—he

placed a suitable prelate over the bereaved people.—After a few days, again the ring and pastoral staff of the bishop of Bamberg were transmitted to our lord the emperor; which being told abroad, many nobles—flocked to the royal court, who endeavoured to obtain one of these, either by price or by petition.’—The emperor or king then delivered the ring and staff to whom he pleased: after which, the person thus inaugurated and appointed bishop, repaired to the metropolitan, to whom it belonged to perform the consecration, and delivered over to him the staff and ring received from the emperor, that he might again receive these insignia of his power from the hands of the metropolitan. Thus the new bishops and abbots received the ring and staff twice; first, from the hand of the king or emperor, and then from the metropolitan, by whom they were consecrated. Humbert, *Contra Simoniacos*, l. iii. c. vi. in Martene’s *Thesaur. Anecd.* v. 779. ‘Being thus admitted’ (i. e. invested by the emperor), ‘the intruder comes upon the clergy, the people, the sacred order, as their master, before he is known by them, sought after, or asked for. And he goes to the metropolitan, not to be judged by him, but to judge him.—For what does it signify or profit, to give up the staff and ring, which he brings with him? Is it because they were given to him by a layman? Why is that given up, which is already held, unless it be either that the ecclesiastical benefice may be again sold under this form of enjoining or giving; or that the former sale may be confirmed, by being subscribed to by the metropolitan and his suffrages; or at least, that the appearance of a layordination may be concealed under some cloak and colour of a clerical proceeding!’

What king or emperor first introduced this custom of appointing prelates by delivery of the staff and ring, is very uncertain. According to Adam Bremensis, (*Hist. Eccles.* l. i. 32, p. 10, and c. 39, p. 12, in Lindenbrog’s *Scriptores Septentrion.*) as early as the ninth century, Lewis the Meek conferred on new bishops the right of enjoying the revenues of the churches they ruled, by delivery of a staff or shepherd’s crook. But I suspect that Adam described the events of the former centuries, in accordance with the customs of his own age, which was the eleventh century. For in the ninth century, most emperors and kings allowed bishops to be created, by the suffrages of the clergy and people: so that such an inauguration was then unnecessary. See the remarks of Dan. Papebroch,

offices, and he promised amendment; but he could by no means be induced to give up the power of appointing bishops and abbots, and the *investiture* so closely connected with that power. *Gregory*, therefore, well knowing that many of the German princes, especially those of Saxony, were alienated from *Henry*, deemed this a favourable opportunity to extend and establish his authority; and sending ambassadors to Goslar, he summoned the king to Rome, there to answer before a council to the charges brought against him. The king, who was a high-minded prince, and of an ardent temperament, being

against Adam Brem. in the *Acta Sanctor.* Febr. i. 557. Humbert states (l. iii. *contra Simoniac.* c. vii. p. 780, and c. xi. p. 787), that this custom commenced in the age of Otto the Great: and I am much inclined to that opinion. At least, the learned men who have treated explicitly on the origin of investitures, have adduced nothing which dissuades me from receiving this opinion. See Lud. Thomassin, *Disciplina Ecclesie circa Benef.* t. ii. l. ii. p. 434, and Natal. Alexander, *Selecta Hist. Eccles. Capita*, sæcul. xi. xii. diss. iv. p. 725. The same Humbert relates (l. c., c. vii. p. 780), that the emperor Henry, the son of Conrad (i. e. Henry III. surnamed Niger), wished to abrogate these *investitures*, but was prevented by various circumstances; but that Henry I., the king of France, threw everything into confusion, and was excessively addicted to *simony*; against whom, therefore, Humbert inveighs most vehemently.

In this method of inaugurating bishops and abbots by delivery of the ring and staff, there were two things especially that displeased the Roman pontiffs. First, that by it, the ancient privilege of electing bishops and abbots was entirely subverted, and the power of creating prelates was placed wholly in the hands of the kings and emperors. This objection appeared a fair one, and perfectly accordant with the religious principles of that age. Secondly, it was extremely offensive to them, that the insignia of spiritual power, namely, the staff and ring, should be conveyed by the hands of laymen, i. e. of profane persons; which seemed to them very like to sacrilege. Humbert, who wrote, as already stated, before the contest between Gregory and Henry, has a long complaint on this subject, l. iii. *Contra Simoniac.* c. vi. p. 779, 795. I will subjoin some of his language: 'What business have laymen to distribute the ecclesiastical sacraments, and episcopal or pastoral grace, that is, the curved staffs and rings, by which episcopal consecration is especially performed, and becomes valid, and on which it wholly depends? For the curved staff denotes the pastoral care which is committed to them; and the ring is emblematical of the celestial mysteries,

admonishing preachers, that they should exhibit the wisdom of God in a mystery, with the apostle. Whoever therefore presume to initiate any one with these two, undoubtedly claim for themselves, by this presumption, the whole pastoral authority.' And this reasoning was certainly good, if not according to our views, at least according to the opinions of that age: for the staff and the ring were viewed as the emblems of spiritual things, and whoever conferred these emblems, was supposed to confer along with them spiritual authority and power.

From these considerations, it will be easy to perceive what it was that induced Gregory VII. to oppose so resolutely the inauguration of bishops by means of the staff and ring. In the first council at Rome, he left the subject of *investitures* untouched, and sought merely to abolish *simony*, and restore the ancient right of election to the societies of priests and monks. Nor had the former pontiffs who opposed *simony*, aimed at anything more. But when he afterwards learned that the practice of *investitures* was so closely connected with the power of kings and emperors to confer the higher sacerdotal offices, and with its adjunct *simony*, that it could not well be separated from them, he now assailed that practice, that he might pluck up the evil which he opposed by the root. Thus we see the true grounds of the contest between the pontiff and the emperor. Gregory did not oppose *investitures* universally, and as such, but only that species of investitures which was then practised. He did not object to the bishops and abbots swearing fealty to the kings and emperors, and acknowledging themselves their vassals and tenants: nor did he forbid an *investiture* which should be made by an oral declaration or a written instrument; for this mode of investiture he conceded to the kings of France and England:—perhaps also, he allowed a sceptre to be used in the transaction, as Calixtus II. afterwards did. But he would not tolerate an *investiture* by the insignia of the sacred office; much less an *investiture* previous to consecration; and, least of all, an *investiture* subversive of the free election of bishops and abbots.

extremely indignant at this mandate, immediately called a convention of German bishops at Worms; and there, accusing *Gregory* of various crimes, pronounced him unworthy of the pontificate, and appointed a meeting for the election of a new pontiff.¹ *Gregory*, on the other hand, upon receiving this sentence by the king's messengers and letters, not only interdicted him, simultaneously, from religious rites and royal functions, but also absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him.² War being thus declared on both sides, the church as well as the state was rent into two factions, one party taking sides with the king, and the other with the pontiff; and the evils resulting from this schism were immense.

§ 16. The first that revolted from *Henry* were the Suabian nobles, at the head of whom was *Rudolph*, duke of Suabia. Next followed the Saxons, who had long been very hostile to the king. Both were advised by the pontiff, in case *Henry* would not comply with the will of the church, to elect a new king; and they assembled at *Tribur*, in the year 1076, to deliberate on this very important subject. The result of the deliberation was, that the decision of the controversy between the king and the princes should be referred to the Roman pontiff, who should be invited to attend the diet of Augsburg, the ensuing year, for that purpose; and that the king, during the intervening time, should lead a private life; yet with this condition annexed, that unless he obtained absolution from the anathema within the year, he was to lose the kingdom. *Henry*, therefore, with the advice of his friends, determined to go into Italy, and implore the clemency of the pontiff. But he did not gain as much advantage as he had hoped from this journey. He obtained, indeed, though with difficulty, from the pontiff, then residing at the castle of Canossa, with *Matilda*, the great patroness of the church, the pardon of his sins; after standing, for three days together, in the depth of winter, in February, A.D. 1077, bare-footed, bare-headed, and clad in a common weed,³ within the castle's walled enclosure, professing grief

¹ [The council of Worms was composed of a 'very great number of bishops and abbots' from all parts of Germany. Hugo, a displaced cardinal, appeared there, and painted the life and character of *Gregory* in the blackest colours. The whole assembly, except two bishops, subscribed his condemnation. *Henry's* letter to the pontiff concludes: 'Thou therefore, condemned by this anathema, and by the decision of all our bishops, descend; quit the apostolic chair thou hast invaded; let another ascend it, who will pollute religion by no violences, but will teach the sound doctrines of St. Peter. We Henry, by the grace of God king, with all our bishops, say to thee: Descend.' See *Harduin's Concilia*, vi. p. 1563. Tr.]

² [Gregory's excommunication of *Henry* is drawn up in the form of an address to St. Peter; stating what he had decreed, and

why. It contains these words: 'Hac itaque fiducia fretus, pro ecclesiæ tuæ honore et defensione, ex parte omnipotentis Dei, Patris et Filii et Sp. Sancti, per tuam potestatem et auctoritatem, Henrico regi filio Henrici Imperatoris, qui contra tuam ecclesiam inaudita superbia insurrexit, totius regni Teutonicorum et Italiæ gubernacula contradico: et omnes Christianos a vinculo juramenti, quod sibi fecere vel facient, absolve; et ut nullus ei sicut regi serviat, interdicto.' See *Harduin's Concilia*, vi. 1566. Tr.]

³ *Vili amiculo vestitus*. [He put off the ordinary dress of his rank, and habited himself as a penitent, in the customary white garment. The fortress had three walled enclosures. The imperial attendants were not allowed to go beyond the first; the emperor himself was conducted within the second; the pope was within the third, but although the weather was frosty and unusually

of mind. But the pontiff deferred the discussion and decision of his right to the throne till the convention of the princes should meet; and, in the mean time, wholly interdicted him from wearing the ornaments or exercising the functions of royalty. The Italian princes and bishops¹ were most indignant at this convention or compromise, and threatened *Henry* with deposition, and evils of all kinds; which made him soon after go from his agreement, and, contrary to *Gregory's* command, resume the regal character which he had laid aside. The princes of Suabia and Saxony, hearing of this, met in convention at Forchheim in the month of March, A.D. 1077, and by a unanimous vote elected *Rudolph*, the duke of Suabia, king.²

§ 17. A violent war now began, both in Germany and Italy. In Italy, *Gregory*, with the forces of the Normans, who were sovereigns of lower Italy, and whom he had drawn over to his party, joined to those of the highly-famed and very resolute princess Matilda, resisted not unsuccessfully the Lombards, who fought for *Henry*. In Germany, *Henry* with his confederates encountered *Rudolph* and his associates, but with no good fortune. *Gregory*, fearing the dubious issue of the war, wished to be accounted neutral for some years. But taking courage, after the unfortunate battle of *Henry* with the Saxons, at Fladenheim, in the year 1080, he excommunicated *Henry* a second time; and sending a crown to *Rudolph*, pronounced him the legitimate king of Germany.³ In revenge, *Henry*, supported by the suffrages of many of the German and Italian bishops, again deposed *Gregory*, the same year, in a council at Mentz; and a little after, in a convention at Brixen in the Tyrol, he created the archbishop of Ravenna, *Guibert*, supreme pontiff; who subsequently took the name of *Clement III.*, when consecrated at Rome, A.D. 1084.

§ 18. A few months after, *Rudolph*, the enemy of *Henry*, died at Merseburg, in consequence of a wound received in battle at the river Elster. Therefore, the following year, A.D. 1081, the king marched with his army into Italy, intending, if possible, to crush *Gregory* and his adherents; for if these were subdued, he hoped that the commotions in Germany might be easily quelled. He made several campaigns, with various success, against the forces of *Matilda*: twice he besieged Rome in vain; but at length, in the year 1084, he became

severe, he refused admittance to *Henry*, but kept him in the yard fasting, and benumbed with cold, all the day through. This extraordinary spectacle seems to have begun Jan. 25, and the emperor submitted to it three whole days, deeply commiserated by everybody but *Gregory*, whose conduct, *Bernried* says, was taxed by some with tyrannical severity. On the fourth day, *Henry*, completely tired of his penance, for that is what it was, took refuge in a chapel close by, where he had an interview with *Matilda*, and working upon her compassion, obtained admittance to *Gregory*. S.]

¹ [Who had been *Henry's* supporters. S.]

² The ancient and modern writers of Italian and German history have given ample relations of these and subsequent events, though not all of them with equal fidelity and accuracy. I have consulted the original writers, and have followed those most to be relied on: *Sigonius*, *Pagi*, *Mura-tori*, *Mascovius*, *Noris*, and others; whose accounts differ indeed in some minor things, but agree as to the main points.

³ [The golden crown which *Gregory* sent to *Rudolph*, had this memorable inscription, *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolpho. Tr.*]

master of the greatest part of that city; placed *Guibert*, whom he had made pontiff, in the chair of St. Peter, with the title of *Clement III.*; was by him crowned emperor, and saluted as such by the Romans; and he now laid close siege to the castle of St. Angelo, in which his enemy *Gregory* was shut up. But *Robert*, the Norman duke of Calabria and Apulia, delivered the pontiff from his siege; and as it was not safe for him to remain at Rome, carried him with him to Salerno. And here it was that, in the year following, this man, whose mind, indeed, was great and invincible, but who was the proudest and boldest of all the pontiffs that ever lived, terminated his days, in the year 1085.¹ The Roman church honours him among her saints and intercessors with God, though he was never enrolled in that order by a regular canonisation. *Paul V.*, near the commencement of the seventeenth century, appointed the 25th day of May to be his festival.² But the sovereigns of Europe, especially the emperor and the king of France, have prevented it from being publicly and everywhere observed. And even in our times [A.D. 1729], there was a contest with *Benedict XIII.* respecting the worship of him.³

§ 19. The death of *Gregory* was followed by very trying times: for *Clement III.*, or *Guibert*, the emperor's pontiff,⁴ ruled both at Rome and over a large part of Italy; and in Germany, *Henry* himself continued the war with the princes. The pontifical party, supported by the forces of the Normans, elected at Rome, in the year 1086, *Desiderius*, abbot of Monte Cassino, successor to *Gregory*; and he, assuming the name of *Victor III.*, was consecrated in the church of Peter, A.D. 1087, the Normans having seized a part of the city of Rome from *Clement*. But *Victor*, who was a very different man from *Gregory*, being mild and timorous, soon retired to Benevento, because Rome was in the hands of *Clement*, and not long after died at Cassino. Before his death, however, in a council held at Cassino, he renewed the decrees enacted by *Gregory* for the abolition of investitures.

§ 20. *Victor* was succeeded by *Otto*, bishop of Ostia, and likewise a monk of Cluny, who was elected at Terracina, in the year 1088,

¹ [An ancient life of *Gregory*, favourable to him, by Paul Bernried, may be seen in the *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* sæc. vi. pars ii. p. 410. An unfavourable life by Cardinal Benno is subjoined to a contemporary history of *Henry IV.*, printed at Frankfort, in 1581. Of late, favourable lives have been published by Voigt, in German (translated into French, in 1838), and by Mr. Bowden, in English, in 1840. An unfavourable life by Sir Roger Gresley, appeared in English, in 1832. *Gregory's* character, unquestionably, deserves attentive consideration. It had not all the elements of evil that were once commonly attributed to it. But it was under this pope that ecclesiastical pretensions were first pretty thoroughly developed, under cover of that ostentatious, moral, and ritual strictness which is very likely to find

them partisans. S.]

² See the *Acta Sanctor.* Antwerp, ad diem 25 Maii; and Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor.* Ord. Bened. sæcul. vi. pt. ii.

³ See the French work, entitled, *L'Avocat du Diable, ou Mémoires historiques et critiques sur la vie et sur la légende du Pape Grégoire VII.*, published in Holland, 1743, 3 vols. 8vo. [See also J. B. Hartung's *Unpartheyische Kirchen-Historie*, ii. 1057. Tr.]

⁴ A life of this pontiff, *Clement III.*, was lately promised to the world, by Jo. Gottl. Hornius, in the *Miscell. Lips.* tom. viii. p. 609. *Clement* died, A.D. 1100; as is expressly stated in the *Chronicon Beneventanum*, published by Muratori, *Antiqq. Italicae*, i. 262, &c. See Rubeus, *Historia Ravennat.* lib. v. p. 307, &c.

and chose the name of *Urban II.* He was inferior to *Gregory* in courage and fortitude, but his equal in arrogance, and went beyond him in imprudence.¹ At first, fortune seemed to smile upon him: but, in the year 1090, the emperor returning into Italy, and boldly and successfully attacking the younger *Guelph*, duke of Bavaria, and *Matilda*, the two heads of the pontifical party, things assumed a new aspect. Yet the hope of subduing the emperor revived again in 1091, when *Conrad*, his son, suffered himself to be seduced by the pontiff, and the other enemies of his father, to rebel against his parent, and usurp the kingdom of Italy. The condition of Italy now continued in the utmost confusion; nor was *Urban* able to bring the city of Rome under his subjection. Therefore, after holding a council at Piacenza, in the year 1095, in which he reiterated the decrees and anathemas of *Gregory*, he took a journey into France, and there held the celebrated council of Clermont, in which the holy war against the Mahumedans, who occupied Palestine, was resolved on. And, what deserves particular notice, in the same council, *Urban*, most imprudently, rendered the contest about investitures, which had long been so obstinate and calamitous, still more unmanageable and violent. For *Gregory* had not forbidden bishops and priests to swear fealty to their sovereigns; but *Urban*, with a rashness hitherto quite unknown, prohibited all such oaths from them as were exacted by feudal superiors.² On returning to Italy, the pontiff succeeded in reducing the Roman castle of St. Angelo under his power; but he died a little after, in the year 1099; and the year following, *Clement III.* also died. And thus the Benedictine monk, *Raynier*, who was created pontiff after the death of *Urban*, and who assumed the name of *Pascal II.*, reigned without a competitor when the century closed.

§ 21. Among the oriental monks, nothing occurred worth noticing: but among the western monks, there were several events which deserve to be mentioned. Of these the most important, perhaps, was the closer union between them and the Roman pontiffs. For a long time, many of the monks, in order to escape the oppressions and snares of the bishops and kings and nobles, who coveted their possessions, had placed themselves under the protection of the Roman pontiffs; who readily received them, on condition that they should pay an annual tribute. But in this age, the pontiffs in general, and especially *Gregory VII.*, who wished to bring all things under subjection to *St. Peter*, and to diminish the rights and prerogatives of the bishops,

¹ The life of *Urban II.* was written by Theod. Ruinart; and is extant in Jo. Mabillon's *Opera Posthuma*, iii. 1, &c. It is composed with learning and industry; but with what fidelity and candour, I need not say. Those acquainted with facts, know that the monks are not at liberty to describe to us the Roman pontiffs such as they really were. See also, concerning *Urban*, the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, viii. 514.

² To the fifteenth canon of this council the following addition is subjoined [consti-

tuting the seventeenth canon; according to Harduin's *Concilia*, vi. 1719]. 'Ne episcopus vel sacerdos regi vel alicui laico in manibus ligiam fidelitatem faciant;' *i. e.* may take the oath, which vassals or subjects are accustomed to take. They are in an error, who tell us, that *Gregory VII.* forbade bishops taking the oath of fidelity. He was more reasonable than that, unreasonable as he sometimes was. This is proved by Henry Noris, *Istoria delle Investiture*, c. x. p. 279, &c.

themselves, moved and advised the monks to withdraw their persons and property from the bishops, and to place both under the dominion of *St. Peter*.¹ Hence, from the time of *Gregory VII.*, exemptions of monasteries from the ordinary power were immensely multiplied throughout Europe, to the great injury and inconvenience of kings and princes, and much to the vexation of bishops.²

§ 22. The irreligious lives, ignorance, frauds, licentiousness, quarrels, and crimes of the greater part of the monks, are noticed by nearly all the historians of that age; not to mention other proofs of their impiety, which have reached us in great numbers.³ But still this class of people was everywhere in high repute, was promoted to the highest offices in the church, and increased continually in wealth and possessions. The causes of this are to be found in an extreme ignorance of everything pertaining to religion, which gave rise to the grossest superstition, joined to a boundless indifference for sin, which everywhere flourished in this age, and rendered people generally excessively dissolute.⁴ While the great mass of men, and even those called *secular*, *clerks* as well as *canons*, rushed upon every species of vice, people seemed saints, and friends of the most high God, who preserved some show of piety and religion. Besides, the nobles, knights, and military men, who had spent their lives in acts of robbery, in debauchery, revelry, and other gross vices, became fright-

¹ See, as a specimen, the Epistle of Gregory VII. in which he subjects the monks of Redon to the Roman see, with expressions new and unheard of till his age; in Martene's *Thesaur. Anecd.* i. 204, &c. To this may be added others, by Urban II. and the subsequent pontiffs; which are extant in the same work, and here and there in other collections.

² Perhaps no exemption of a German monastery can be produced, which is older than the times of Gregory. [Mosheim, probably, means to say, 'no exemption by mere papal authority' occurred in Germany, before Gregory VII., for there were various monasteries there, which were exempt at an earlier period. That of Fulda, was one; exempt from its foundation, A.D. 744; as appears from Boniface, *Epistol.* 151. The founders of monasteries often wished to have them exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, as well as from civil exactions; and therefore procured from the bishop and from the prince such exemption; which was confirmed at first by some council, and afterwards by the Roman pontiff. As the pontiffs advanced in power, and encroached on the prerogatives of bishops, councils, and kings, their confirmation of an exemption became more common, and more necessary, till at last they assumed the exclusive right of granting exemptions at their pleasure. See Petrus de Marca, *Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, l. iii. c. xvi. *Tr.*]

³ See what Jo. Launoy, *Assertio in Privileg. S. Medardi*, cap. 26, § 6, *Opp.* t. iii. pt. ii. p. 499, &c., and Rich. Simon, *Bibliothèque Critique*, t. iii. c. 32, p. 331, &c., have collected and remarked on this subject. [Ivo Carnotensis, *Ep.* 70 (cited by Pagi, *Crit. Baron.* ad ann. 1100, No. ix.), says to Walter, bishop of Meaux, 'I state to your goodness, the shameful report, which I have received from the lips of the monks of Tours, and the letters of lady Adeleid, the venerable countess, respecting the monastery of St. Fara, that it is no longer the residence of holy virgins, but may be pronounced the brothel of demoniac females, who prostitute their bodies to every sort of men.' This is only a specimen of what is to be met with in the writings of these times. *Tr.*]

⁴ On the astonishing wickedness of this age, see Dav. Blondel, *de Formula: regnante Christo*, p. 14, &c. Boulainvilliers, *de l'Origine et les Droits de la Noblesse*, in Malet's *Mémoires de Littérature et de l'Histoire*, t. ix. pt. i. p. 63, &c., and many others. This licentiousness and impunity of all sorts of wickedness, gave rise to the orders of knights; whose business it was to protect the weak, the poor, and especially females, against the insults and violence of the strong. This was a laudable institution in those wretched times, when the energy of law was wholly prostrate, and those filling the office of judges were incompetent to perform the duties of their stations. *

ened in old age by a guilty conscience, and hoped to appease their all-righteous Judge, if they either should purchase the prayers of monks by rich gifts, and return to God and the saints a portion of their ill-gotten wealth, or should themselves become monks, and make their new brethren their heirs.

§ 23. Of all the monks, none were in higher reputation for piety and virtue than those of *Cluny* in France. Their rules of life, therefore, were propagated throughout all Europe; and whoever would establish new monasteries, or resuscitate and reform old ones, adopted the Cluniac discipline. The French monks of *Cluny*, from whom the sect originated, gradually acquired such immense wealth, in consequence of the donations of the pious of all classes, and, at the same time, such extensive power and influence, that towards the close of the century they were able to form a peculiar community of their own, which still exists under the name of the *Cluniacensian order* or *congregation*.¹ For all the monasteries, which they reformed and brought under their rules, they also endeavoured to bring under their dominion; and in this they were so successful, especially under *Hugo*, the sixth abbot of *Cluny*—a man in high favour with pontiffs, kings, and nobles—that, at the close of the century, no less than thirty-five of the larger monasteries in France, besides many of the smaller ones, looked up to him as their *president*. Besides these, there were numerous others, which, though they declined becoming members of this community, and continued to elect their own governors, yet chose the *abbot of Cluny*, or the *arch-abbot*, as he wished to be called, for their patron and supervisor.² But this prosperity, this abundance of riches and honours and power, gradually produced not only arrogance, but likewise all those vices which disgraced monks in those times: and after a short interval, there was nothing to distinguish the Cluniacensians from other monks, except certain regulations.

§ 24. The example of the Cluniacensians led other pious and well-disposed men to establish similar monastic associations: and the consequence was, that the Benedictine family, which hitherto had composed but one body, was now split into several sects, all subject indeed to one *rule*, but differing in customs, forms, and mode of living, and moreover indulging animosity towards each other. In the year 1023, *Romuald*, an Italian, retired to *Camaldoli*, or *Campo-Malduli*, a desert spot on the lofty heights of the Apennine,³ and there laid the foundation of the congregation of the *Camaldulensians*, which still flourishes, especially in Italy. Those who belong to it are divided into *cœnobites* and *eremites*. Both are required to live

¹ On the very rapid advances of the order of Cluny in both wealth and reputation, Stephen Baluze has collected numerous facts in his *Miscellanea*, v. 343, &c., and vi. 436, and Jo. Mabillon has treated expressly on the subject, in several parts of his *Annal. Benedict.* t. v.

² Mabillon, *Præf. ad Secul. V. Actor. SS.*

Ord. Bened. p. xxvi. &c. *Hist. Générale de Bourgogne, par les Moines Bénédictins*, i. 151, &c. Paris, 1739, fol. *Hist. Litt. de la France*, ix. 470.

³ [See a description and a drawing of the spot in Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* iv. 261, &c. *Tr.*]

according to rigorous and severe laws: but the cœnobites have relaxed not a little the ancient rigour of the sect.¹ Shortly after, *John Gualbert*, a Florentine, founded at *Vallombrosa*, also situated on the Apennine mountains, the congregation of Benedictine monks of *Vallombrosa*, which in a little time extended into many parts of Italy.² To these two Italian congregations may perhaps be subjoined that of *Hirschau*,³ in Germany, established by the abbot *William*, who reformed many German monasteries, and also established some new ones.⁴ But the *Hirsaugians*, if we examine them closely, appear not to be so much a new society, as a branch of the Cluniacensian congregation, whose rules and customs they followed.

§ 25. Near the end of the century, A.D. 1098, *Robert*, abbot of *Molême*, in Burgundy,⁵ a province of France, being utterly unable to make his monks live as St. Benedict's rule prescribed, retired with twenty associates to *Cîteaux*,⁶ in the county of Beaune, then a horrid place, covered with woods and briers, but now a beautiful spot, and there commenced the order, or rather *congregation*, of the *Cistercians*. In the following century, this family, with the same success as that of *Cluny*, spread itself over the greatest part of Europe, became exceedingly opulent, and acquired the form and rights not only of a new monastic sect, but also of a new commonwealth of monks. The primary law of this fraternity was the rule of *St. Benedict*, which the founder required the members to fulfil perfectly, without adopting any convenient interpretations of its precepts: he added, however, some further regulations, to serve as a rampart for fortifying the rule against any violations; regulations which were severe and ungrateful to human nature, yet exceedingly holy, according to the views of that age. The possession of wealth, however, which had corrupted the Cluniacensians at once, extinguished also, gradually, among the Cistercians, their first zeal for obeying their rule; so that, in process of time, their faults were as numerous as those of the other Benedictines.⁷

¹ Some of the writers concerning the order of Camaldulensians are named by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi*, i. 895. To which add the life of Romualdus, in the *Acta Sanctor.* Febr. ii. 101, &c. and in Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. vi. pt. i. p. 247. Hipp. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, v. 236. Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Ord. Bened.* t. v. in many places, especially p. 261, &c. Magnoald Ziegelbauer's *Centifolium Camaldulense, seu Notitia Scriptori. Camaldulensium*, Venice, 1750, fol. [and Anselm Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulens.* tom. i. ii. Venice, 1755, fol. *Schl.*—Cf. Wiseman's *Recollections of the Popes*, London, 1858, p. 187. *Ed.*]

² See the life of Jo. Gualbert, in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor.* sæc. vi. pt. ii. p. 273. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, v. 298. Many documents relating to this order and to its history were published not long since by Jo. Lami, in his *Delicia Eruditorum*, printed at

Florence, ii. 238 (where the ancient rules of the sect are given), and p. 272, 279, iii. 177, 212, and elsewhere.

³ [In the diocese of Spire. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor.* sæc. vi. pt. ii. p. 716, &c. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, v. 332.

⁵ [In Champagne, on the frontiers of Burgundy. *Moreri. S.*]

⁶ Cistercium.

⁷ The principal historian of the Cistercian order is Angelus Manriquez, whose *Annales Cistercienses*, a ponderous and minute work, was published at Lyons, 1642, in four vols. fol. The second is Peter le Nain, whose *Essai de l'Histoire de l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, was published at Paris, 1696, in nine vols. 8vo. The other writers are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Latina Medii Ævi*, i. 1066. But to them should be added Jo. Mabillon, who learnedly and diligently investigates the origin and

§ 26. Besides these societies formed within the Benedictine family, there were added some new families of monks, or *orders* in the proper sense of the term, *i.e.* societies having peculiar rules and institutions.¹ For to some persons who were constitutionally gloomy, and inclined to excessive austerity, the rule of *Benedict* appeared too lax; and others thought it imperfect, and not well accommodated to the exercise of all the duties of piety towards God. In the first place, *Stephen of Thiers*, a nobleman of Auvergne, and son of a viscount (whom some call *Stephen de Muret*, from the place where he erected the first convent of his order), obtained from *Gregory VII.*, in the year 1074, permission to institute a new species of monastic discipline. He at first designed to subject his followers to the rule of *St. Benedict*; but he afterwards changed his purpose, and drew up a rule of his own. It contains many severe injunctions: poverty and obedience it inculcates as first principles; it forbids the possession of lands beyond the boundaries of the monastery; denies wholly the use of flesh even to the sick; does not allow even the keeping of cattle, that a hankering after animal food might be more easily prevented; most sacredly enjoins silence, and makes solitude of so much importance, that the doors of the monastery were to be opened to none but persons of high authority; prohibits all converse with females; and, finally, commits the care and management of all the temporal affairs and concerns of the monastery exclusively to the *converted brethren*,² while the *clerics* were to devote themselves exclusively to the contemplation of divine things. The reputation of this new order was very high in this century and the next, so long as these regulations and others no less severe were observed; but its credit sank entirely, when violent animosity broke out between the *clerical* and the *converted brethren*, the latter exalting themselves above the former, and when the rigour of their rule was in many respects mitigated and softened down, partly by the prefects of the order themselves, and partly by the Roman pontiffs. This monastic sect was called the order of *Grammont*, because *Muret*, where they were first established, was near to *Grandmont*, in the territory of Limoges.³

§ 27. Afterwards, in the year 1084 or 1086, followed the order of *Carthusians*, so called from *Chartreuse*, a wild and dismal spot, surrounded with high mountains and craggy rocks, near Grenoble in France. The founder of this noted sect, which exceeded perhaps all others in severity of discipline, was *Bruno*, a German of Cologne, and a canon of Rheims in France. Unable either to endure or correct

progress of the Cistercians in the 5th and 6th vols. of his *Annales Benedictini*; and also Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, v. 341, &c.

¹ [See note cent. x. p. ii. c. 2, § 11. *Tr.*]

² [The lay brethren. *Tr.*]

³ The origin of this order is described by Bernard Guidonis, whose tract was published in Phil. Labbe's *Bibliotheca Manuscriptor.* ii. 276. For its history and concerns, see Jo. Mabillon's *Annales Bened.* v. 65, &c. 99,

&c. and vi. 116, and *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor Ord. Bened.* sæcul. vi. pt. ii. p. xxxiv. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, vii. 409. *Gallia Christiana*, by the Benedictine monks, ii. 645. Baluze, *Vita Pontiff. Avenionens.* i. 158, and his *Miscellanea*, vii. 486. Of the founder of the order, Stephen, there is a particular account in the *Acta Sanctor.* Februar. ii. 199, &c.

the perverse conduct of his archbishop *Manasses*, he bade farewell to the world, and with six companions took up a wretched residence in the dismal spot that I have mentioned, with the permission of *Hugo*, bishop of Grenoble.¹ He at first adopted the rule of *St. Benedict*, though enlarged with a considerable number of very austere and rigid precepts; but his successors, first *Guigo*, and afterwards others, imposed upon the sect other laws, which were still more severe and rigorous.² Nor is there any sect of monks that has departed less than this from the severity of its original discipline. This new sect of solitaries spread itself more slowly than the others over Europe, and was later in admitting females to join it: indeed, it could never prevail much among that sex; owing, undoubtedly, to the rigour and the gloominess of its discipline.³

§ 28. At the close of the century, A.D. 1095, the order of *St. Antony*, which was devoted to the receiving and curing of diseased persons, and especially those affected with what was called the sacred disease, or *St. Antony's fire*, took its rise from small beginnings in France. Those who were seized with this terrible disease, in this century, hastened away to a cell (built by the Benedictine monks of Montmajor, near Vienne), in which the body of *St. Antony* was said to repose; that, through the prayers of this holy man, they might be restored. *Gaston*, a rich nobleman of the diocese of Vienne, and his son *Guerin*, having both recovered from the disease in this cell, consecrated themselves and all their property to *St. Antony*, who, as they believed, had healed them; and devoted themselves to works of kind-

¹ Some of the writers concerning Bruno, and the order he established, are mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Mediævi*, i. 784, but there are many more extant. See Innoc. Masson, *Annales Cartusiani*, Coreræ, 1687, fol. Peter Orland, *Chronicon Cartusianum*, and others; from whom Hipp. Helyot (in his *Hist. des Ordres*, vii. 366) has compiled a neat but imperfect history of the Carthusian order. Many documents relating to the character and laws of the order, are exhibited by Jo. Mabillon, in his *Annales Benedict.* vi. 638, 683, &c. Of Bruno himself the Benedictine monks have given a distinct account, *Hist. Litt. de la France*, ix. 233, &c. The collectors of the *Acta Sanctorum* will doubtless give a more full account, when they come down to the 6th day of October, which is sacred to his memory. It was the current report formerly, that Bruno took his resolution of retiring into a desert upon occasion of the death of a priest at Paris, who, after his death, miraculously returned to life for a short period, in order to attest his own damnation. But since Jo. Launoï attacked that story, in his tract, *de Causa Secessus Brunonis in desertum*, it has commonly been accounted a fable by the more discerning, even in the Roman church itself. And the

Carthusians, who might feel an interest to keep up the story, seem at this day to abandon it; or at least they defend it timidly. The arguments on both sides are clearly and fairly stated by Cæs. Egasse de Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, i. 467, &c.

² See Mabillon's *Præf. ad sæcul. vi. pt. ii.* of his *Acta Sanctorum. Ord. Bened.* p. xxxvii.

³ Most of those who treat of this sect make no mention of *Carthusian nuns*; and hence many represent the order as embracing no females. But they have cloisters of females, though but few. For most of their nunneries are extinct; and in the year 1368, an express regulation was made prohibiting the erection of any more convents for females in the Carthusian community. At the present day, therefore [A.D. 1755], there are only five convents of Carthusian nuns, four in France, and one at Bruges in the Netherlands. See the learned author of the *Variétés historiques, physiques, et littéraires*, i. 80, &c. Paris, 1752, 8vo. The delicate female constitution could not sustain the austere and stern mode of living required by the laws of the order; and hence, in the few nunneries that remain, it was necessary to yield somewhat to nature, and in particular to relax or abrogate the severe laws respecting silence, solitude, and eating alone.

ness towards the sick and indigent. Eight men first joined them, and afterwards many more. This company were, indeed, all consecrated to God; but they were bound by no vows, and were subject to the Benedictine monks of Montmajor. But after they had become rich through the bounty of pious individuals, and were spread over various countries, they at first withdrew themselves from the control of the [Benedictine] monks; and at length, under *Boniface VIII.*, in the year 1297, they obtained the rank and the rights of an order, or sect of brethren, observing the rule of *St. Augustine*.¹

§ 29. The *canons*, who formed, since the eighth century, an intermediate class between the monks and what are called the *secular* clergy, had become infected with the same dissoluteness of morals which pervaded all the sacred order; indeed, they were even worse in some countries of Europe. Therefore, good men, who had some sense of religion, and also several of the pontiffs, as *Nicolas II.*, in the council at Rome, A.D. 1059,² and afterwards others, made commendable efforts for reforming the associations of *canons*. Nor were these efforts without effect; for a better system of discipline was introduced into nearly all those establishments. Yet all of them would not admit reform to the same extent. For some bodies of *canons* returned to the common method of living; except that they all resided in the same house, and ate at a common table; which was especially required by the pontiffs, and was extremely necessary, in order to prevent marriages among this class of priests. These *canons* retained the perquisites and revenues of their priestly offices, and used them at their pleasure. But other associations, chiefly through the influence of *Ivo*, afterwards bishop of Chartres, renounced all private property, and all their possessions and patrimony; and these lived very much after the manner of monks. Hence arose the distinction between *secular canons* and *regular*; the former obeying the precept of *Nicolas II.*, and the latter *Ivo's* plan. And since *St. Augustine* introduced among his clergy nearly the same regulations as those of *Ivo*, though he did not commit any rules to writing; hence the *regular canons* were called by many, *regular canons of St. Augustine*, or *canons under the rule of St. Augustine*.³

¹ See the *Acta Sanctor.* Januarii, ii. 160. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, ii. 108, &c. Gabr. Penottus, *Hist. Canonicorum regular.* l. ii. c. 70. Jo. Erh. Kapp, *Diss. de Fratribus S. Antonii*, Lips. 1737, 4to. The present state of the first house or hospital of this order, in which its abbot resides, is described by Martene and Durand, *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins de la Congrég. de S. Maur*, i. 260, &c.

² The decree of *Nicolas II.*, in the council of Rome, A.D. 1059 (by which the old rule for canons adopted in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle was repealed and another substituted), was first published by Jo. Mabillon, among the documents subjoined to t. iv. of his *Annal. Benedict.* p. 748, &c. and

it is also inserted in the *Annals* themselves, lib. lxi. § xxxv. p. 586, &c.

³ See Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* iv. 586, and his *Opp. posthuma*, ii. 102—115. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, ii. 11, &c. Ludov. Thomassin, *Disciplina Ecclesiæ circa Beneficia*, t. i. pt. i. lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 657, &c. Muratori, *Antiqq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, v. 257, &c. Many documents occur likewise in various parts of the *Gallia Christiana*, by the Benedictine monks, relating to this reformation of the *canons*, and the distinction among them. This recent origin of their order is very disagreeable to the *regular canons*; for they wish, on many accounts, to be esteemed a very ancient order; and hence, as is well known, they refer the origin

§ 30. Among the Greek writers, the following are the best.¹ *Theophanes Cerameus*, whose homilies, still extant, are not altogether contemptible.² *Nilus Doxopatrius*.³ *Nicetas Pectoratus*, the most strenuous defender of the opinions of the Greeks against the Latins.⁴ *Michael Psellus*, a learned man, and well known by his writings of various kinds.⁵ *Michael Cerularius*, patriarch of Constantinople, who revived the contest between the Greeks and the Romans, when it was nearly put to rest.⁶ *Simeon*, junior, some of whose Meditations on the duties of a Christian life are extant.⁷ *Theophylact* of Bulgaria, who acquired fame, especially by his interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.⁸

of their order to the times of Christ, or at least to those of Augustine. But the arguments and testimonies they allege to prove their high antiquity, scarcely deserve a laboured confutation. The name *canons* was doubtless used anterior to this century; but its import was anciently very extensive. See Claude de Vert, *Explication des Cérémonies de la Messe*, i. 58. Hence nothing can be inferred from the name. But of *regular* and *secular canons*, there is no mention in any work extant, older than this century: and it is certain that those canons who had nothing in *common* but their *dwell-ing* and *table*, were called *secular canons*; while those who had *all things in common*, without any exception whatever, were called *regular canons*.—[A curious account of one of the earliest colleges of *secular canons* (eo nomine) in England, may be found in the History of the Foundation of Waltham; *Liber de Inventione S. Crucis*, London, 1861. The most ancient house of regular canons in England was that of St. Julian and St. Botolf, of Colchester, founded about 1105. That of the Holy Trinity, at London, the prior of which was an alderman, was built and endowed by queen Maude, about 1107, and that of Merton in 1117, by Gilbert Norman. The principal promoters of the order on its introduction, were William of Corbeuil, prior of St. Osyth's, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and Athelwulf, prior of Nostel, who, in 1133, became bishop of Carlisle. Carlisle was the only English cathedral of Austin canons. *Ed.*]

¹ Concerning all of whom, the *Biblioth. Græca* of Jo. Alb. Fabricius may be consulted.

² [Theophanes, surnamed Cerameus (*the potter*) was abp. of Taormina in Sicily, and probably flourished about 1040, though some place him in the 9th century. His sixty-two Homilies on the lessons from the Gospels for all Sundays and festivals, are written in a natural and didactic style. They are exegetical. Fr. Scorsus published them, Gr. and Lat., Paris, 1644, fol. *Tr.*]

³ [Nilus Doxopatrius, an abbot or archimandrite in the Gr. church. He flourished

at Palermo in Sicily, A.D. 1043. He wrote an account of the five patriarchates; namely, of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, containing their statistics. Large extracts from which were published by Leo Allatius, *de Concordia Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* and the entire work, Gr. and Lat., by Steph. le Moine, *Varia Sacra*, i. 211. Paris, 1611. *Tr.*]

⁴ [He was a monk and presbyter in the monastery of Studius, near Constantinople, and flourished A.D. 1050. He wrote against the Latins, and also against the Armenians. His book *de Azyms, de Sabbatorum Jejuniis, et Nuptiis Sacerdotum*, was published in Lat. by Canisius, t. vi. Some other of his polemic tracts have been partially published. *Tr.*]

⁵ [For a notice of Michael Psellus, see above, c. i. § 2, note. *Tr.*]

⁶ [This Michael was patriarch, A.D. 1043—1058. There are extant of his some synodic decrees and a few letters; all in controversy with the Latins. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Simeon, junior, was abbot of St. Mamas, at Constantinople, about 1050. His works, in a Latin translation, were published by Pontanus at Ingolstadt, 1603, 4to; comprising thirty-three orations on Faith and Christian morals; a book on divine love; and 228 *Capita moralia, practica, et theologica*. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Theophylact was a native of Constantinople, and abp. of Achrida in Bulgaria, A.D. 1077. He wrote commentaries (compiled from Chrysostom) on nearly all the New Test. and on the minor prophets; also seventy-five epistles, and several tracts; all of which were well published, Gr. and Lat., Venice, 1754, fol. The older editions are less perfect.

Besides the writers mentioned by Mosheim, the Greeks of this century had the following:—

Alexius, patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 1025—1043. Some of his decrees are extant.

Peter, patriarch of Antioch in the middle of this century, has left us three epistles, and a profession of his faith.

§ 31. The Latins esteem the following as their best writers. *Fulbert* of Chartres, a man to whom literature and youth devoted to it are not without obligations, and who has rendered himself famous by his Epistles, and by an immoderate zeal for the blessed virgin Mary.¹ *Humbert*, a cardinal, who wrote against the Greeks, the most zealously and learnedly of all the Latins in this century.² *Petrus Damianus*, whose genius, candour, integrity, and writings of various kinds, entitle him to rank among the first men of the age, although he was not free from the faults of the times.³ *Marianus Scotus*, whose *Chronicon*,

Leo, abp. of Achrida in Bulgaria, A.D. 1053. He engaged in the contest against the Latins. One of his epistles, and extracts from others, are extant.

John, metropolitan of Euchaitæ, in Paphlagonia, A.D. 1054, has left a poem on the history of the principal festivals, published Eton, 1610, 4to, and a few lives of monkish saints.

John Xiphilin, patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 1066—1078. He was of honourable birth, but abandoned public life, became a monk, and at last a patriarch. He has left us a homily on the cross, and some decrees. His nephew, also called John Xiphilin, and his contemporary, was the epitomiser of Dion Cassius.

Samuel, a converted Jew of Morocco in Africa, wrote, A.D. 1070, a letter or tract, in Arabic, proving that the Messiah was already come. A Latin translation of it is in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, xviii. 519.

Samonas, abp. of Gaza, A.D. 1072, wrote a tract, or dispute with Achmed a Saracen, proving the doctrine of transubstantiation; published, Gr. and Lat., in Duceus, *Auctarium*, ii. 277.

Michael Attaliata, a Gr. jurist, pro-consul, and judge, A.D. 1072. He wrote a *Pragmatic* or synopsis of the imperial laws, in ninety-five titles, addressed to Michael Ducas; published, Gr. and Lat., by J. Leunclav. *de Jure Gr. Rom.* ii. 1.

Nicetas Serron, deacon of the church at Constantinople, and then abp. of Heraclea. He flourished A.D. 1077; and wrote commentaries on Gregory Nazianzen. To him, as well as to Olympiodorus, has been ascribed the *Catena* on Job, published, Gr. and Lat., by P. Junius, Lond. 1637, fol.

Nicolaus, Grammaticus, patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 1084—1111. He has left us a long letter to Alexius Comnenus, against depriving metropolitans of their sees; also several decrees. *Tr.*]

¹ For an account of this famous man, see the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, vii. 261. [St. Fulbert came from Rome to Chartres about 1000, and there taught schools with great reputation. In 1007 he was made bishop of Chartres, and filled that office till his death in 1028. His writings consist of 134

letters, generally well written, and of some use to the history of those times; besides several indifferent sermons, some worse poetry, and two lives of saints. They were edited, with bad faith, Paris, 1608, 8vo, and thence admitted into the *Biblioth. Patrum*, xviii. 1. See Du Pin's *Ecclesiastical Authors*, ix. 1, &c. *Tr.*]

² See Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* v. 629. *Hist. Litt. de la France*, vii. 527, &c. [Humbert was a monk of Toul, well skilled in Greek, whom pope Leo IX. took with him to Rome, A.D. 1049, and there made a cardinal. He was employed in several important commissions; but especially in a papal embassy to Constantinople, A.D. 1054. He died after 1064. His writings are all controversial; and chiefly against the Greeks. They are extant partly in Baronius' *Annals*, and all of them in Canisius, *Lectiones Antiq.* t. vi. and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* t. xviii. *Tr.*]

³ See the *Acta Sanctor.* Febr. iii. 406. Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, ii. 950. Casim. Oudin, *Diss.* in his *Comment. de Scriptor. Eccles.* ii. 686, &c. [Peter Damiani was born of humble parentage at Ravenna, A.D. 1007. Educated by his brother, he early became a monk, a teacher, a reformer of morals, abbot of Fonte Avellano, bishop of Ostia, and cardinal. But weary of public life, he resigned his bishopric, and retired to his monastery. The popes employed him as legate on several most difficult enterprises, in which he showed great address and prudence. He was sent to Milan, A.D. 1059, to suppress simony and clerical incontinence; A.D. 1062, was despatched to Cluny to reform that monastery, and settle its controversies; in 1063 was legate to Florence for settling a contest between the bishop and the citizens; in 1069 he was sent into Germany to dissuade king Henry from repudiating his queen Bertha; and lastly, in 1072, he was papal legate to Ravenna, for reconciling that church to the papal dominion; and died on his return in February 1072, aged 66. He was a man of great learning, devout, honest, frank, and well acquainted with human nature. He wrote with ease and perspicuity. His numerous writings were collected in three vols. fol. by Cajetan, Rome,

and some other of his writings, are extant.¹ *Anselm*, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of subtle wit, well versed in the dialectics of his age, and possessed of an uncommon acquaintance with theological subjects.² *Lanfranc*, also archbishop of Canterbury, well known for his exposition of the epistles of St. Paul, and other writings; from which one may see him to have wanted neither acuteness nor learning, according to the standard of his age.³ The two *Brunos*, the one of Monte Cassino,⁴ and the other the founder of the Carthusian order.⁵

1606; often reprinted since; but best at Venice, 1754, in four vols. fol. They consist of eight books of letters; about sixty tracts, on various subjects of discipline, morals, and casuistry; sermons for all Sundays and festivals of the year; and the lives of several saints, viz. St. Odilo, St. Maurus, St. Romuald, St. Rodolph, St. Flora, and St. Lucilla; besides notices of many others. *Tr.*

¹ [Marianus Scotus was an Irish monk, born A.D. 1028, travelled into Germany in 1058, where he spent the remainder of his life in the monasteries of Cologne, Fulda, and Mentz. He died A.D. 1086, aged 58. His *Chronicon* extends from the creation to A.D. 1083; and was continued by Dodechin to A.D. 1200. It is published among the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, by Struve and others. His other writings are of little value. *Tr.*]

² See the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, ix. 398. Rapin de Thoyras, *Hist. d'Angleterre*, ii. 65, 166, &c. Colonia, *Hist. Litt. de Lyon*, ii. 210. [Eadmer (Anselm's secretary) *de Vita S. Anselmi*, lib. ii. in the *Acta Sanctor.* April, ii. 893. Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 179, and Milner's *Hist. of the Church of Christ*, cent. xi. ch. v.—St. Anselm was born at Aosta, A.D. 1033. After acquiring an education, and travelling in France, he became a monk at Bec in Normandy, at the age of 27. Here he taught with great reputation [and became abbot in 1079, and in 1093, archbishop of Canterbury. *Ed.*] In that office he spent an unquiet life, which ended A.D. 1109. He was in continual collision with the kings of England, respecting investiture and encroachments upon clerical rights. Twice he left the kingdom, travelled to Italy, and lived at Rome and at Lyons. His works have been published frequently; the best edition is by Gabr. Gerberon, Paris, 1675, 3 tom. fol. They comprise a large number of letters, many sermons, and meditations on practical and devotional subjects, and a considerable number of doctrinal and polemic treatises. *Tr.*]

³ *Hist. Litt. de la France*, viii. 260. [And *Vita Beati Lanfranci*, by Milo Crispin, chanter in the monastery of Bec in the age next after Lanfranc; in Jo. Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor.* ix. 630—660. Lanfranc was a

native of Pavia, travelled into France very early in life, became a monk at Bec in Normandy, A.D. 1041, taught there with very great applause, and drew pupils from afar; was made prior of Bec, then abbot of St. Stephen's, Caen, and counsellor to William the Conqueror, and A.D. 1070 archbishop of Canterbury, in which office he died A.D. 1089. He had contention with Thomas, archbishop of York, about priority; went to Rome on that and other subjects; and bore a conspicuous part in the civil transactions of England. His works, which were collected and published by D'Achery, Paris, 1648, fol. [and by Dr. Giles, Oxford, 1844], comprise his commentary on the epistles of St. Paul; about sixty letters; a tract on transubstantiation; and a few other small pieces. *Tr.*]

⁴ [This Bruno was a native of Lombardy, educated in the monastery of Asti, became a canon in the cathedral of Siena; disputed against Berengarius in the council at Rome, 1079; and was soon after, by the pope, created bishop of Segni, in the ecclesiastical states. Weary of public life, he fled to Monte Cassino, A.D. 1104; but the pontiff ordered him back to his bishopric. In 1107 he again went to Monte Cassino, and was there made abbot with the consent of the pope. But in 1111, the pontiff required him to resign his abbacy, and resume his episcopal staff, which he held till his death, A.D. 1125. His writings were published at Venice, 1651, 2 vols. fol. The first volume contains his commentaries on the Pentateuch, Job, Psalms, Canticles, and the Apocalypse. The second volume contains 145 homilies on the Gospel lessons, some letters and tracts, and a life of the pontiff Leo IX. *Tr.*]

⁵ [For an account of St. Bruno, the founder of the Carthusians, see § 27 above.—After spending six years at Chartreuse, Urban II., who had been his pupil, summoned him to Rome, A.D. 1092, that he might become his counsellor. But the scenes of public life were so disagreeable to him, that the pontiff, in 1095, gave him leave to retire. He travelled to the extreme part of Calabria, and there, with a few of his monks, spent the remainder of his life. He died A.D. 1101. To him have been ascribed most, or all, of the works written by Bruno

Ivo of Chartres, a very active restorer of ecclesiastical law and order.¹ *Hildebert* of Le Mans, as a theologian, philosopher, and poet, not one of the best, nor one of the worst.² Lastly, *Gregory VII.*, that haughtiest of pontiffs, who undertook to elucidate certain parts of the Holy Scriptures, and wrote some other things.³

of Segni, mentioned in the preceding note. But he wrote nothing, except two letters, during his residence in Calabria, and a confession of his faith, which is extant in Mabillon's *Analecta*, iv. 400. *Tr.*]

¹ [Ivo, or Yvo, was a native of Beauvais in France, educated under Lanfranc, at Bec, then abbot of St. Quentin, and at last bishop of Chartres, A.D. 1092—1115. He was a very learned man, and a partisan of the Roman pontiffs, which involved him in some difficulties. His works were published by Jo. Bapt. Souchet, Paris, 1647, fol. They comprise *Decretorum Liber*, in xvii. parts; *Panormia* or a summary of ecclesiastical law; 287 epistles; 22 sermons; and a short Chronicle of the kings of France, extending from Pharamond to Philip I. *Tr.*]

² All the works of this Hildebert, who was certainly a man of learning and ingenuity, were published by the Benedictine monks, with the explanatory notes of Anton. Beaugendre, Paris, 1708, fol. [They comprise about a hundred well-written epistles, and some sermons, tracts, and poems of an ordinary character.—Hildebert was born at Lavardin in the diocese of Le Mans, became a monk of Cluny, studied under the famous Berengarius, and was made bishop of Le Mans, about A.D. 1098, and archbishop of Tours, A.D. 1125, where he died A.D. 1132. *Tr.*]

³ [The epistles of Gregory VII., in number 370, are found in all the collections of councils; e.g. by Harduin, vi. 1195, &c. His other writings are few, and little worth. To him some attribute an exposition of the seven penitential Psalms, published as the work of Gregory the Great. His exposition of St. Matthew exists in MS., and some fragments of it have been published.

The following list embraces most of the Latin writers omitted by Mosheim: for a fuller account of them, see Cave's *Hist. Littér.*, Du Pin, and others.

Aimoin, of Aquitaine, a Benedictine monk of Fleury, A.D. 1001. His *Historiæ Francorum*, libri iv. to A.D. 752, with an additional book by another hand, are published among the *Scriptores Francici*. He also wrote two books recounting the miracles of St. Benedict; a life of St. Abbo of Fleury; and some other things.

Godehard, a monk, and bishop of Hildesheim, A.D. 1002; has left us five epistles, in Mabillon's *Analecta*, iv. 349.

Gozbert, abbot of Tegern in Bavaria, A.D.

1002; has left us four epistles; Mabillon, *Analecta*, iv. 347.

Adelbold, a nobleman, councillor and general under the emperor Henry; then a monk, and A.D. 1008—1027 bishop of Utrecht. He is supposed to be the author of the *Libri ii. de Vita S. Henrici, Imperat.* published by Canisius, Surius, and Gretser.

Berno, a monk of St. Gall, abbot of Reichenau near Constance, died A.D. 1045. He wrote *de Officio Missæ, seu de Rebus Missæ ad Officium pertinentibus, Liber* (in the *Biblioth. Patr.* t. xviii.); and Lives of St. Udalric and St. Meginrad.

Hugo, archdeacon of Tours, A.D. 1020, wrote *Dialogus ad Fulbertum Carnotensem Episcopum*; Mabillon, *Analecta*, ii. 349.

John, surnamed Johannelinus, from his diminutive stature, abbot of Fécamp, A.D. 1028—1078. He wrote many prayers and religious meditations, and some epistles. Mabillon, *Analecta*, tom. i.

Ademar, a monk of Limoges, A.D. 1030. He wrote a Chronicle of the French monarchy, from its commencement to A.D. 1029; an account of some abbots of Limoges; and a supplement to Amalarius *de Divinis Officiis*.

Hugo, de Britolio, a monk of Cluny, and bishop of Langres, A.D. 1030—1049, when he was deposed for simony. He retired to the monastery of Verdun; and wrote a tract against Berengarius, in favour of transubstantiation, in the *Biblioth. Patr.* xviii. 417.

Bruno, duke of Carinthia, and bishop of Würzburg, A.D. 1033—1045. To instruct his clergy, he compiled from the fathers, Commentaries on the Psalms, and on all the devotional hymns of the Scriptures, also on the Apostolic, Ambrosian, and Athanasian creeds; published, Cologne, 1494; and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* xviii. 65.

Hermannus, surnamed Contractus, because all his limbs were contracted by paralysis. He was accounted a vast scholar, well skilled in Latin, Greek, and Arabic, and in theology, history, philosophy, and all the sciences of the age. Though of noble parentage, he became a monk of St. Gall, and of Reichenau, till his death, A.D. 1054. He wrote *Chronicon de sex Mundi Ætatibus* from the creation to A.D. 1054, published among the *Scriptores Germanici*; and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* xviii. 348.

Glaber Radulphus, a monk of St. Germain of Auxerre, and then of Cluny, A.D.

1045. He wrote *Historiarum*, libri v. extending from A.D. 900 to A.D. 1045; published among the *Scriptores Francici*; also a life of St. Gulielmus, abbot of St. Benignus of Dijon.

Deoduin, or Theoduin, bishop of Liege, A.D. 1045—1075. He wrote a letter or tract, addressed to Henry king of France, against the doctrine of Berengarius and his followers; *Biblioth. Patr.* xviii. 419.

Hugo, abbot of Cluny, A.D. 1048—1108. He was of noble Burgundian parentage, and became a monk at the age of fifteen. Some of his letters are extant in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, t. ii.

Leo IX. pope, A.D. 1048—1054 (see above, § 4). He has left us nineteen epistles, extant in the Collections of the Councils (*e.g.* Harduin's, vi. 927), besides a number of homilies or sermons. His life, written by Wibert, a contemporary, is in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* ix. 49, &c. [Jaffé, 366. *Ed.*]

Anselm, a canon of Liege, and dean of Namur, A.D. 1050. He wrote a history of the bishops of Liege, from A.D. 666 to about 1048; published by Jo. Chapeauville, Liege, 1612, 4to.

Stephen IX. pope, A.D. 1057, 1058. He has left us several epistles. [Jaffé, 382. *Ed.*]

Alberic, a monk and deacon of Monte Cassino, and a cardinal, A.D. 1057—1079. He wrote many poems and other tracts, devotional and polemic, and some lives of saints, all of which are said to exist still in manuscript. His life of St. Dominic is the only work of his published; in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* viii. 35, &c.

Alphanus, abbot in the monastery of St. Benedict at Salerno, and then archbishop there A.D. 1057—1086. He wrote numerous poems, devotional, and in praise of the saints; most of which were published by Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, t. ii.

Nicolas II. pope, A.D. 1059—1061. He has left us several epistles; extant in the *Concilia*, &c. [Jaffé, 384. *Ed.*]

Gauferius, called also Benedict, a monk of Monte Cassino, A.D. 1060. He wrote some sermons on the festivals, and some religious poems, which are in the library of Monte Cassino.

Alexander II. pope, A.D. 1061—1073. He has forty-five epistles in the Collections of the Councils. [Jaffé, 389. *Ed.*]

Berthold, a German ecclesiastic, presbyter of Constance, and a warm partisan of Gregory VII. against Henry IV. He flourished from about 1066 to 1100. His *Historia sui Temporis*, *ab anno 1053 usque ad ann. 1100*; and his Appendix to Hermann Contractus' Chronicle, from 1055—1066, are published among the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*. Some of his tracts also, in sup-

port of Gregory's measures, were published by Gretser.

Guitmund, a Benedictine monk of Normandy, and then archbishop of Aversa, in Italy, died A.D. 1080. He has left three books on the real presence in the Eucharist; a statement of the doctrine of the Trinity, &c. and an address to William the Conqueror; all extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.* xviii. 440.

Sigifrid, archbishop of Mentz, from about 1069 to 1084. In 1064, he led a band of 7,000 German pilgrims to the Holy Land. In 1074, he attempted to reclaim his clergy from simony and matrimony, without success. In 1076, Gregory VII. excommunicated him for adhering to the cause of Henry; but the next year he revolted, and crowned Rudolph the competitor for the German throne. Four of his epistles are in the *Concilia*.

Durand, a monk of Fécamp, A.D. 1070, was one who wrote against Berengarius. His tract is subjoined to Lanfranc, *Opp.* ed. D'Achery.

Gualdo, a monk of Corbey, A.D. 1070; wrote a metrical life of St. Ansgar, bishop of Hamburg, and apostle of the North; in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* vi. 116.

St. Anselm, bishop of Lucca, A.D. 1071—1086. He was a decided supporter of Gregory VII.; and wrote two books in his defence against Guibert the antipope; also a collection of sentences from the fathers, in support of Gregory's principles respecting the independence of the clergy and the church of all civil power; in Canisius, *Lectt. Antiq.* t. vi. and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* xviii. 602, and xxvii. 436. His life, written by one of his friends and pupils, is in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* ix. 469, &c.

Willelmus, an abbot of Metz, A.D. 1073, and friendly to Gregory VII. Mabillon has published seven of his epistles and an oration, in his *Analecta*, i. 247.

Ingulphus of Croyland [or Crowland, an Englishman, was secretary to William I., and made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He was afterwards prior of Fontenelles, and from 1085 to 1109, abbot of Crowland. The *History of the Monastery of Croyland*, from A.D. 664 to about 1091, published by Saville, *Scriptores Anglici*, Lond. 1596, fol., and by Gale, *Rerum Anglicar. Scriptores*, Oxon. 1684, fol., is a most impudent forgery of a much later date. *Ed.*]

Lambert of Aschaffenburg. He became a monk at Hersfeld, A.D. 1058; soon after travelled as a pilgrim to the Holy Land, and returning, resumed his monastic life at Hersfeld. There he composed, A.D. 1077, his History, which is a mere chronicle from the creation to 1050, and then a very diffuse

history down to 1077. His style is commended very highly. The work is published among the *Scriptores Germanici*.

Hugo, bishop of Die in 1077, and archbishop of Lyons from 1080 till after A.D. 1099. He was much engaged in the public transactions of the times. Two of his Epistles to Gregory VII. are in the *Concilia*.

Micrologus, a fictitious name for the author of a tract on the ceremonies of the mass, written in the latter part of this century, or perhaps in the next; which is extant among the *Scriptores de Divinis Officiis*, Paris, 1610, fol., and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* xviii. 469.

Adam, surnamed Magister, a canon of Bremen from A.D. 1077, and who flourished A.D. 1080. He wrote *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ præsertim Bremensis*, libri iv.; in which he describes, with much fidelity, the propagation of Christianity in Hamburg, Bremen, Denmark, and throughout the North, from the times of Charles the Great to those of Henry IV.; to which he subjoined a geographical account of Denmark and other northern countries: published by Lindenberg, Leyden, 1595, 4to, and Helmstadt, 1670, 4to, &c.

Benno, a German ecclesiastic, who adhered to Clement III., or Guibert, the anti-pope; was made archpresbyter and cardinal of Rome, and took a very active part against Gregory VII. He flourished about 1085; and wrote *de Vita et Rebus Gestis Hildebrandi Papæ*, libri ii.; published, Francf. 1581, and among the *Opuscula Anti-Gregorianæ*, by Goldast, Hanoviæ, 1611, 4to, p. 1.

Victor III. pope, A.D. 1086, 1087. He was born at Benevento, A.D. 1027; bore the name of Dauferius till he became a monk of Monte Cassino, when he assumed the name of Desiderius; became abbot there in 1056, was made a cardinal, and employed on important occasions by the pontiffs. But he was ever partial to a retired and monastic life. His Dialogues on the miracles of St. Benedict, and other monks of Monte Cassino, in four books (a work stuffed with idle tales), has been frequently published; *e.g.*

by Mabillon, in his *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. iv. pt. ii. [Jaffé, 447. *Ed.*]

Urban II. pope, A.D. 1087—1099. His former name was Otho, a native of Châtillon, in the diocese of Rheims, a monk of Cluny, cardinal bishop of Ostia, and much employed by Gregory VII. While pope, he pursued the measures of Gregory. He has left us fifty-nine epistles, and two harangues in favour of a crusade; extant in the *Concilia*. Mabillon gives some account of his life, *Acta Sanctor.* ix. 902, &c. [Jaffé, 448. *Ed.*]

Lambert, bishop of Arras from 1094. Three of his epistles are in the *Concilia*.

Raimund D'Agiles, a canon of Le Puy, France, and chaplain to the count of Toulouse, whom he accompanied in his expedition to the Holy Land, A.D. 1095. He saw the holy lance dug out of the earth, and carried it at the siege of Antioch. He wrote the *History of Jerusalem*, describing especially the achievements of the count of Toulouse, during five years from the time they entered Slavonia on their way to the East. The work is in the collection of Bongars, *de Gestis Dei per Francos*, i. 139.

Gotselin, or Goscelin, a Benedictine of St. Bertin in Artois, and then of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, who flourished A.D. 1096. He wrote the life of St. Augustine, the apostle of England; which is extant in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor.* i. 498.

Balderic, secretary to two successive bishops of Arras and Cambay, and then bishop of Noyon and Tournay, A.D. 1097—1112. He wrote a history or chronicle of the churches of Cambay and Arras, in three books; published by Geo. Colvener, Douay, 1615.

Paschal II. pope, A.D. 1099—1118. His former name was Rainer or Raginger; a Tuscan by birth, a monk of Cluny, a presbyter and cardinal of Rome, abbot of St. Laurence, and St. Stephen, and at last pope. His wars and contests with Henry V. were very violent. One hundred and seven of his epistles are in the *Concilia*; and some more in Baluze, *Miscellanies. Tr.*] [Jaffé, 477. *Ed.*]

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. The state of religion — § 2, 3. Witnesses for the truth — § 4. Expositions of the Scriptures — § 5, 6. Scholastic theology — § 7. Moral theology — § 8. Polemic theology — § 9, 10, 11. Controversies between the Greeks and Latins — § 12. New contest respecting the holiness of images — § 13. Contentions in the Latin church. Controversy respecting the Lord's supper — § 14, 15, 16, 17. The pontiffs labour in vain to settle it — § 18. The result as to Berengarius and his friends — § 19. Dispute in France respecting Martial.

§ 1. IT is not necessary to be minute in describing the state of the public religion of this age. For who can doubt that it was debased and corrupt, when the guardians of it were just as far removed from the knowledge of divine and human things, as they were from virtue; and even the first men in the church exhibited examples of the grossest vices? The people at large were wholly absorbed in superstition; and concerned themselves with nothing but statues, and images, and relics, and the futile rites which the caprice of their priests enjoined upon them. The learned had not, indeed, wholly lost all knowledge of the truth; but they obscured and debased it with opinions and doctrines which were, some of them, ludicrous and silly, others hurtful and pernicious, and others useless and uncertain. It is most unquestionable that there were, here and there, pious and good men, who would willingly have aided the suffering cause of piety. But they themselves needed protection against the satellites of superstition and impiety.

§ 2. From the times of *Gregory VII.*, however, pretty clear traces appear, in some countries of Europe, especially in Italy and France, of those persons whom the Protestants denominate *witnesses of the truth*; that is, of pious and good men, who deplored the imperfection and defects of the public religion, and of the whole clerical order, who opposed the lordly domination both of the Roman pontiffs and of the bishops, and who attempted, sometimes covertly, and sometimes openly, to effect a reformation in the church.¹ For rude as this age was, and ignorant in general of divinely-revealed truth; yet those few fragments, as it were, of Christianity,² which were exhibited

¹ [Some have considered Peter Damiani, Hildebert, Ivo, Waltham, bishop of Naumburg, and Lambert of Aschaffenburg, as examples of this class. *Von Einem.*—See F. Spanheim's *Introductio ad Historiam Eccles. N. T. sæcul. xi. c. vii.* § 5, p. 313, and

the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, l. xii. xiii. Tr.]

² [In some of the writers of this century, we meet with specimens of sound Christian doctrine, as well as of devout breathings of a pious soul. The English reader may see,

and explained to the people, sufficed for showing, even to illiterate and rustic men, that the religion publicly inculcated was not the true religion of *Christ*; that *Christ* required of his followers things wholly different from those exhibited in the discourses, and in the lives and morals of the clergy; that the pontiffs and the bishops exceedingly misused their power and opulence; and that the favour of God and salvation were to be obtained, not by a round of ceremonies, nor by donations to the churches and priests, nor by erecting and endowing monasteries, but by holiness in the soul.

§ 3. Those, however, who undertook the great work of reforming the church and religion, were, for the most part, incompetent to the task; and by their solicitude to avoid some faults, they ran into others. All, indeed, perceived the defects and blemishes of the prevailing religion; but none, or at least very few, understood the nature and essential character of true religion. This will not appear strange to one who is well acquainted with those unhappy times. Hence, these reformers often mixed much that was false with a little that was true. As all saw that not only most of the infamous and criminal acts of priests and bishops, but also the greatest of them, had flowed from abundance and riches, too high an opinion of want and indigence gained ground; nor was any virtue thought so characteristic of a good religious teacher as voluntary poverty. Everybody looked upon the church of the primitive times as a model, by which all churches were ever after to be formed; and the practice of the apostles of Jesus Christ as a perpetual and inviolable law for all priests. Many also, grieved to see the people place all their dependence for salvation on the external worship of God, and ceremonies, contended that the whole of religion consisted in the internal emotions of the mind, and the contemplation of divine things; and they contemned and wished to abolish all external worship, with its temples, religious meetings, teachers, and sacraments.

§ 4. A large number both of the Greeks and the Latins applied themselves to the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. Among the Latins, the two *Brunos* expounded the Psalms of David; *Lanfranc*, the Epistles of St. Paul; *Berengarius*, the Apocalypse of St. John; *Gregory VII.*, the Gospel of St. Matthew; and others, other portions of the sacred volume. But all these follow the perverse custom of their age; that is, they either transcribe the works of former interpreters, or they apply the declarations of the sacred writers so whimsically to heavenly things and to the duties of life, that a wise man can scarcely restrain his indignation. The most eminent of the Greek interpreters was *Theophylact* of Bulgaria; though *he* also drew most of his comments from the ancients, particularly from *Chrysostom*.¹ After him we may place *Michael Psellus*, who attempted to explain

for an example, the life of Anselm of Canterbury, in Milner's *History of the Church*, century xi. ch. v. Tr.]

¹ For an account of Theophylact, see Rich. Simon's *Hist. Critique des principaux*

Commentateurs du N. T. cap. xxviii. p. 390; and his *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclés.* par M. du Pin, i. 310, where he also treats of Nicetas and Œcumenius.

the Psalms and the Book of Canticles ; the *Cutena* on Job, by *Nicetas* ; and some few others.

§ 5. Hitherto all the Latin theologians, except a few of the Irish, who threw obscurity on religious doctrines by their philosophical speculations, had illustrated, explained, and proved the doctrines of Christianity, solely from the Holy Scriptures, or from them in connexion with the opinions and writings of the fathers. But in the middle of this century, some divines, among whom was *Berengarius*, well known by his controversy respecting the Lord's supper, ventured to apply the precepts of logic and metaphysics to the explanation of the Scriptural doctrines, and the confirmation of their own opinions. Hence, the opponent and rival of *Berengarius*, *Lanfranc*, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, employed the same weapons against *Berengarius* and his followers ; and, in general, laboured to impart light and confirmation to certain religious truths, by the aids of reason. His example was followed by *St. Anselm*, afterwards likewise archbishop of Canterbury, a man of extraordinary subtlety ; and the two found many imitators. From these beginnings gradually arose that species of philosophic theology, which, from the *schools* in which it most prevailed, obtained afterwards the name of *scholastic theology*.¹ But there was far more sobriety and good sense in these reconcilers of faith and reason than in their successors ; for they used perspicuous language, had no fondness for vain and idle disputations, and, for the most part, made use of the precepts of logic and philosophy, only in combating their antagonists.²

§ 6. Following these principles, the Latin theologians began to reduce all the truths of revealed religion into a connected system, and to subject them to the laws of the human sciences : a thing which no one before had attempted, if we except *Tajo* of Saragossa, a writer of the seventh century, and *Damascenus* among the Greeks, in the eighth century. For all the Latin writers, previously to this age,

¹ See Christ. Aug. Heumann, *Præfat. ad Tribbechovii Librum de Doctoribus Scholasticis*, p. xiv. The sentiments of the learned, respecting the first author or inventor of the scholastic theology, are collected by Jo. Fran. Buddeus, *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, t. i. p. 358.

² That it may be seen how much wiser the first scholastics were than their disciples and followers, I will subjoin a passage from Lanfranc, whom many regard as the first author of the scholastic theology. In his tract *de Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, cap. vii. *Opp.* p. 236, ed. D'Achery, he says : " God is my witness, and my own conscience, that, in treating sacred subjects, I do not wish to bring forward dialectical questions, and their solutions ; nor to answer them, when brought forward by others. And if, at any time, the subject under discussion is such, that it can be most satisfactorily explained by the rules of this art, as far as I

am able, I cover over the art by citations of equivalent import, that I may not seem to place more reliance upon this art than upon the truth and the authority of the holy fathers." The concluding words in this quotation indicate those sources from which theologians previously to this age had derived all their arguments ; namely, the holy Scripture, which he denominates *the truth*, and the writings of the ancient fathers. To these *two* sources of proof the theologians now suffered a *third* to be added, namely, *dialectics*. Yet they would have none recur to this, except *disputants* ; whose business it is, to withstand opponents that wield dialectical weapons, and to solve the difficulties suggested by reason. But unhappily, in the following ages, the two former sources of proof were used but sparingly ; and philosophical proof alone, and that not very wisely stated, was deemed sufficient to substantiate everything in a system of theology.

had only occasionally, and in a formal manner, elucidated and explained the points of theology; nor had they thus explained them *all*, but only such as the occasions demanded. The first attempt at a *system of theology* was by *Anselm*; ¹ and the first who completed an entire system, or body of divinity, was *Hildebert*, bishop of Le Mans, and afterwards archbishop of Tours, just at the close of the century. And all the subsequent, almost numberless, writers of *systems of theology*, ² seem to have followed *Hildebert* as their model. ³ His method is, first to substantiate each doctrine by passages of Scripture, and by authorities from the fathers, which had been the common method hitherto; and then to solve the difficulties and objections which may be raised, by the aid of reason and philosophy; which was something new and peculiar to this age. ⁴

§ 7. Those of this age, who undertook to give rules for a Christian life and conduct, attempted a great object, without possessing, in general, adequate resources. This may be seen, by looking over the work of *Peter Damian* on the virtues; and the Moral Philosophy, and the tract on the four virtues of a religious life, by *Hildebert*, bishop of Le Mans. Nor did the moralists usually add anything to their precepts respecting the virtues, except what they called the

¹ [The principal treatise by Anselm, here referred to, is that entitled *Cur Deus Homo?* in two books (in his *Opp.* p. 74—96, ed. Paris, 1721, fol.). The work corresponds with its title, its object being to answer the question, *Why did God become incarnate?* He describes the fallen state of man, and his need of an Almighty Saviour to atone for his sins, and raise him to a state of bliss after death; and he shows that an incarnate God, and he only, could perform the office of a mediator. The views and speculations of Anselm on this whole subject have prevailed very generally, quite down to the present times. Nor have Grotius, and Edwards, and the most elaborate modern writers, added much on the subject. Another tract of Anselm, on the same important subject, is entitled *de Conceptu Virginali et Originali Peccato Liber* (in his *Opp.* p. 97—106). Besides these, he has four others on important subjects. The first is a philosophical inquiry into the nature of truth, *de Veritate*; *Opp.* p. 109—115. The second is on free-will, *de libero Arbitrio*; *Opp.* p. 117—122. The third is on the fall of the sinning angels, *de Casu Diaboli*; *Opp.* p. 62—73. The fourth is a philosophical explanation of the doctrine of the divine decrees, and its consistency with free and accountable action in creatures, *de Concordia Præscientiæ et Prædestinationis, necnon Gratiæ, cum libero Arbitrio*; *Opp.* p. 123—134. On all these subjects Anselm thought intensely, and endeavoured to meet every objection and difficulty which could be urged. But he did not wander from his

subject, and take up a whole system of divinity in one, or even all, of these his theological tracts.]

² *Summarum theologicarum.*

³ This first *system of theology* among the Latins, or *Tractatus Theologicus*, as it is entitled, is among the works of Hildebert, p. 1010, in the edition of Anton. De Beaugendre, who has shown, in his preface to the volume, that Peter Lombard, Robert Pullus, and the other writers of summaries, trod in the footsteps of Hildebert. [This tract occupies about ninety folio pages, and is divided into forty chapters. It treats of the nature of faith, free-will, and sin, the Trinity, the incarnation of the Son of God, original sin and grace, predestination and prescience, and the sacraments. But it scarcely touches upon the doctrine of atonement by Jesus Christ, its value and efficacy, of faith in Christ, of regeneration and sanctification, and the promises of the gospel. &c.]

⁴ I will here subjoin an opinion of Anselm of Canterbury, taken from his treatise entitled, *Cur Deus Homo?* l. i. c. 2, *Opp.* p. 75; an opinion, which the first philosophical theologians, or the *Scholastics*, among the Latins, seem to have received as a sacred and immutable law in theology: "As the right order of proceeding requires, that we believe the deep things of the Christian faith, before we presume to discuss them by the aid of reason; so, it appears to me, to be negligence, if, when we are confirmed in the faith, we do not study to understand what we believe."

written law; by which they intended the ten commandments of Moses. *Anselm* wrote some tracts calculated to excite pious emotions, and a book of meditations and prayers, in which many good thoughts occur. Nor did the *mystics*, as they are called, wholly abstain from writing. Among the Latins, *John Johannelus* composed a book expressly on *divine contemplation*; ¹ and among the Greeks, *Simeon*, junior, wrote some tracts on the same subject; not to mention some others.

§ 8. Many of the polemics of this age came forth, armed with dialectical arguments and demonstrations; yet few of them could use such arguments dexterously and properly: and they aimed, not so much to confute their adversaries, as to confound them with their subtleties. Those who are destitute of such armour contend so badly, as to convict themselves of having begun to write before they had considered what was to be written, and how they were to do it. *Damianus* defended Christianity against the Jews, with good intentions, but with little effect. And there is extant a tract of *Samuel*, a converted Jew, against his nation. *Anselm* of Canterbury assailed the despisers of all religion and of God, with acuteness, in his book, *against the fool*; ² but perhaps the subtlety of the reasoning exceeded the comprehension of those whom he aimed to convince.

§ 9. The public contests between the Greek and Latin churches, which, though not settled, had now for a long time been suspended, were indiscreetly revived, and rendered more violent, by new accusations, in the year 1053, by *Michael Cerularius*, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of a restless spirit. War was renewed under pretence of zeal for the truth, and for religion; but it really flowed from pride and lust of rule in the two pontiffs. The Latin one endeavoured, by various arts and projects, to bring the Greek under subjection, and to detach the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch from him, and to connect them with himself; and the disturbed and unhappy condition of the Greek empire was favourable to such machinations. For the friendship of the Roman pontiff seemed very important to the Greeks, who had to contend with the Normans in Italy, as well as with the Saracens. The Grecian pontiff, on the other hand, was solicitous to extend the limits of his jurisdiction, to concede nothing to his Latin brother, and to bring the Oriental patriarchs entirely under his control. *Cerularius*, therefore, in a letter, written in his own name, and in that of his chief counsellor, *Leo*, bishop of Acrida, and addressed to *John*, bishop of Trani in Apulia, publicly accused the Latins of various errors. ³ *Leo IX.*, who was then Roman pontiff, replied in a letter, drawn up in a very imperious style; and likewise, in a council at Rome, excommunicated the Greeks. ⁴

¹ See the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, viii. 48.

² *Adversus Insipientem*.

³ [In faith and practice. *Tr.*]

⁴ These epistles are extant in Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 1053, xi. 210, &c. The

epistle of *Cerularius* is also printed in *Canisius' Lectt. Antiq.* iii. 281, of the new edition; and that of *Leo*, in the *Concilia*, &c. [Harduin, vi. 927. *Tr.*]

§ 10. In order to stifle this controversy in its birth, the Greek emperor *Constantine*, surnamed *Monomachus*, requested the Roman pontiff to send legates to Constantinople, to negotiate a settlement. Accordingly, three legates of the Latin pontiff repaired to Constantinople: namely, cardinal *Humbert*, a fiery man; *Peter*, archbishop of Amalfi; and *Frederic*, archdeacon and chancellor of the Church of Rome; carrying with them letters from the pontiff, both to the emperor and to the Greek patriarch. But the issue of the legation was lamentable, although the emperor himself, for political reasons, favoured the side of the Latins more than that of the Greeks. For the letter of *Leo IX.*, which displayed great arrogance, alienated the mind of *Cerularius* from him; and the legates showed, in various ways, that they were sent, not so much to restore harmony between the contending parties, as to establish Roman domination among the Greeks. All deliberation about a reconciliation being thus rendered fruitless, the Roman legates, in the most indiscreet, insolent, and unsuitable manner possible, proceeded, in the year 1054, to excommunicate the Greek patriarch, with *Leo* of Acrida, and all that adhered to them, publicly, in the church of St. Sophia; and having left a copy of the inhuman anathema upon the great altar, shook off the dust from their feet, and departed. This most unrighteous procedure rendered the dissension incurable, though till this act it seemed capable of a compromise. The Greek patriarch now returned the anathema, in a council, excommunicating the pontiff's legates, and all their friends and supporters; and also directed the copy of the Latin decree of excommunication against the Greeks to be burned, by order of the emperor.¹ From this time, offensive and insulting writings were issued by both parties, which continually added fresh fuel to the fire.

§ 11. To the old charges advanced by *Photius*, new ones were added by *Cerularius*; of which the chief one was, that the Latins used unleavened bread in the Holy Supper; a point on which, from this time, the Greeks and Latins contended more vehemently, perhaps, than on any other; at all events, they were as warm about it as about the primacy of the Roman pontiff. The other things opprobriously objected to the Latins, by the Greek patriarch, betray rather his contentious disposition, and ignorance of true religion, than zeal for the truth. For he was exceedingly offended that the Latins did not abstain from things strangled and from blood; that their monks used lard, and allowed the brethren when sick to eat flesh; that the

¹ Besides Baronius, and the common writers, none of whom are free from errors, see John Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* t. iv. lib. ix. ad ann. 1053, and Præf. ad sæcul. vi. of his *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* pt. ii. p. i. &c. Leo Allatius, *de Libris Græcor. Ecclesiast.* diss. ii. p. 160, ed. Fabricius; and *de Perpetua Ecclesiæ Orient. et Occident. Con-sensione*, l. ii. c. ix. p. 614. Mich. le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, i. 260; and *Diss.*

Damascen. prima, § xxxi. p. xvi. &c., but especially Jo. Gottfr. Hermann, *Hist. Con-certationum de Pane azymo et fermentato*, p. 59, &c. Lips. 1739, 8vo, and Jo. Bapt. Cotelier, *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Gr.* ii. 108, &c. [See also a full, yet dense, and well-vouched account in J. E. C. Schmidt's *Kirchengesch.* v. 316, &c. Bower, *Lives of the Popes*, vol. v., is less correct. *Tr.*]

Latin bishops wore rings on their fingers, as if they were bridegrooms; that their priests wore no beards, but shaved them; and, lastly, that persons to be baptized were among the Latins dipped but once into the water.¹ When we see the Greeks and Latins not only standing aloof from each other and contending eagerly, but also fulminating anathemas and execrations against each other, for such things as these, we perceive the very lamentable state of religion in both churches; and we can be at no loss for the causes that gave rise to so many sects dissenting from the church.

§ 12. When the century was all but closed, under *Alexius Comnenus*, the Greeks, in addition to their controversy with the Latins, narrowly escaped from another among themselves. Public difficulties being extreme, the emperor not only laid hold of the money in the churches, but also caused the plates and images of gold and silver to be taken from the doors of them, and to be converted into money. *Leo*, bishop of Chalcedon, a man of austere manners, severely censured this transaction, maintaining that it was a sacrilege. To support his views, he published a tract, asserting, that in the images and emblems of *Jesus Christ* and the saints, there was a degree of sanctity which entitled them to worship and adoration; so that worship was to be paid, not only to the *persons* represented by the statues, images, and emblems, but also to the statues themselves. To suppress the popular tumult which arose from this discussion, the emperor assembled a council at Constantinople, which decreed, that the images of *Christ* and of the saints were to be worshipped only *relatively*;² that the *material* of a sacred image was not entitled to worship, but the *likeness* formed upon the material; that the images of Christ and the saints, whether painted or carved, had nothing of *their* nature, although they participated somewhat in the grace of God; and that the saints were to be invoked and honoured as the servants of *Christ*, and on his account. *Leo*, who had held different opinions, was deprived of his office, and sent into exile.³

§ 13. In the Latin church, about the middle of the century, the controversy was revived respecting the manner in which Christ's body and blood are present in the Eucharist. Various opinions on this subject had hitherto prevailed with impunity; for it had not yet been decided by the councils what men ought to believe respecting it.⁴ Hence in the beginning of the century, A.D. 1004, *Leutheric*, archbishop of Sens, had taught, contrary to the more general opinion,

¹ See the epistle of Cerularius to John of Trani, in Canisius' *Lectiones Antiq.* iii. 281; where also we have Humbert's confutation of it. Cerularius' epistle to Peter of Antioch is in Cotelier's *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, ii. 138. Add Martene's *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* v. 847, where is a polemic tract of an unknown Latin writer against the Greeks.

² Σχετικῶς προσκυνῶμεν, οὐ λατρευτικῶς τὰς εἰκόνας.

³ This controversy is stated at large by

Anna Comnena, the emperor's daughter; *Alexiad.* l. v. p. 104, l. vii. p. 158, ed. Venice. The acts of the council were drawn from the Coislinian library, by Bernh. de Montfaucon, and published in his *Biblioth. Coisliniana*, p. 103, &c.

⁴ The various opinions of the age respecting the Eucharist are stated by Martene, from an ancient manuscript, in his *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de S. Maur*, ii. 126.

that only holy and worthy communicants receive the body of Christ; but *Robert*, king of France, and the advice of friends, prevented him from raising commotion among the people by the doctrine.¹ Much more indiscreet was *Berengarius*, a canon and master of the school at Tours, afterwards archdeacon of Angers, a man of subtle wit, learned, and venerable for sanctity of life.² By him was publicly and resolutely maintained, in the year 1045, the opinion of *John Scotus* respecting the Holy Supper; that of *Paschasius Radbert*, which better accorded with the unenlightened piety of the multitude, being rejected. He taught, in fact, that the bread and wine are not converted into the body and blood of Christ, but are merely figures of his body and blood.³ He was forthwith opposed by some in France and Germany; and *Leo IX.*, the Roman pontiff, in the year 1050, caused his opinion to be condemned in a council, first at Rome, and then at Vercelli; and ordered the work of *Scotus*, from which it was derived, to be committed to the flames. *Berengarius* was not present at either of these councils. A council held at Paris, in the same year, by *Henry*, king of France, concurred in the decision of the pontiff; and issued very severe threats against *Berengarius*, in his absence, and against his adherents, who were numerous. A part of these threatenings was felt by *Berengarius*, for the king deprived him of the income of his office. But neither threats, nor decrees, nor fines, could move him to reject the opinion which he had embraced.

§ 14. This controversy now rested for some years; and *Berengarius*, who had many enemies (among whom his rival, *Lanfranc*, was the principal), and also many patrons and friends, was restored to his former tranquillity. But after the death of *Leo IX.*, his adversaries incited *Victor II.*, the new pontiff, to order the cause to be tried again, before his legates, in two councils, held at Tours in France, A.D. 1054. In one of these councils, in which the celebrated *Hildebrand*, afterwards *Gregory VII.*, was one of the papal legates, *Berengarius* was present; and being overcome by threats, undoubtedly, rather than by arguments, he not only gave up his opinion, but (if we may believe his adversaries, who are the only witnesses we have) abjured it, and was reconciled to the church. This docility, however, was only feigned; for he soon after went on teaching the same doctrine as before, though perhaps more cautiously. How much censure he deserves for this behaviour it is difficult to say, as we are not well informed of what was done in the council.

§ 15. *Nicolas II.* being informed of this bad faith of *Berengarius*,

¹ See Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* i. 354.

² For the life of *Berengarius*, see the works of *Hilbert* of Le Mans, p. 1324. *Hist. Litt. de la France*, viii. 197, &c. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* i. 404, and those others mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Mediæ Ævi*, i. 570. I will just observe, that he is erroneously called *archiepiscopus*, instead of *archidiaconus*, in *Matthew Paris*, *Hist.* l. i. p. 10, ed. Watts. But I suppose it is a mistake of the printer,

and not of the historian. [See also Mabillon, *de Berengario, ejusque Hæreses ortu, progressu—ac multiplici condemnatione*, in *Præfat. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* t. ix. p. vii., &c. *Berengarius*, or the announcement of an important work by him, by G. E. Lessing (in German), 1770. Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* xxxiii. 507, &c. Tr.]

³ [See, for the real opinion of *Berengarius*, note, § 18, below. Tr.]

in the year 1058 summoned him to Rome; and in a very full council, held there in the year 1059, he so terrified him, as to make *Berengarius* beg to have a formula of faith prescribed to him. One was accordingly drawn up by *Humbert*, a cardinal, which he subscribed and confirmed with an oath. In this formula he declares, that he believes what *Nicolas* and the council required to be believed, namely, ‘that the bread and wine, after consecration, are not only a sacrament, but also the real body and blood of *Christ*; and are sensibly, and not merely sacramentally, but really and truly, handled by the hands of the priests, broken, and masticated by the teeth of the faithful.’ An opinion so monstrous could not, however, be really entertained by a man like *Berengarius*, for he was acute and a philosopher. Therefore, when he returned to France, relying undoubtedly upon the protection of his patrons, he expressed his detestation, both orally and in his writings, of what he had professed at Rome, and defended his former sentiments. *Alexander II.*, indeed, admonished him, in a friendly letter, to reform; but he attempted nothing against him, probably because he perceived him to be upheld by powerful supporters. Of course the controversy was protracted many years in various publications, and the number of *Berengarius*’ followers increased.

§ 16. When *Gregory VII.* was raised to the chair of *St. Peter*, that pontiff, to whom no difficulty seemed insurmountable, undertook to settle this controversy also; and therefore summoned *Berengarius* to Rome, in the year 1078. This new judge of the affair manifested an extraordinary, and, considering his character, a wonderful degree of moderation and gentleness. He seems to have been attached to *Berengarius*, and to have yielded rather to the clamours of his adversaries, than to have followed his own inclinations. In the first place, in a council held near the close of the year, he allowed the accused to draw up a new formula of faith for himself, and to abandon the old formula drawn up by *Humbert*, though it had been sanctioned by *Nicolas II.* and by a council; for *Gregory*, being a man of discernment, undoubtedly saw the absurdity of that formula.¹ *Berengarius*, therefore, now professed to believe, and swore that he would in future believe, only, ‘that the bread of the altar, after consecration, is the real body of *Christ*, which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the cross, and is seated at the right hand of the Father; and that the wine of the altar, after consecration, is the real blood which flowed from *Christ*’s side.’ But what was satisfactory to the pontiff did not satisfy the enemies of *Berengarius*; for they maintained that the formula was ambiguous (and ambiguous it certainly is); hence they wished that one more definite might be prescribed for him; and also, that he might prove the sincerity of his belief, by touching red-hot iron. The last of these, the pontiff, in his friendship for the accused,

¹ I wish the learned and candid to observe here, that *Gregory VII.*, than whom none carried the prerogatives of the pontiffs farther, or defended them more strenuously,

here tacitly acknowledges that a Roman pontiff and a council are capable of erring, and have in fact erred.

would not concede; the first he could not deny to the importunities by which he was assailed.

§ 17. The following year, therefore, A.D. 1079, in a council held again at Rome, *Berengarius* was required to repeat, subscribe, and swear to a third formula, which was milder than the first, but harsher than the second. According to this, he professed to believe, 'that the bread and wine, by the mysterious rite of the holy prayer and the words of our Redeemer, are changed in their substance into the real and proper and vivifying flesh and blood of Jesus Christ;' and he also added to what he had professed by the second formula, 'that the bread and wine are,' after consecration, 'the real body and blood of Christ, not only by a sign and in virtue of a sacrament, but in their essential properties, and in the reality of their substance.' When he had made this profession, the pontiff dismissed him to his own country with many tokens of his good will. But he, as soon as he got home, discarded, and confuted by a book, what he had professed at Rome in the last council. Hence *Lanfranc*, *Guitmund*, and perhaps others, violently attacked him in written treatises; but *Gregory VII.* neither punished his inconstancy, nor manifested displeasure; which is evidence that the pontiff was satisfied with the second formula, or that which *Berengarius* himself drew up, and disapproved of the zeal of his enemies, who obtruded upon him the third formula.¹

¹ These statements are finely illustrated and supported by a writing of *Berengarius* himself, which Edm. Martene has brought to light in his *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* iv. 99—109. From this tract it appears (I.), that *Gregory VII.* had great and sincere friendship for *Berengarius*. (II.) That, in general, he believed with *Berengarius* respecting the eucharist; or, at least, thought we ought to abide by the words of holy writ, and not too curiously inquire after and define the *mode* of Christ's presence. For thus *Gregory* (p. 108) addressed *Berengarius* just before the last council: 'I certainly have no doubt that your views of the sacrifice of Christ are correct and agreeable to the scriptures, yet because it is my custom to recur on important subjects, &c.—I have enjoined upon a friend, who is a religious man, — to obtain from St. Mary, that through him she would vouchsafe not to conceal from me, but expressly instruct me, what course I should take in the business before me, relating to the sacrifice of Christ, that I may persevere in it immoveably.' *Gregory*, therefore, was inclined to the opinion of *Berengarius*, but yet had some doubts; and, therefore, he consulted St. Mary, through a friend, to know what judgment he ought to form respecting the eucharistical question. And what was her response? His friend (he says) 'learned from St. Mary, and reported to me, that no inquiries were to be made, and nothing to

be held, respecting the sacrifice of Christ, beyond what the authentic scriptures contain; against which *Berengarius* held nothing. This I have wished to state to you, that you might have a more secure confidence in us, and a more cheerful hope.' This, therefore, was *Gregory's* belief, and this he supposed or pretended he had received from the holy virgin herself, that we should simply hold what the sacred volume teaches, that the real body and blood of Christ are exhibited in the sacred supper, but should not dispute about the *manner* of it. (III.) It appears, from this writing, that *Gregory* was forced, by the enemies of *Berengarius*, who pressed the thing beyond measure, to allow another formula to be prescribed to *Berengarius* in another council. 'He was constrained,' says *Berengarius*, 'by the importunity of the buffoon—not bishop—of Padua, and of the antichrist—not bishop of Pisa—to permit the calumniators of the truth, in the last Quadragesimal council, to alter the writing sanctioned by them in the former council.' (IV.) It is hence manifest, why *Gregory* attempted nothing further against *Berengarius*, notwithstanding he violated his faith publicly plighted in the latter council, and wrote against the formula which he had confirmed with an oath. For *Gregory* himself disagreed with the authors of this formula, and deemed it sufficient if a person would confess with *Berengarius* that the real body and blood

§ 18. *Berengarius*, influenced undoubtedly by motives of prudence, returned no answer to his adversaries, who were violently moved; but retiring from the world, he repaired to the island of St. Côme, near Tours; and there led a solitary life, in prayer, fasting, and other devotional exercises, till the year 1088, when he died; leaving a high reputation for sanctity, and numerous followers.¹ In this retreat he seems to have aimed to atone for the crime, which he confessed, lamenting deeply the commission of it, before the last council at Rome, when he professed, contrary to the dictates of his own conscience, what he regarded as erroneous doctrine.² As to his real opinions, learned men are not agreed; but whoever will candidly examine his writings that yet remain, will readily see that he was one of those who consider the bread and wine to be *signs* of the body and blood of Christ; although he expressed himself variously, and concealed his views under ambiguous phraseology.³ Nor have they any

of Christ were exhibited in the sacred supper. He therefore suffered his adversaries to murmur, to write, and to confute the man whom he esteemed and agreed with; kept silence himself, and would not allow Berengarius to be further molested. Moreover, in the book from which I have made these extracts, Berengarius most humbly begs God to forgive the sin he committed at Rome; and acknowledges, that, through fear of death, he assented to the proposed formula, and accused himself of error, contrary to his real belief. 'God Almighty,' says he, 'the fountain of all mercy, have compassion on one who confesses so great a sacrilege.'

¹ The canons of Tours still celebrate religiously his memory. For they annually, on the third day of Easter, repair to his tomb, on the island of St. Côme, and there solemnly repeat certain prayers. See Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 130.

² None will doubt this, after reading his tract, published by Edm. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* iv. 109.

³ Some writers in the Roman church, as Mabillon and others, and some also in our own, suppose that Berengarius merely denied what is called *transubstantiation*; while he admitted the real presence of Christ's body and blood. And whoever inspects only the formula, which he approved in the first Roman council under Gregory VII., and which he never after rejected, and does not compare his other writings with it, may be easily led to believe so. But the writers of the reformed church, Jac. Basnage, Ussher, and nearly all others, maintain, that Berengarius' opinion was the same that Calvin afterwards held. With these I have united, after carefully perusing his epistle to Almunnus in Martene's *Thesaurus*, iv. 109. 'Constat,' says he, 'verum Christi corpus in ipsa

mensa proponi, sed spiritualiter interiori homini verum, in ea Christi corpus ab his duntaxat, qui Christi membra sunt, incorruptum, intaminatum inatritumque spiritualiter manducari.' This is so clear, that an objection can scarcely be raised against it. Yet Berengarius often used ambiguous terms and phrases, in order to elude his enemies.—[Since Mosheim's death, the manuscript of Berengarius' reply to Lanfranc has been discovered in the library of Wolfenbützel; and a large part of it presented to the public, in extracts, by G. E. Lessing (*Berengarius Turonensis, oder Ankündigung eines wichtigen Werkes desselben*, &c. Brunsw. 1770, 4to). [Published entire in 1834; *Berengarii Turonensis De Sacra Cœna, adversus Lanfrancum, liber posterior*. Ed. A. and F. Vischer, Berlin. Ed.] From this work it is said to appear, beyond all controversy, that Berengarius only denied *transubstantiation*, or the *transmutation* of the substance of the bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood; while yet he admitted the *real presence* of Christ's body and blood, as being *superadded* to the bread and wine, in and by their consecration. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* xxiii. 534, &c. And Münscher's *Elements of dogmatic History*, § 243, p. 118, ed. N. Haven, 1830. And this accords exactly with the statement of Guitmund, one of Berengarius' antagonists, as quoted by Mabillon (*de Berengario, ejusque Hæreseos ortu*, &c., in his *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* t. ix. p. xxiii). Speaking of the followers of Berengarius, Guitmund says, 'All the Berengarians indeed agree in this, that the bread and wine are not changed in their essence; but I was able to draw from some of them, that they differ among themselves much; for some of them say, that nothing whatever of the body and blood of the Lord are in the sacraments,

solid proof to urge, who contend, that he receded from this opinion before his death.¹

but that these are only shadows and figures [of the body and blood of Christ]; but others, yielding to the solid arguments of the church, yet not receding from their folly, that they may seem to be with us in a sort, say, that the body and blood of the Lord are *in reality, though covertly, contained there* (re vera, sed latenter contineri), and, in order that they may be received, they are, somehow, so to speak, *impanated* (impanari). *And this more subtle opinion, they say, is that of Berengarius himself.* Tr.—Berengar began to teach his doctrine, c. 1045; attacked Lanfranc, c. 1049; was excommunicated at Rome and Vercelli, 1050; at Brionne and Paris, 1051; explained and satisfied Hildebrand at Tours, 1054; forced to accept Humbert's formula, Rome, 1059. Lanfranc wrote his book, and Berengarius answered it, between 1063 and 1079. Council of Poitiers, 1075. Berengarius attacked by Guitmund, 1078. Signs the second formula, 1078, and the third, 1079. Cf. the admirable resumé of the history given by Canon Robertson, *Hist. of the Church*, ii. 606. *Ed.*

¹ It is well known that the historians of the Romish community endeavour to persuade us, that Berengarius, before his death, gave up the doctrine which he had for so many years strenuously defended, and adopted that of the Roman church. But the only proofs that they have of the fact are these: First, in the council of Bourdeaux, A.D. 1080, it is said, 'he gave an account of his faith.' And further, some ancient writers speak favourably of his penitence, and say that he died in the catholic faith. But these arguments amount to nothing. Berengarius adhered to that formula which he adopted in the former council at Rome under Gregory, and which the pontiff judged to be sufficient; and they who heard it read, but did not examine its import, but looked only at the words and their natural import, might easily believe, that between his opinion and the common belief of the church there was no difference. And in this conclusion they would be confirmed by the conduct of the pontiff, who, though he knew Berengarius to have renounced and opposed the formula, which he had approved in the latter Roman council, yet took no measures against him, and thus [apparently] absolved him from all error and blame. To these considerations, another of still greater weight may be added; namely, that the belief of the Roman church itself, respecting the sacred supper, was not, in that age, definitely established; as the three formulas of Berengarius evince, beyond all controversy; for they most manifestly disagree, not in

words only, but in import. Nicolas II. and his council decided, that the first formula, which cardinal Humbert drew up, was sound, and contained the true doctrine of the church. But this was rejected, and deemed too crude and erroneous, not only by Gregory, but also by his two councils that tried the cause. For if the pontiff and his councils had believed that this formula expressed the true sense of the church, they would never have suffered another to be substituted for it. The pontiff himself, as we have seen, supposed that the doctrine of the sacred supper was not to be explained too minutely, but that, dismissing all questions as to the mode of Christ's presence, the words of the sacred volume were simply to be adhered to; and as Berengarius had done this in his formula, the pontiff pronounced him no offender. But the last council departed from the opinion of the pontiff; and the pontiff, though reluctant, suffered himself to be drawn over to the opinion of the council. Hence, the third formula disagreeing with both the former ones, we may here drop the passing remark, that in this controversy a council was superior to the pontiff; and the resolute Gregory himself, who would yield to no one else, yielded to the council. Berengarius, escaping from the hands of his enemies, adhered to his own formula, which had met the approbation of the pontiff, and publicly assailed and condemned the third formula, or that of the latter council. And he did this with the pontiff's knowledge and silent consent. Now what could be inferred from all this, but that Berengarius, though he resisted the decree of the latter council, yet held to the opinion of the pontiff and the church?—In this history of the Berengarian controversy, so memorable for various reasons, I have examined the ancient documents of it that are extant (for all of them are not extant), and have called in the aid of those learned men who have treated most copiously and accurately of this contest. First, the very rare work of Francis de Roye, published at Angers, 1656, 4to, under the title, *Ad can. Ego Berengarius 41, de consecrat. distinct. 2, ubi vita, hæresis et penitentia Berengarii Andegavensis Archidiaconi et ad Josephi locum de Christo*. Next, I have consulted Jo. Mabillon, *Præfat. ad t. ix. Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. or secul. vi. pt. ii. p. iv. &c.*; and his *Diss. de multiplici damnatione, fidei professione et relapsu*; which is in his *Analecta veteris Ævi*, t. ii. p. 456. Cæs. Egasse de Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris. i. 404, &c.* Franc. Pagi, *Breviarium Romanor. Pontif. ii. 452*. Among

§ 19. In France, about the year 1023, a great contest arose about a little thing. The priests and monks of Limoges disputed, whether *Martial*, the first bishop of Limoges, ought, in the public prayers, to be classed among the *apostles* or among the *confessors*. *Jordan*, the bishop of Limoges, would have him be denominated a *confessor*; but *Hugo*, abbot of the monastery of St. Martial, insisted on his being called an *apostle*; and he pronounced the adherents of the bishop to be *Ebionites*, that is, the worst of heretics. This controversy was first taken up in the council of Poitiers, and then, A.D. 1024, in that of Paris. Their decision was, that *Martial* was to be honoured with the appellation of an *apostle*; and those who judged differently were to be compared with the Ebionites, who denied that there were any more than twelve apostles. The Ebionites, it may be noted, in order to exclude *St. Paul* from the number of apostles, would not allow of more than twelve apostles. But this decision of the council inflamed, rather than calmed, the feelings of the disputants; and the silly controversy spread over all France. The affair being carried before the pontiff, *John XIX.*, he decided, by a letter, addressed to *Jordan* and the other bishops of France, in favour of the monks, and pronounced *Martial* deserving of the title and the honours of an apostle. Therefore, first in the council at Limoges, A.D. 1029, *Jordan* yielded to the pleasure of the pontiff; and next, A.D. 1031, in a council of the whole province of Bourges, *Martial* was solemnly enrolled in the order of apostles; and lastly, in a very full council at Limoges, the same year, the controversy was terminated, and prayers dedicated by the pontiff to the honour of *Martial* the apostle, were publicly recited.¹ Those who contended for the apostleship of *Martial* assumed that he was one of the seventy disciples of Christ; and thence they inferred, that he was entitled to the rank of an apostle, with the same right as *Paul* and *Barnabas* were.

the reformed divines, Jac. Ussher, *de Successione Ecclesiar. Christianar. in Occidente*, cap. vii. § 24, p. 195, &c. Jac. Basnage, *Hist. des Eglises Réformées*, i. 105, and *Hist. de l'Eglise*, ii. 1391. Casim. Oudin, *Diss. de doctrina et scriptis Berengarii*, in his *Comment. de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* ii. 624. Partiality prevails, I fear, among them all, but especially among the writers of the Roman church. [Mabillon says, that the ancients everywhere write the name *Berengerius*. It is obviously the *Berenger* of modern times. The famous controversialist who once bore it, pronounced John Scot's opinion, *doctrine*, Paschasius Radbert's, *a tissue of absurdities*. Hence he expostulated with Lanfranc for adopting the latter, as doing a thing unworthy of his genius, *Annal. Bened.* iv. 486. S.]

¹ See Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, i. 372, 401. Jac. Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, vii. 188, 189, 231, &c. The Benedictine monks, in their *Gallia Christiana*, t. ii. *Append. Documentor.* p. 162, have published *Jordan's* letter to the pope, Benedict VIII., against the apostleship of *Martial*. The acts of the councils of Bourges and Limoges, respecting this controversy, are published by Phil. Labbe, *Biblioth. nova Manuscriptor.* ii. 766, &c. Of the first author of this strife, Ademar, a monk of Chabanois, Jo. Mabillon gives an account, in his *Annales Ord. S. Bened.* iv. 318, &c., and in the appendix to the volume he subjoins the epistle of Ademar, in support of the apostleship of *Martial*. The Benedictine monks have also given an account of this man, in their *Hist. Litt. de la France*, vii. 301.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Use of the Roman liturgy extended — § 2. Worship in a foreign tongue — § 3. Rebuilding and adorning the churches.

§ 1. THE forms of public worship used at Rome had not yet been received in all provinces of the Latin world. In this age, therefore, the pontiffs, who regarded any disagreement in rites as adverse to their authority, took great pains to have the Roman forms everywhere adopted, and all others excluded. In this affair, again, the diligence of *Gregory VII.*, as his letters show, was very conspicuous. No people of Europe had more resolutely and perseveringly opposed the wishes of the pontiffs, in this matter, than the Spaniards; for they could not in any way be induced to exchange their ancient liturgy, which was called *Mozarabic* or *Gothic*,¹ for that of Rome. *Alexander II.*, indeed, in the year 1068, had prevailed upon the people of Arragon to show themselves not indisposed for the Roman way of worshipping God;² nor did the Catalans resist. But the glory of perfecting this work was reserved for *Gregory VII.* He did not cease to press the kings of Arragon and Castile, *Sanchez* and *Alphonso*, till they consented that the Gothic rites should be abolished and the Roman be received. *Sanchez* first complied; *Alphonso* followed his example in the year 1080. In Castile, the nobles thought that this contest ought to be decided by the sword. Accordingly, two champions were chosen, who were to contend in single combat, the one fighting for the Roman liturgy, and the other for the Gothic. The Gothic champion conquered. After this, fire was chosen for bringing the matter to an issue. Both liturgies, the Roman and the Gothic, were thrown upon a pyre. The Roman was consumed in the flames; the Gothic remained uninjured. Yet this double victory could not save the Gothic mode: the pontiff's authority, and the pleasure of *Constantia* the queen, who controlled *Alphonso* the king, had greater weight, and turned the scale.³

¹ See Jo. Mabillon, *de Liturgia Gallicana*, l. i. c. ii. p. 10. Jo. Bona, *Rerum Liturgicar.* l. i. c. xi. Opp. p. 220. Peter le Brun, *Explication des ceremonies de la Messe*, t. ii. diss. v. p. 272, [and *Liturgia antiqua, Hispanica, Gothica, Isidoriana, Mozarabica*, &c. tom. i. Rome, 1746, fol., as also Joh. Pinii *Tractatus historico-chronolog. de variis vicissitudinibus officii Mozarabici seculo xi. c. 6.* Schl.—Also Aug. Krazzer, *de Liturgiis*, p. 70, &c. Augsb. 1786, 8vo. Tr.]

² Peter de Marca, *Histoire de Bearn*, l. ii. c. ix.

³ Bona, l. c. p. 216. Le Brun, l. c. p. 292, &c. Jo. de Ferreras, *Hist. de l'Espagne*, iii. 237, 241, 246. [Krazzer, l. c. p. 76. Tr.—Cardinal Ximenes attempted to restore the Mozarabic liturgy in the 16th century, and it was adopted in several churches; it now possesses only two churches, and the chapel of Ximenes, in the cathedral at Toledo. See *Christian Remembrancer*, Oct. 1853. Ed.]

§ 2. This zeal of the Roman pontiffs may admit some kind of apology; but it is a very hard matter to excuse them for prohibiting each nation to worship God in its own vernacular tongue. While the Latin language was spoken among all the nations of the West, or at least was understood by most people, little could be objected to its use in the public assemblies for Christian worship. But when the Roman tongue, with the Roman dominion, had been gradually subverted, and become extinct, it was most just and reasonable that each nation should use its own speech in sacred offices. This privilege, however, could not be obtained from the pontiffs in this and the following centuries; for they decided, that the Latin language should be retained, though unknown to the people at large.¹ Different persons assign different reasons for this decision; and some have imagined such as are quite far-fetched. But the principal reason, doubtless, was an excessive veneration for the ancient forms. And the Oriental Christians have fallen into the same fault of excessive love of antiquity; for public worship is still performed by the Egyptians in the ancient Coptic, by the Jacobites and Nestorians in Syriac, and by the Abyssinians in the ancient Ethiopic; notwithstanding all these languages have long since become obsolete, and gone out of popular use.²

§ 3. Of the other things enjoined or voluntarily assumed in this age, under the name of religious acts, the rites added in the worship of the saints, relics, and images, the pilgrimages, and various other things of the kind, it would be tedious to go into detail. I will, therefore, only state here, that during nearly the whole of this century all the nations of Europe were very much occupied in rebuilding, repairing, and adorning their churches.³ Nor will this surprise us, if we recollect the panic dread of an impending final judgment, and of the end of all things, which spread throughout Europe in the preceding century. For this panic, among other effects, led to neglect the repair of the churches and sacred edifices, as being soon to become useless, and perish in the wreck of all things; so that they either actually fell to the ground, or became greatly decayed. But this

¹ Jac. Ussher, *Historia dogmatica de scripturis et sacris vernaculis*; published, with enlargement, by Henry Wharton, London, 1690, 4to. [Yet we find in the canons of Ælfric, about A.D. 1000 (Harduin's *Concilia*, vi. 982, can. 23), that the priests were required on Sundays and other mass-days to explain the lessons from the gospels in the English language; and to teach the people to repeat *memoriter*, and to understand the Lord's prayer and the apostles' creed in the same language. 'Presbyter etiam, seu missalis sacerdos, in diebus Solis, et Missalibus, evangelii ejus intellectum populo dicet Anglice, et ipsorum etiam Pater noster et Credo toties quoties poterit ad eos instruendos adhibere, et ut symbolum fidei memoriter discant, christianamque suam teneant

confessionem.' *Tr.*—This extract given comes from a summary of clerical duties, prepared by the great Ælfric, for Wulfstan, bishop of Sherborne, as a sort of episcopal charge, and commonly printed, though not completely so, in collections of the councils, under the title of *Canones Elfrici ad Wulfstanum Episcopum*. S.]

² See Eusebius Renaudot, *Diss. de Liturgiis oriental. origine et antiquitate*, c. vi. p. xl. &c.

³ Glaber Rodolphus, *Histor.* l. iii. c. iv. in Duchesne's *Scriptores Francici*, iv. 217. 'As the year 1003 approached, there was, almost the world over, but especially in Italy and France, a general repairing of the churches.'

panic being past, people everywhere turned attention to the churches, which were almost ruined, and vast sums were necessarily expended on their restoration.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE SECTS AND HERESIES.

§ 1. Ancient sects. The Manichæans — § 2. The Paulicians in Europe — § 3. The Manichæans of Orleans seem to have been mystics — § 4. So likewise others — § 5. The contest with Roscelin.

§ 1. THE condition of the ancient sects, particularly the Nestorians and Monophysites, who were subject to the Mahumedans in Asia and Egypt, was very nearly the same as in the preceding century, not perfectly happy and exempt from all evils, nor absolutely wretched and miserable. But the Manichæans or Paulicians, whom the Greek emperors had transported from the provinces of the East to Bulgaria and Thrace, were in almost perpetual conflicts with the Greeks. The Greek writers throw all the blame on the Manichæans; whom they represent as turbulent, perfidious, always ready for war, and inimical to the empire.¹ But there are many reasons, which nearly compel us to believe, that the Greek bishops and priests, and by *their* instigation the emperors, gave much trouble and vexation to this people; alienating their minds from them by punishments, banishments, confiscation of property, and other things. The emperor, *Alexius Comnenus*, being a man of learning, and perceiving that the Manichæans could not easily be subdued by force, determined to try the effect of discussion and arguments; and therefore spent whole days at Philippopolis in disputing with them. Not a few of them gave up to this august disputant and his associates; nor was this strange, for he employed not only arguments, but also rewards and punishments. Those who retracted their errors, and consented to embrace the religion of the Greeks, were rewarded with rich presents, honours, privileges, lands, and houses; but those who resisted were condemned to perpetual imprisonment.²

§ 2. From Bulgaria and Thrace, some of this sect, either from zeal to extend their religion, or from weariness of Grecian persecution, removed, first into Italy, and then into other countries of Europe; and there they gradually collected numerous congregations, with which the Roman pontiffs afterwards waged very fierce wars.³ At

¹ See Anna Comnena, *Alexiad.* l. v. p. 105, l. vi. p. 124, 126, 145, and in other passages.

² Anna Comnena (*Alexiad.* l. xiv. p. 357, &c.) is very full in her account and eulogy of this holy war of her father against the Paulicians.

³ See Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Antiqq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, v. 38, &c. Phil. Limborch, *Hist. Inquisitionis*, p. 31. Thom. Aug. Richini, *Diss. de Catharis*; prefixed to Bernh. Moneta's *Summa contra Catharos*, p. xvii. xviii. and others; not to mention Glaber Rodul-

what time the migration of the Paulicians into Europe commenced, it is difficult to ascertain. But this is well attested, that as early as the middle of this century, they were numerous in Lombardy and Insubria, and especially in Milan; nor is it less certain, that persons of this sect strolled about in France, Germany, and other countries, where the great appearance of sanctity, which distinguished them, captivated no small number of the people. In Italy they were called *Paterini* and *Cathari*, or rather *Gazari*; the last of which names, altered so as to suit the genius of their language, was adopted by the Germans.¹ In France they were called *Albigenses*,² from the town *Albi*.³ They were also called *Bulgarians*, particularly in France, because they came formerly from Bulgaria, where the patriarch of the sect resided; also *Publicani*, a corruption of *Pauliciani*; and *Boni Homines*, and by other appellations.⁴

phus, *Hist.* l. iii. c. viii., Matth. Paris, and other ancient writers. Some of the Italians, among whom is Richini, wish to deny that this sect was propagated from Italy into other parts of Europe, and would persuade us rather that the Paulicians came into Italy from France. For they would consider it a disgrace to their country to have been the first in Europe that fostered so absurd and impious a sect. These are countenanced by Peter de Marca, a Frenchman, who supposes (in his *Hist. de Béarn*, l. viii. c. xiv. p. 728), that when the French were returning from the crusades in Palestine, as they passed through Bulgaria, some Paulicians joined them, and thus first migrated to France. But de Marca brings no proof of his supposition; and, on the contrary, it appears from the records of the inquisition of Toulouse, published by Limborch, and from other documents, that the Paulicians first settled in Sicily, Lombardy, Milan, and Liguria, and from thence sent their teachers and missionaries into France. See the *Codex Tolosanus*, p. 13, 14, 32, 68, 69, and in many other places. From the same *Codex Tolosanus*, we learn that the Paulicians of Gaul had no bishops who could consecrate their presbyters, whom they called *Anciani*: so that such of the French as wished to become presbyters, had to go into Italy to obtain regular consecration.

¹ Of the name *Paterini*, given to this sect in Italy, we have already spoken, note, c. ii. § 13. That the name *Cathari* was the same as *Gazari*, I have shown in another work, *Historia Ord. Apostolor.* p. 367. The name *Gazaria* was given in that age to the country now called the lesser Tartary [or Crim Tartary, or the Crimea. But the derivation of *Cathari* from *Gazaria*, a distant and then little known region, is by many deemed less probable than from the Greek *καθαρὸς*, the *Pure*. So also the derivation of the German *Ketzer* (heretic) from

Gazari or *Chazari*, is by no means universally admitted. See A. Neander's *Heilige Bernhard*, p. 314, &c. and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* xxiii. 350, &c. *Tr.*]

² [*Albigensis. Tr.*]

³ That the Paulicians in France were called *Albigenses*, and are not to be confounded with the Waldenses and other heretics, is most manifest from the Records of the Inquisition at Toulouse. And they were called *Albigenses*, because they were condemned in a council held, A.D. 1176, at *Albi*, a town of Aquitaine. See Chatel, *Mémoires de l'Histoire de Languedoc*, p. 305, &c. They therefore misjudge, who suppose the *Albigenses* were certain heretics who either originated at *Albi*, or who resided there, or had their principal church there: they were, rather, the heretics condemned there. Yet there did live in the region of *Albi* some Paulicians, as well as many other classes of dissenters from the church of Rome; and the name of *Albigenses* is often applied to all the heretics in that tract of country. [See, for a fuller illustration, and confirmation of what is asserted in this note, Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* xxix. 569, &c., also *Hist. de Languedoc*, t. iii. note 13, p. 553, &c., and Füsslin's *Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie der mittleren Zeit*, vol. i. *Tr.*—‘I doubt whether any religious sect was, as such, known by the name of *Albigenses*, until long after the council of *Albi*.—I believe that I speak much within compass, and state only what may be fairly inferred from evidence which will be adduced, when I say that the name of *Albigenses* was not given to those heretics whom we now describe by that title, until more than a century after the Albigenian Crusades.’ Maitland's *Facts and Documents illustrative of the History, Doctrine, and Rites of the ancient Albigenses and Waldenses*, Lond. 1832, p. 95, 96. *S.*]

⁴ That these people were called *Bulga-*

§ 3. The first congregation of this sect in Europe is said to have been discovered at Orleans in France, A.D. 1017, in the reign of king *Robert*. An Italian woman is stated to have been its founder and teacher. Its head men were ten canons of the church of the Holy Cross at Orleans, all eminent for their learning and piety, but especially two of them, *Lisoius* and *Stephen*; the congregation was composed of numerous citizens, not of the lowest rank and condition. The impious doctrines maintained by those canons being made known by *Heribert*, a priest, and *Arefastus*, a Norman nobleman, king *Robert* assembled a council at Orleans, and left no means untried to bring them to a better mind. But nothing could induce them to give up the opinions which they had embraced. They were, therefore, burnt alive.¹ But the case of these men is involved in

rians, or, as it was corruptly uttered, *Bougres*, is fully shown by Car. du Fresne, *Glossarium Latin. Mediæ Ævi*, i. 1338. And the same Du Fresne, in his *Observationes ad Villeharduini Historiam Constantinop.* p. 169, has shown by abundant proofs, that the name *Popolicani* or *Publicani*, given likewise to these Manichæans, is merely the name *Pauliciani* corruptly pronounced. The Paulicians called themselves *Good Men*, or *Los Bos Homos*, as the French pronounced it. See the *Codex Inquisit. Tolosana*, p. 22, 84, 95, &c., but especially p. 131, &c.

¹ The testimonies of the ancients respecting these heretics are collected by Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, i. 364, &c. Car. Plessis d'Argentre, *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, i. 5. Jo. Lannoi, *de Scholis celebrioribus Caroli M. c.* xxiv. p. 93. The proceedings of the council of Orleans, in which they were condemned, are given by Lu. D'Achery, *Spicileg. veterum Scriptor.* i. 604, &c. [Two principal accounts of these heretics of Orleans have reached us. The one is, that of Glaber Rodulphus (*Historia*, l. iii. c. 8); the other, which some ascribe to one Agano, a monk, is an anonymous account, but more full, and apparently deserving of at least as much credit, published by D'Achery, l. c. Both accounts are in Harduin's *Concilia*, vi. 821, &c. Glaber states, that in 1017, a very strange heresy was discovered at Orleans, said to have been introduced by an Italian woman, and which had long been spreading itself in secret. The leaders were two canons of Orleans, respectable for their birth, education, and piety, named Heribert and Lisoï; the latter was master of the school in St. Peter's church, and enjoyed the friendship of the king and the court. These circumstances enabled them more easily to spread their errors at Orleans, and in the neighbouring towns. They attempted to convert a presbyter of Rouen, and told him that the whole nation would soon be with them; but he

divulged the subject to a nobleman of Rouen, and he again to king Robert. The monarch, equally distinguished for learning and piety, hastened away, full of solicitude, to Orleans; assembled there a number of bishops and abbots, and some pious laymen, and began an examination of the heretics. The two leading men among them acknowledged that they anticipated a general reception of their doctrines; that they considered all that was taught in the Old Testament and the New, by miracles, or otherwise, concerning a Trinity in the Godhead, as being absurd; that the visible heavens and earth had always existed, as they now are, without an original author; that all acts of Christian virtue, instead of being meritorious, were superfluous; and like the Epicureans, they believed the crimes of the voluptuous would not meet with the recompense of punishment. Great efforts were made to convince them of their errors, but in vain: neither arguments nor threatenings could move them; for they expected a miraculous deliverance from death. Accordingly, when led out to the fire, which was kindled for them, they all, thirteen in number, went exulting, and voluntarily leaped into it. But they no sooner felt the fire consuming them, than they cried out that they had been deceived, and were about to perish for ever. The bystanders, moved with pity, made efforts to draw them from the flames, but without effect. They were reduced to ashes. Such others of the sect as were afterwards detected, were in like manner put to death. And heresy being thus destroyed, the catholic faith shone the more conspicuous. The other, and more full account, differs from that of Glaber, in several respects. It states, that a Norman nobleman, named Arefast, had a clergyman in his house, by the name of Herbert, who went to Orleans for the purpose of study. That two leaders among the heretics, Stephen and Lisoï, universally esteemed for their wisdom, piety, and bene-

obscurity and perplexity. For they are extolled for their piety by their very enemies; and, at the same time, crimes are attributed to them which are manifestly false; at least, the opinions for which they suffered death were, in general, quite distant from the tenets of the Manichæans.¹ So far as I can judge, these Manichæans of Orleans

fience, met with Herbert, and instilled into him their heresy. When Herbert returned to Arefast, he laboured to convert him. But Arefast was not to be seduced. He communicated the whole to count Richard, to be made known to the king; with a request that the king would take measures to suppress the heresy. King Robert directed Arefast to repair with Herbert to Orleans, and there insinuate himself among the heretics, promising to come there himself shortly. Arefast was instructed by an aged priest of Chartres how to proceed. He was to receive the communion every day; and thus fortified, he was to go among the heretics, pretend to be captivated with their doctrines, and draw from them a full knowledge of their heresy, and then appear as a witness against them. He did so; and drew from them the following tenets: that Christ was not born of the virgin Mary, did not suffer for mankind, was not really laid in the tomb, and did not rise from the dead; that in baptism there was no washing away of sins; nor were the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament consecrated by the priest; and that it was useless to pray to the saints and martyrs. Arefast wished to know, then, on what he could rely for salvation. They promised to purify him from all sin, and to impart to him the Holy Spirit, by laying their hands upon him; and that he should eat heavenly food, and often see angels, and with them travel where he pleased, with ease and despatch. The account then describes the *heavenly food* they talked of. At certain times, the heretics met together by night, each with a lighted candle, and invoked the devil, till he appeared to them. Then putting out their lights, they all debauched themselves promiscuously. The fruits of these horrid scenes, when eight days old, were murdered and burned to ashes; and the ashes so obtained constituted their heavenly food, and was so efficacious, that whoever partook of it at all, became an enthusiast of their sect, and could seldom ever after be recovered to a sound mind. While Arefast was thus learning the whole heresy, king Robert and his queen Constantia arrived at Orleans; and the next day he called a council of bishops, and apprehending a whole assembly of the heretics, arraigned them for trial. Here Arefast stated all that he had learned from them. Stephen and Lisoï admitted that they held such doctrines. A

bishop stating that Christ was born of the virgin, because he could be so, and that he died and rose again to assure us of a resurrection, they replied, that they were not present, and could not believe it was so. Being asked how they could believe that they had a natural father, and were born in the usual way, not having been present as witnesses, they replied, that what was according to nature they could believe, but not what was contrary to nature. They were then asked, if they did not believe that God created all things from nothing by his Son. They replied, 'Such things may be believed by carnal men, who mind earthly things, and trust in the fictions of men, written upon parchment; but we, who have a law written upon the inward man, by the Holy Spirit, regard nothing but what we have learned from God the creator of all.' They likewise asked the bishops to desist from questioning them, and to do with them what they saw fit; for they said they already saw their king in the heavens, who would receive them to his right hand and to heavenly joys. After a nine hours' trial, the prisoners were first degraded from the priesthood, and then led away to the stake. As they passed the church-door, queen Constantia with a stick struck Stephen, who had been her confessor, and dashed out one of his eyes. Their bodies, together with the abominable ashes used by them, were consumed in the flames.—Such is the story, as told by their enemies. *Tr.*—The second account given here is that of the actuary of the Synod of Orleans. It is an ancient fragment of the History of Aquitaine, which says that ten canons of the Holy Cross were burnt alive on this occasion; and John of Fleury additionally tells us, that nearly fourteen suffered, being of the *better clergy, or nobler laity*: 'de melioribus clericis, sive de nobilioribus laicis.' Thus the three or four who perished, besides the ten canons, were laymen, and these, too, like their clerical fellow-sufferers, of no mean estimation. See Faber's *Inquiry into the History and Theology of the ancient Vallenses and Albigenses*, Lond. 1838, p. 125. S.]

¹ Jac. Basnage, in his *Hist. des Eglises Réformées*, t. i. period iv. p. 97, and in his *Hist. Ecl.* ii. 1388, &c. defends the cause of these canons of Orleans. But this otherwise excellent and discerning man seems to have been carried too far, by his zeal for

were *mystics*, who despised the external worship of God, ascribed no efficacy to religious rites, not even to the sacraments, but supposed religion to consist in the internal contemplation of divine things, and the elevation of the soul to God; and, at the same time, philosophized respecting God, the three persons in the Godhead, and the soul of man, with more subtlety than the capacity of the age could comprehend. Persons of this description proceeded from Italy in the following centuries, and spread over nearly all Europe, and were called, in Germany, *brethren of the free Spirit*, and, in some other countries, *Beghards*.¹

§ 4. Better characters perhaps than these, certainly honest and candid, though illiterate, were those men whom *Gerhard*, bishop of Cambray and Arras, reconciled to the church at the council of Arras, A.D. 1030. These likewise received their doctrines from Italians, and particularly from one *Gundulf*. According to their own account, they supposed all religion to consist in pious exercises, and in actions conformable to the law of God, while they despised all external worship. In particular (I.), they rejected baptism as a rite of no use as regards salvation, and especially the baptism of infants. (II.) The Lord's Supper they discarded for the same reason. (III.) They denied that churches are any more holy than private houses. (IV.) Altars they pronounced to be heaps of stones, and therefore worthy of no reverence. (V.) They disapproved of the use of incense and of holy oil in religious rites. (VI.) The ringing of bells, or *signals*, as bishop *Gerhard* calls them, they would not tolerate. (VII.) They denied that ministers of religion, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, were of divine appointment; and maintained that the church could exist without an order of teachers. (VIII.) They contended that funeral rites were invented by priests, to gratify their avarice; and that it was of no consequence whether a person were buried in the church-yard or in some other place. (IX.) Penance, as then practised—that is, punishments voluntarily endured for sins—they deemed of no use. (X.) They denied that the sins of the dead, who are in the world of torment, or in *purgatory*, can be expiated by *masses*, by gifts to the poor, and by *vicarious penance*; and doubtless they rejected the idea of *purgatory* itself. (XI.) They held marriage to be pernicious, and condemned it in all cases.² (XII.) They allowed indeed some reverence to be paid to the apostles, and to the *martyrs*; but to *confessors* (by whom they intended those denominated *saints*, and who had not suffered death for Christ's sake) they would have no reverence paid, declaring that their corpses were no better than those

augmenting the number of the *witnesses for the truth*.

¹ Of this class of people we shall treat hereafter, in the thirteenth century; at which period they were first drawn from their concealment into full view, and condemned in many councils, especially in Germany. Yet they had long before been working their way in secret. This sect held

some opinions in common with the Manichæans; whence the undiscerning theologians of those times might easily be led to regard them as a branch of the Manichæans.

² I cannot easily believe this was altogether so. I should rather suppose that these people did not wholly condemn matrimony, but only judged celibacy to be more holy than the married state.

of other persons. (XIII.) The custom of chanting in churches and religious assemblies they represented as superstitious and unlawful. (XIV.) They denied a cross to be more holy than other wood, and therefore denied it any honour. (XV.) They would have the images of Christ and the saints removed from the churches, and receive no kind of adoration. (XVI.) Finally, they were displeased with the difference of rank, and of powers and prerogatives existing among the clergy.¹ Whoever considers the defects in the prevailing religion and doctrines of that age, will not think it strange that many persons throughout Europe, possessing good understandings and pious feelings, should have fallen into such sentiments as these.

§ 5. Toward the close of this century, about the year 1089, a more subtle controversy was raised in France by *Roscelin*, a canon of Compiègne, who was not the lowest of the dialecticians of the age, and was a principal doctor in the sect of the *Nominalists*. He maintained that it could not be conceived at all how the Son of God was to assume human nature, while the Father and the Holy Spirit did not, unless we suppose the three persons in the Godhead to be three *things*, or separately existing natures (such as three angels are, or three human souls), though those three divine things might have one will and one power. Being told that this opinion would imply the existence of three Gods, he boldly replied, that if such language could be allowed, it might be truly said, there are three Gods.² He was

¹ See the *Synodus Atrebatensis*, in Luc. D'Achery's *Spicilegium Scriptor. Veter.* i. 607—624. Argentre's *Collectio Judicior. de Novis Erroribus*, i. 7. [Schroëckh's *Kirchengesch.* xxiii. 324, &c. Tr.]

² Thus his sentiments are stated by John, who accused him to Anselm, in an Epistle, which is published by Baluze, *Miscell.* iv. 478; also, by Anselm of Canterbury, in his book *de Fide Trinitatis*, written against Roscelin; *Opp.* i. 41, 43, and ii. 355, *Epist.* l. ii. ep. xxxv.; and lastly, by Fulco of Beauvais, in Anselm's *Opp.* p. 357: *Epist.* l. ii. ep. xli. But all these were adversaries of Roscelin, who may be supposed, either to have perverted his meaning, or to have not understood it correctly. And Anselm himself leads me to have much hesitation and doubt; for while he regarded the Nominalists, of whom Roscelin was the head, with no little hatred, yet he concedes, in his book, *de Fide Trinitatis*, that the opinion of his opponent may be admissible in a certain sense; and he frequently states, that he does not know certainly what his views were; and even says that he suspects they were less exceptionable than his adversaries represented them. *De Fide Trinitatis*, c. iii. p. 44. He says, 'But perhaps he (Roscelin) does not say, just as three human souls, or three angels are; but he who communicated his sentiments to me, might make this comparison without authority for

it; while he (Roscelin) only affirmed that the three persons are three things, without adding any comparison.' So in his forty-first *Epist.* book ii. p. 357, being about to state Roscelin's opinion, he prefaces it thus: 'Which, however, I cannot believe without hesitation.' The reader, I think, will clearly see that Anselm, the determined enemy of the Nominalists, distrusted the candour and fairness of Roscelin's accusers in describing his opinions, and supposed him to be less erroneous than they represented. If I do not misjudge, this whole controversy originated from the hot disputes between the Nominalists and the Realists. The Realists seem to have drawn this inference from the principles of the Nominalists, of whom Roscelin was the head. If, as you suppose, *universal substances* are mere words and names, and the whole science of dialectics is concerned only with names, then doubtless the three persons in the Godhead will be, in your view, not three *things*, but only three *names*. By no means, answered Roscelin; the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are not mere *names*, but belong to the class of *things*. But while shunning Scylla, he ran upon Charybdis; for his enemies thence inferred, that he taught the existence of three Gods. If any of Roscelin's own writings were now extant, a better estimate could be formed of this controversy.* [Roscelin was a native of Brittany (*domo Britto-*

compelled to express a detestation of this error in the council of Soissons, A.D. 1092 ; but, as soon as the danger was past, he resumed it. He was now ordered to quit the country. While an exile in England, he raised new commotions; contentiously maintaining, among other things, that the sons of priests, and all born out of wedlock, should never be admitted to the rank of clergymen; which was a very odious doctrine in those times. Being expelled from England for these things, he returned to France, and, residing in Paris, renewed the old contention. But being pressed and harassed on all sides by his adversaries, he at last went to Aquitaine, and spent the remainder of his life devoutly and peacefully.¹

CHAPTER VI.*

RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

§ 1. Peculiar character of Anglo-Saxon literature — § 2. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury — § 3. The English school of theology — § 4. Wilfrid's appeals to Rome — § 5. Independence of the Anglo-Saxon church — § 6. Rejection of image-worship — § 7. Subsequent adoption of it — § 8. The secular clergy supplanted by the Benedictines — § 9. Dunstan's independent spirit — § 10. Prevailing anxiety for saintly intercession — § 11. Purgatory — § 12. Penitential doctrines — § 13. Transubstantiation — § 14. Elfric — § 15. Polity.

§ 1. THE eleventh century produced a very remarkable national change in England; its Anglo-Saxon occupants, whose possession, more or less complete, embraced six hundred years, and who had professed Christianity above four, being conquered by a race of foreigners. These fortunate strangers neither spoke the language of their adopted country, nor deigned to learn it. They long existed as a tribe of alien gentry, connected with humbler life around, only by finding dependents in it. Now as the vanquished people possessed a literature of their own, and had made considerable advances in social improvement, this insulation from their new masters gave a marked and peculiar character to their former position as an independent community. Their political institutions were, indeed, engrafted upon those of the victorious Normans, but much that prevailed among them during their separate existence fell into neglect and desuetude. Their vernacular literature especially had this fate. Anglo-Saxon writers, who wrote in Latin, having already an European reputation, naturally retained their former places among the educated inhabit-

Armoricus), the same country that produced his pupil, Abelard, eventually so celebrated.

S.]
Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*. i. 485, 489.
Jo. Mabillon's *Annales Benedict.* v. 262.

Hist. Litt. de la France, ix. 358, &c. Ant. Pagi, *Critica in Baronium*, ad ann. 1094, iv. 317, &c. Jac. Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, iii. 59, &c.

* SOAMES.

ants of their country ; but authors who used the native idiom rapidly became unintelligible to all who entered an English library. The very character in which they wrote, varying in some particulars from the Roman, grew into a sort of hieroglyphic, which never met a studious eye without exciting a regret that it had long been all but absolutely unintelligible. Happily, many of the manuscripts were beautifully written, and ages in which books were few, would not strip a library of such ornaments, merely because altered circumstances had rendered them sealed volumes. Gradually, however, the mystery that shrouded these remains was dispelled. The Anglo-Saxon race, which formed the bulk of England's population, became blended with its Norman conquerors, and its language forms the groundwork of modern English. As a vernacular literature arose again, liberal curiosity, desirous of information upon the tongue employed, carefully examined libraries for remains of the long-forgotten Anglo-Saxon. These inquiries brought much to light which is of no mean importance, not only to philology, but also for the interpretation of Latin works, already well known. New information was thus acquired upon several points hitherto but imperfectly understood.

§ 2. The intellectual treasures of ancient England became sealed at a very interesting period. Many of the usages, and some of the principles, which eventually distinguished the western church, are confessedly not of the highest antiquity. The papal power did not attain a preponderance likely to act importantly upon general politics, until the pontificate of Gregory VII., who was contemporary with William the Conqueror. Transubstantiation, now the cornerstone of Romanism, first attracted notice in the ninth century ; and, as the tenth is the darkest period in modern history, little information can be expected from it respecting the progress of that doctrine, provided it were really new, when controverted in the preceding age. A literature, however, which went regularly forward, could not fail of gliding all but imperceptibly with the current of opinion. But one suddenly rendered stagnant, would permanently retain the features of the period which brought its activity to a close. A theologian may, therefore, dwell with great profit, as well as interest, upon the records of Anglo-Saxon antiquity.

§ 3. Nor are these unworthy of notice, independently of their value as evidence. It is a remarkable fact, that ante-Norman England was at one time the intellectual mistress of her continental neighbours. Female importunity and Italian artifice had no sooner given to the Roman missionaries a decided advantage over the native British Christians, than the pope solidly confirmed it by sending over as his agent one who was both able and willing to render services of the most unequivocal description. While party spirit still ran very high, the kings of Kent and Northumbria, then powerful above their fellow-sovereigns, thought of allaying it by sending Wighard, whom they chose for primate, to Rome for consecration. Their object was, not only to get an archbishop, approved by the pontiff, but also one who

should combine domestic birth with Roman information.¹ The experiment, however, failed; Wighard having died unconsecrated in the ancient capital of Europe.² Vitalian, the pope, immediately saw an opening for gaining an effective hold upon the Anglo-Saxon church. He determined upon appointing a primate himself. But as this interference with an independent nation was evidently hazardous, he made his choice with unusual caution. He did not venture upon an offer to some native Italian. He would have sent over, as archbishop of Canterbury, an African, named Adrian, distinguished for learning and abilities, abbot of a Campanian monastery. But Adrian would not venture upon the proffered appointment; nor would another to whom he referred the pope. He then recommended Theodore, an Asiatic monk resident at Rome, about sixty-six years old, but able, erudite, and energetic, above most younger men. This eminent personage, like St. Paul, a native of Tarsus, was, however, no more willing to answer Vitalian's call, than those upon whom it had been made before. His objections, at length, were overcome by the help of Adrian's consent to accompany him into England.³ Such a primate, independently of his high personal qualities, was far from unlikely to conciliate the nation, upon whose good nature a bold experiment was made by the sending of him. He could not be considered as a partisan of Rome. Not only was his origin Asiatic, but he had even refrained from a strict outward conformity with Roman usages. He was tonsured in the fashion of his native country, when brought forward as a papal nominee.⁴ Having, however, undertaken the see of Canterbury, his own good sense would neither allow him to rest upon an unimportant scruple, nor to present an appearance unanswerable to his new position. The tonsure had been one of the points on which the Roman missionaries in England had successfully struggled for conformity. Theodore was tonsured neither in the British fashion nor the Italian;⁵ but he now adopted this latter, and remained in Italy until his hair was sufficiently grown to satisfy the papal party in his adopted country. Still the pope was suspicious. It might be best, under such an experiment as he was now trying, to appoint a person who should not shock the defeated party in England by a palpable and complete identification with their opponents. An able, elderly, resolute Asiatic might, however, carry his independence farther than the exigencies of the case required; and when Theodore left Italy, the pope was not without misgivings

¹ Bed. *Opp. Min.* ed. Stevenson, p. 141.

² Bed. H. E. iv. 1.

³ Ibid. iv. 1. Theodore reached England in May, 669.

⁴ "Monachi Græci tunc temporis penitus detonsi erant, rasisque similes, ad imitationem, ut certe putabant, sancti Jacobi, fratris Domini, et Pauli apostoli, testante Germano, patriarcha Constantinopolitano, in *Theoria* sua: quod etiam de clericis Græcis affirmat Ratramnus, quibus mos est, inquit, barbam quidem non tondere, caput vero

crine totum nudare." Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* i. 493.

⁵ "Romani sacerdotes, detonso superius toto capite, inferius brevem tantum capillorum circulum in coronæ modum gestabant, et quidem exemplo, ut putabant, beati Petri. —At vero Brittones et Scotti anteriorem capitis partem capillis omnino nudabant ab aure ad aurem, posteriori intonsa, quod exemplo beati Joannis apostoli se facere gloriabantur." Ibid. 471, 472.

as to the worldly prudence of his choice. He accordingly commissioned Adrian to act as a check and a spy upon the movements of his friend, if an oriental education should warp his views away from Rome.¹

§ 4. Both strangers proved most important benefactors to their adopted country. Romish partisans naturally venerate the memory of Theodore, because he succeeded in realising the project for which Augustine's endeavours had failed. He first was recognised as the primate of England,² and gained a firm footing for [Roman] usages, which remained undisturbed until the Reformation. The example eventually told upon Scotland and Wales.³ But whatever may be thought of such services, there is no question upon those which both Theodore and Adrian rendered as instructors of youth. Age was considered by the archbishop no exemption from the labours of education. In conjunction with his African friend, he personally founded that English school of theology and general literature which rapidly outshone the learned activity of neighbouring nations, and became, at length, an asylum for erudition, when half driven from them, and from which they drew a permanent supply. Happily, these two laborious teachers were gifted with uncommon length of life. Although Theodore came into England at sixty-six, he survived two-and-twenty years.⁴ Adrian lived another twenty.⁵ Thus the two did not merely make an effort crippled by its brevity. They were so long employed as to leave enduring traces of their generous work. Bede, Aldhelm, Egbert, and Alcuin are indisputable evidences of the benefits which their school dispensed. By the last, it was transplanted on continental soil, and became the parent of that Frankish school which is invaluable for throwing light on the theology of the ninth century.

§ 5. But although Theodore brought all England into Roman habits, he showed no trace of a slavish deference for the papal see. Wilfrid, so famed for trying the effect of its influence on his countrymen, found him treat it with no attention. That restless prelate had been deprived of his bishopric under Theodore's authority,⁶ and the pope interfered in vain for a reversal of the sentence.⁷ It is true, that when life was closing upon the venerable Asiatic, he wrote into Northumbria for Wilfrid's restoration.⁸ But there is no appearance of any late conviction here, that he had formerly neglected an established principle of ecclesiastical jurisprudence which ought to have

¹ Bed. H. E. iv. 1.

² "Isque primus erat in archiepiscopis, cui omnis Anglorum ecclesia manus dare consentiret." Ibid. iv. 2.

³ The Picts conformed to Rome in 715, the monks of Iona in the following year. Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* ii. 42, 45. The Welsh, Bede laments, yet held out. [They conformed in 768. See *Annales Cambriae*, ad annum. Ed.]

⁴ He died in 690. Bed. H. E. v. 8.

⁵ He died in 710. Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* ii. 27.

⁶ Eddius; *XV. Scriptores*, 63. It is rather more than insinuated here that Theodore was bribed: but this is not likely. "Ad auxilium suæ vesaniæ archiepiscopum Theodorum cum muneribus, quæ excæcant etiam sapientum oculos, quasi Balach Balaam, contra Dei voluntatem invitaverunt."

⁷ Ibid. 69.

⁸ Ibid. 73.

been observed. He seems merely to have thought of Wilfrid's great services in adversity as a missionary, and to have embraced an opportunity of obliging him, as a parting token of his Christian charity. Whether Theodore acted wisely in his opposition to Wilfrid, men will differ in opinion, as they are favourable, or otherwise, to the see of Rome;¹ but his conduct is a sufficient evidence that no authority, beyond such as rank and information gave, was then admitted in that see, and that Wilfrid's appeals to it were mere experiments. Theodore's successor, Brihtwald, was equally regardless of papal influence. In common with all the world besides, he knew perfectly well that Wilfrid had appealed to Rome, and, if thwarted at home, was likely to appeal again. Yet he headed a full meeting of the prelacy, by which that remarkable man was deprived once more.² Undoubtedly Wilfrid, after all his trials, died at last under a partial recognition of his claims. But he was indebted to it for no interference of the Roman see. Elfleda, an abbess of royal blood, asserted that her [brother], the king lately dead, conscious of injustice to him, solemnly determined upon his restoration, if life had been allowed; and to this customary stream of female partiality for Rome, not to any tardy acquiescence of native authorities in its favour, did Wilfrid owe a departure from life with episcopal honours.³

§ 6. In subsequent periods the Anglo-Saxon church retained the same character of independence. Rome was viewed habitually with high veneration and respectful deference. The English primates generally travelled thither for the insidious compliment of a pall: certainly took care at least to send for one. The people were wild for pilgrimages to the ancient seat of empire, now hallowed, as it was thought, by the bones of apostles and martyrs. The more educated classes naturally looked up to a city which contained better scholars and abler canonists than any other city of the West besides. It is easy to see how these feelings, skilfully improved by Italian subtlety and superior information, might ripen into that recognition of papal authority which was eventually established. But it is observable, that Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical polity had no such ingredient. Rome was always respected, and her suggestions were often obeyed; of any right to press them, no suspicion seems ever to have been entertained. As might be expected in such a case, there was hardly ever any show of papal interference in English affairs. It was verging upon two hundred years after the death of Augustine before any agent with a papal commission landed in England.⁴ Two legates then came from Rome; but evidently they came by invitation, to answer the selfish ends of a native sovereign. Offa, king of the Mercians, then the most powerful of Anglo-Saxon princes, having a

¹ "Vir magnus" (Theodorus, sc.) "nisi quod humani quiddam in Wilfridum Eboracensem antistitem passus est: ejus rei ante mortem magnopere ipsum penituit." Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* i. 591.

² Eddius, 75.

³ Eddius, 86. Wilfrid died in 709.

⁴ Such is the declaration of the legates themselves [George], bishop of Ostia, and Theophylact, bishop of Todi, to the council of Calcuith. Spelman, *Conc.* 293: A.D. 787.

grudge against Jaenbert, archbishop of Canterbury, and probably, being not uninfluenced by policy, was anxious to withdraw his prelacy from all dependence upon a metropolitan in another state, and to establish one at Lichfield, in his own dominions. As it is impossible to calculate exactly beforehand upon the degree of acquiescence which such innovation may command, he was naturally willing to fortify his design by the pope's concurrence: hence the unwonted appearance of papal legates in England. The object, however, having been answered by their visit, and Offa's antipathy to Canterbury not descending to his successors, the same authority that had concurred in making Lichfield a metropolitan see was very reasonably sought again for restoring Canterbury to its ancient rights.¹ Yet the very period which thus saw Rome interfering effectually, because by domestic procurement, with English affairs, saw her also signally baffled in a question really of much more importance. The Italian populace was besotted with a rage for image-worship, and the papal see had profited enormously by pandering to its taste. But when that seductive superstition was solemnly confirmed by synodical authority at Nice, western Europe was neither to be won over by the formal affirmation of a council, nor by papal interference in favour of its decrees. Italy and the East had seen paganism professed and defended by philosophers. The West knew it only as the grovelling delusion of barbarians, the inveterate prejudice of vulgar ignorance. Hence England, Gaul, and Germany could hear of no specious apologies for the religious treatment of stocks and stones. When, accordingly, Charlemagne sent over into Britain the deutero-Nicene decrees, her native divines followed his example in spurning the papal patronage of image-worship. They pronounced the synodical sanctions transmitted from Constantinople, disfigured by *many unfitting things, at variance with a right belief, especially by assertions of image-worship, which the church of God altogether execrates.*² Yet these very assertions were sanctioned by the Roman pontiff: a fact which evidently embarrassed their English opponents, who spoke of them, accordingly, as merely oriental. That the pope was really out of sight, is, however, impossible. His name might be suppressed

¹ *Epistola Kenulfi Regis Merciorum ad Leonem Papam III.* Spelman, 321. Lichfield had no more than one archbishop. It descended to the rank of an ordinary episcopal see about the year 800. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 430.

² "Anno 792. Carolus rex Francorum misit synodalem librum ad Britanniam, sibi a Constantinopoli directum, in quo libro (heu pro dolor!) multa inconvenientia, et vere fidei contraria, reperiebantur: maxime, quod pene omnium orientalium doctorum, non minus quam trecentorum, vel eo amplius, episcoporum, unanimi assertione confirmatum fuerit, imagines adorari debere: quod omnino ecclesia Dei execratur." Hoveden, *Rer. Angl. Scriptores post Bedam*, Francof.

1601, p. 405. "To this narrative Harpsfield gives the title of *Commentitia et insulsa fabula*, and thinks it not writ by Sim. Dunelmensis, or Mat. Westminster, (he might have added Hoveden, the MS. history of Rochester,) but that it was anciently inserted into them. For answer to which he would be desired to produce any one old copy without it, not mangled, so as it doth *prodere furtum* by wanting it. I have seen divers of Hoveden MSS., some of Mat. West., but never did one wherein it was not found, not in the margin, but in the text itself." Twisden, *Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism*. Lond. 1675, p. 182.

from a spirit of respectful courtesy; his authority was, notwithstanding, set at nought, and it is difficult to understand how those who duly weigh such treatment of a solemn document, approved at Rome, can consider the rejecting parties as owning obedience to the papal see.

§ 7. It is true that England, like her continental neighbours, gradually, but rapidly, withdrew from the contest against image-worship. The steps of her downward course are hidden among the mists of remote antiquity. A decalogue, however, truncated of the second commandment, evidence of a guilty conscience that yields in pregnancy to none, proves that Anglo-Saxon execration of Pagan combinations with Christianity was easily undermined by constant communication with more subtle and polished Italy.¹ Still, there is neither evidence nor probability that this discreditable defection from a purer creed flowed from any interference of the Roman court. The change left England, as to papal authority, exactly in her old position. It manifestly took its rise from nothing more than artful persuasion and seductive example acting upon the human mind; of which one great besetting weakness has been ever seen a childish fondness for gentile vanities.

§ 8. Perhaps few things happened, in the Anglo-Saxon period, more favourable to the eventual establishment of papal power over England, than the firm and extensive possession gained by Benedictine monachism. It is to the religious orders that Rome has been chiefly indebted for her authority in every quarter of the world. The earlier Anglo-Saxon monasteries had, however, but little of the monastic character. It is true, that Wilfrid boasted of having introduced the Benedictine system;² but it is also undeniable, that England knew very little of it until the days of Dunstan. It was reserved for that celebrated man, in conjunction with Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, archbishop of York, to render monachism popular: hence Dunstan was ever viewed as the real introducer of the Benedictine system into England. He is complimented by a contemporary author as the first English abbot of that order.³ His exertions in its favour took something of a revolutionary cast. He could not be contented with stimulating Edgar, the royal puppet whom he moved upon the throne, to unsparing liberality in the foundation of monasteries. He and his two coadjutors were indefatigable in their endeavours to convert cathedral foundations into Benedictine abbeys. For this purpose, not only were the canons in possession assailed by importunity, and inveigled by the prevailing passion for monachism: their characters were also virulently aspersed,

¹ For examples of truncated Anglo-Saxon decalogues, see Mr. Soames's *Bampton Lectures* for 1830, p. 242.

² 'Ego canonicam in ecclesiis modulationem institui, et monachorum vitam secundum regulam sancti Benedicti patris, quam nullus ante me in hanc Transhum-

brensiū regionem invexerat.' Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* ii. 6.

³ 'Saluberrimam S. Benedicti sequens institutionem, primus abbas Angliæ nationis enituit.' *Vita S. Dunst.* MS. Brit. Mus. Cotton, Cleopatra, B. xiii. f. 72.

and their ejection was thus advocated as a debt due to sound morality;¹ an injustice which, in the lapse of ages, recoiled upon the monastic orders, when the spoiler stood before their doors. By these various arts, England became thoroughly pervaded by monastic establishments and prejudices; the best preparative that Rome could wish for a realisation of her ambitious hopes, when ripe for full development.

§ 9. But although Dunstan's monastic exertions were, undoubtedly, most favourable to the growth of papal influence; his own mind was, probably, quite unconscious of any such tendency in them, and altogether above any subserviency that might seem unpatriotic or injurious. He resisted, accordingly, an application from the pope to rescind a sentence earned by an incestuous marriage. The offender, though a successful suitor at Rome, found this no recommendation to his own archbishop. Dunstan spiritedly refused absolution, let application for it come whence it might, until the scandal was removed.² The whole stream of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical history is in unison with this display of independence. The papal see was highly venerated and respectfully heard, but deference for it was ever such as that of those who think themselves at perfect liberty to choose. Hence, when its authority was lent for distasteful purposes, England made no scruple to disregard it. Her ecclesiastical polity evidently no more recognised an alien jurisdiction than her civil.

§ 10. In some other particulars, the Anglo-Saxon church made nearer approaches to the principles of modern Romanism. An excessive anxiety for saintly intercession produced prayers to God for this supposed benefit, and ultimately led to the invocation of angelic and departed spirits.³ It seems impossible to ascertain exactly how far this trust in uncommanded, if not forbidden mediation, had proceeded at the Norman conquest. But the principle had evidently taken root, and its eventual triumph was secured. It was the same with purgatory. That Platonic doctrine had constantly floated on the surface of Christian society, ever since philosophy and pagan tastes had been admitted to some sort of amicable fellowship with the Gospel. Men were not prepared with any definite opinions upon such subjects, and were by no means persuaded of any solid foundation for them, in such texts of Scripture as later ages have cited in their support.⁴ Still there was a general expectation of some penal cleansing fire awaiting the disembodied soul. It might not, indeed,

¹ Vita S. Ethelw. *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* v. 614.

² Surius, *de Probatis SS. Historiis*, iii. 323.

³ The nature of Anglo-Saxon dependence upon saints may be seen from the following prayer, printed by Dr. George Hickes, as an appendix to the letters which passed between him and a Popish priest, Lond. 1705. 'Sancta Dei genetrix, Virgo Maria, et omnes sancti Dei, intercedant pro nobis peccatoribus.' This prayer occurs in the office for the canonical hours in Saxon and Latin.

The same spirit appears in the mass of St. Balthildis, printed by Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* i. 697. 'Adjuvet nos, quesumus, Domine, et hæc mysteria sancta quæ sumptimus, et beatæ Balthildis intercessio veneranda.' It may be said, that instances of the same kind, both in print and in MS., are almost innumerable.

⁴ Especially 1 Cor. iii. 13. Bede says upon this text, 'Fateor me malle hinc audire intelligentiores et doctiores.' *Opp.* v. 286.

burn until immediately before the general judgment; but then it would intercept every child of Adam in his way to the heavenly tribunal, detaining and scorching him more or less, in proportion to his individual want of punishment and purgation. Of some such awful process, in store for all, few seemed to have entertained any doubt. This, however, is not identity with the purgatorial doctrines of modern Rome: only affinity with them, and preparation for them.

§ 11. The papal penitential doctrines are similarly circumstanced. Platonic speculations had made men reckon upon a strict correspondence between sin and punishment. Every offence must have its proportionate infliction, either in the body or out of it; and as the latter penalty might prove the more severe, serious minds were willing to bear their guilty earnings while life remained. They were, however, naturally averse from undergoing more than the exigency of their several cases needed: hence the apportionment of penance became a sort of science, and offences were confessed to a priest, not for sacramental absolution, as Romanists now talk, for that was unknown, but upon the same principle that a patient explains bodily ailments to a physician. The penitent exposed his delinquencies, in order that a physician of the soul might determine exactly what kind and measure of nauseous moral medicine was requisite for escape from a more intolerable course hereafter.¹

§ 12. But although Anglo-Saxon theology thus made way for that of modern Rome in several particulars, in the most important it bore an opposite direction. Transubstantiation, or the tangible presence of the incarnate Deity in the Eucharist, is really that pillar of the papal creed on which hangs all the rest. For decisive evidence upon this doctrine, the Anglo-Saxon period was fortunately prepared. Earlier eras often speak ambiguously; supplying language that some consider rhetoric, others fact. In the ninth century, Paschasius Radbert brought this matter to an issue. He took literally all that had hitherto been said, as many think, rhetorically, and moulded it into a startling system. This came immediately under the examination of such men as John Scotus, Ratramn, and Raban Maur, undoubtedly the first theologians of their age. All condemned it, and their judgment is re-echoed by the Anglo-Saxon church. The last of them, however, Raban, may be considered as the disciple of that church, his master being Alcuin. The fair inference, therefore, is, that Bede, the great repository of earlier English theology, must be taken as no authority for transubstantiation in passages that seem to favour it, such as bear against it embodying his real sentiments.

¹ An unpublished Saxon homily expressly likens sin to a leprosy, and the priest to a physician, who must know the particulars of the case in order to decide upon the mode of cure. (See Mr. Soames's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 301.) The extract there from a MS. in the public library at Cambridge, proceeds upon the view that Tyndale, the

martyred translator of the New Testament, took of absolution at the Reformation; pronouncing the Christian priest's office analogous to that of an ancient Jewish priest, who neither made a leper clean nor unclean, but merely decided which was his case. But this view is adverse to the doctrine of sacramental absolution.

In this view of the case, it will be seen that the ancient church of England, whether on her paternal soil, or transplanted to the continent, bears an uniform and irresistible testimony against the vital distinction of modern Rome. It has been doubted, with great reason, whether the reformed church of England gives a plainer contradiction to the main doctrine of her papal rival, than the venerable predecessor which taught the country before Norman William landed, with Lanfranc, Berenger's opponent, in his train.¹

§ 13. It is of itself a strong presumption against that vital doctrine of the Roman church, that great uncertainty hangs over the Anglo-Saxon author, who most unequivocally opposed it. His name is known to have been Elfric, but his history cannot satisfactorily be ascertained. Yet his decisive testimonies against transubstantiation are given in a paschal homily, meant for serving as an ordinary Easter-Sunday sermon, and in two pieces; one addressed to bishop Wulfsin;² the other, seemingly, to Wulfstan, archbishop of York. Both pieces have very much the character of modern episcopal charges—a class of documents unlikely to be prepared by any divine without considerable professional reputation.³ Nor, again, is Elfric's paschal homily the mere literary experiment of a private scholar. It is one in a series of forty homilies addressed to Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury, with a request for a strict scrutiny into the soundness of their doctrine.⁴ By that prelate they were highly commended, and formally approved, as adapted for the general instruction of the people.⁵ The writer of these pieces, therefore, bore an established character, to which the most competent authorities of his day willingly deferred. This is further shown by a second series equally extensive, but chiefly turning upon the lives of saints, which followed his first forty homilies. These, too, appear to have had Sigeric's allowance; unquestionably they became the national stock of sermons for festivals.⁶ No mean author could be thus trusted as the religious instructor of his country. Nor were these important contributions to the literature of ancient England all that Elfric's industry supplied. Under his name came forth also a life of Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, a glossary, a body of monastic discipline, and other pieces.⁷ It has been doubted, whether all these are works of a single

¹ 'I am fully persuaded that the homilies of Elfric are more positive against the doctrine of transubstantiation than the homilies of the Church of England, compiled in the reigns of Edward the Sixth and Queen Elizabeth.' General Preface to Johnson's *Collection of all the Eccl. Laws, &c. of the Church of England*, Lond. 1720, p. xx.

² Commonly, but erroneously, written without an *s*. He appears to have been bishop of Sherborne from [992-1001.]

³ The paschal homily, together with extracts against transubstantiation from the pieces addressed to Wulfsin and Wulfstan, were published by Abp. Parker about 1566. Again, in Foxe's *Martyrology*, ed. of 1610,

p. 1041. Again, by L'Isle, in 1623, in *A Testimony of Antiquitie: shewing the Ancient Faith of the Church of England, touching the Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, here publickly preached, and also received in the Saxons time, about 600 yeares agoe*.

⁴ Hickes, *Thesaurus Ling. Septent.* ii. 153.

⁵ *Ibid.* 157.

⁶ Like the former series, they challenge a rigid scrutiny into their orthodoxy.

⁷ Embarrassed by such literary eminence and industry in an author who convicts transubstantiation of novelty, and proves modern Romanism not to have been the faith of ancient England, Harduin, in his *Chronol.*

author, or of two writers named alike. There is, however, very little reason to question the identity of authorship; hence Elfric must have been one of the ablest, most eminent, and most industrious of contemporary scholars.

§ 14. Of such persons, it is rarely difficult to learn the leading particulars of their lives. Of Elfric, most remarkably, nothing is known, but that he was chiefly educated at Winchester, in the school of Ethelwold, was sent into Dorsetshire, as the regulator of Cerne abbey, and became himself, in the course of years, a monk, priest, abbot, and bishop. Upon the abbey and see that owed obedience to him, there is ample room for controversy. It has been thought, however, that he was abbot of Peterborough, and eventually archbishop of York.¹ Those who take this view of his case believe that he also held, at one time, the see of Worcester.² To York Minster was not attached a regular monastery, but a college of secular canons. Hence archbishops, who were Benedictine monks, had been allowed to hold Worcester *in commendam*, Oswald having organised a monastery of that order around the cathedral there. They could thus attend to their archiepiscopal duties, and yet preserve inviolate the character of Benedictine monks. But another hypothesis makes Elfric to have been successively abbot of Eynsham, in Oxfordshire, bishop of Wilton, and archbishop of Canterbury.³ If this be his true history, he died in 1006.

§ 15. Now, although it is true that this age had not the numerous records of later periods, and that the Norman conquest reduced nearly the whole English population to a state of villenage soon after Elfric's death, yet there is no reason certainly known why such obscurity should shroud the memory of a very prolific Anglo-Saxon writer. Soon after the time when this remarkable personage lived, as we learn from his own preface to his homilies, there arose, indeed, two authors, Osbern and William of Malmesbury, who sought employment and reputation in writing upon the ecclesiastical worthies of England. Neither of them, however, throws any light upon his history; Malmesbury rather the reverse. He might even seem to have intentionally involved his memory in confusion. For such omission and seeming management, it is, of course, impossible to assign an incontrovertible cause. But a plausible conjecture is obvious.⁴ Osbern's patron was Lanfranc, who rose to the summit of

Vet. Test., pronounces the Anglo-Saxon remains mere German works of a remote age, printed in characters artfully made up for deception, and Elfric's name a figment, excogitated from the Hebrew. The indefatigable Mabillon has no industry for Elfric; he merely has not discovered whether certain little works, mentioned by Leland and Pitts, are to be considered as Elfric, the grammarian's, or Elfric, the archbishop of Canterbury's. (*Annal. Bened.* iv. 191.) Dr. Lingard will not pretend to determine the effect of such language as Elfric's from a Protestant pulpit, but he is

permitted to affirm that no Catholic theologian will declare it contrary to the Catholic doctrine. (*Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, note m.) This is true enough; but what must be said of a Roman-Catholic theologian?

¹ See the Author's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 213.

² [Elfric of York only held Worcester for a few months in 1041. He became archbishop of York in 1023, and died in 1051. *Ed.*]

³ Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Lond. 1842, p. 482.

⁴ [Mr. Soames's plausible conjecture is

ecclesiastical distinction by polemics in favour of transubstantiation. Malmesbury had evidently taken those views of that doctrine which the Normans patronised, or he would not have attacked Raban Maur for supporting the opposite opinion. To such men, with their patrons and admirers, nothing could be more embarrassing than a writer, like Elfric, with a large body of homilies, regularly authorised for national use, within a few years before. There was no possibility that he should have delivered any other doctrine than that of the contemporary Church of England. He says, however, that Eucharistic bread and wine are *not the same body that Christ suffered in, nor the same blood in bodily substance that he shed for us*.¹ It is true that he introduces legendary tales, meant for marking a broad line of distinction between the Eucharist and ordinary food, hence capable, if taken unconnectedly, of serving the cause of transubstantiation.² His main stream of argument is, however, plainly an intentional contradiction of that doctrine. He has, in fact, worked up much that Ratramn wrote in reply to Paschasius Radbert.³ Hence it is clear, that he was well aware of a belief in transubstantiation, and that he purposely took an opposite view in a mass of doctrine, not only intended for popular instruction, but also approved and authorised by the archbishop of Canterbury.⁴ It is no wonder that such as looked up to a succeeding archbishop, who had risen as an advocate for transubstantiation, should seek to involve the name of Elfric in inextricable confusion. To discredit openly the national homilies was hopeless; but a studied silence might gradually wean his depressed countrymen from him, and in a few generations his very name and memory might become irretrievably obscured.

ably maintained, but is really untenable. Elfric's works share with almost every other Anglo-Saxon composition, in utter obscurity as to their author. Neither the Chronicle nor the Homilies of Lupus can be ascribed to a particular author with any certainty. And when we add that Elfric was one of the most common Saxon names, being borne by several contemporary bishops and abbots, and that the language, as written, very early became unintelligible, we shall see little reason to wonder at the obscurity of both writer and work. We know that Elfric was director of the abbeys of Cerne and Ensham; that he was an abbot in 1006, and therefore could not have been the archbishop of Canterbury who died that year. He may have been the archbishop of York; but if so, must have lived to nearly ninety years of age: a fact that would have most probably been recorded, if it were so. There were two bishops of this name at Elmham in this century, and if it were quite clear that Elfric was a bishop, I should incline to suppose that he was one of them; but he styles himself everywhere abbot at most. *Ed.*]

¹ L'Isle's *Testimony of Antiquity*. Epistle to Wulfstan.

² *Ibid.* Sermon on Easter-day, p. 7.

³ It shows how strongly the tide set in against opponents of transubstantiation, that although Ratramn was a very eminent writer in his day, there is little about him extant. Even the date of his death is uncertain. (Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* iii. 139.) There is, therefore, some degree of analogy between his case and Elfric's.

⁴ Sigeric, who has gained celebrity from his allowance of Elfric's homilies, filled the see of Canterbury from 989 to 994. Elfric's homilies, for two years, have been published and translated for the Elfric Society, by Benj. Thorpe, F.S.A. Lond. 1844, 1846. The editor admits that eminent person's abbacy of Ensham, which seems, indeed, completely established by a citation produced by Mr. Wright from a C. C. C. M.S., but rejects the other portions of Mr. Wright's hypothetical history. He is led to this rejection by Elfric's words in the preface to his homilies, which speak of king Ethelred's days as past. Now they lasted ten years beyond the death of Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Thorpe prefers the hypothesis, which identifies the homilist with Elfric, archbishop of York; a supposition that seems liable to no chronological objections.

§ 16. Like other churches previous to the Reformation, that of the Anglo-Saxons was episcopally organised. A kingdom of the heptarchy was no sooner converted, than a bishop was appointed to direct its spiritual affairs. This arrangement applied as well to kingdoms Christianised by native missionaries, as to those won over to the Gospel by means of Rome. In Kent, indeed, although the smallest, perhaps, of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, two sees were founded very early, the second being at Rochester.¹ But this, probably, arose from the metropolitical character bestowed upon Canterbury. Eventually, thirteen episcopal and two archiepiscopal sees were established in ante-Norman England.² All the prelates, together with the abbots, were standing members of the *witenagemot*, or national legislature. Thus the parliamentary privilege of a modern English bishop is no creature of that Norman innovation which converted episcopal endowments into baronies. William's object in this, was rather to impose additional burthens upon the prelacy, than to confer any new privilege upon it. His policy required him to place episcopal domains, like ordinary tenures, under a clear liability to supply contingents for military service. As for legislative functions, he left the prelates where he found them. The envious, narrow, illiberal spirit, let loose by the Reformation among certain classes of the laity, is prone to represent such forbearance as a proof of weakness in temporal rulers, and of artful ambition in ecclesiastics. It is, however, easy to show the wisdom, as well as the justice, of that ancient policy, which placed the [service of the] church among liberal professions, and opened to its ministers those prospects of affluence, and attendant political privileges, which animate the hopes and requite the exertions of their fellow-countrymen.

¹ The see there was founded in 604, and so completely was it reckoned subordinate to Canterbury, that the archbishops are said to have nominated to it until after the conquest. [Rochester was probably the capital of one of the subordinate kingdoms of Kent. *Ed.*]

² Under Henry I. two new sees were erected, *viz.* Ely in 1108, and Carlisle in 1132. In addition to the fifteen episcopal sees thus existing, there were also, before the Reformation, the four Welsh sees. Out of the spoils of monasteries, Henry VIII. erected the sees of Bristol, Gloucester, Chester, Peterborough, Oxford, and Westminster. Of these, the last had only a single prelate, Thomas Thirby, consecrated in 1540, and translated to Norwich by Edward VI. in 1550. The see of Westminster was then dissolved, and its diocese re-united to London. The see of Bristol continued until 1836, when it was united to that of Gloucester; Dorsetshire, before in its diocese, being restored to the see of Salisbury, under which it had been previously to the Reformation.

Simultaneously with the union of Gloucester and Bristol, a new see was founded at Ripon, and another new see was founded at Manchester in 1847. This was to have been done when a vacancy should allow the sees of Bangor and St. Asaph to be consolidated. Thus, although the populous districts of northern England were to gain two new bishops, the prelacy was to remain at its old number of twenty-six, including the two archbishops, and excluding the bishop of Sodor and Man, who has never had any vote in the House of Lords. But a great opposition was made to the consolidation of the sees of Bangor and St. Asaph. That project was, in consequence, abandoned, and a twenty-seventh prelacy was created in England by the foundation of a new see at Manchester. It was, however, provided that no more than the old number of twenty-six prelates should sit in parliament. The bishop last appointed has to wait for a seat until a vacancy is made by the death of some one who was on the bench before him.

TWELFTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. 2. Conversion of pagan nations — § 3. The Finns — § 4. The Livonians — § 5. The Slavonians — § 6. Estimate of these conversions — § 7. The Tartars and Presbyter John — § 8. Unfortunate issue of the expeditions to Palestine — § 9. Renewal of the crusades — § 10. Extinction of the kingdom of Jerusalem — § 11. The third crusade — § 12. Its result — § 13. Orders of knights militant. First, the order of St. John — § 14. Second, that of Templars — § 15. Third, that of Teutonic knights.

§ 1. A CONSIDERABLE part of the people living in Europe, especially in its northern regions, were still ignorant of Christianity, and devoted to the foolish superstitions of their ancestors. In the conversion of these, therefore, the zealous in religion occupied themselves in this century; yet not all of them with equal success, or equal discretion. *Boleslaus*, duke of Poland, after vanquishing the Pomeranians, concluded a peace with them on the condition that they should allow the Christian religion to be freely preached and expounded to them. Accordingly, *Otto*, bishop of Bamberg, a man distinguished in this age for his zeal in propagating Christianity, was sent among them for this purpose, in the year 1124. He baptized a considerable number, but was utterly unable to overcome the obstinacy of many. On his return to Germany, a large part of those baptized by him relapsed into idolatry. He therefore took another journey into Pomerania, in the year 1126; and amidst many difficulties succeeded in strengthening and extending the feeble church there.¹

¹ See Henry Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, t. iii. pt. ii. p. 34, where is a Life of Otto; whom Clement III., in 1189, enrolled in the catalogue of saints. See the *Acta Sanctorum mensis Julii*, i. 349, &c. Dan. Cramer, *Chronicle of the Church of Pomerania*, book i., written in German: Christ. Schötgen's

German tract, on the conversion of the Pomeranians by Otto: Stargard, 1724, 4to. Jo. Mabillon's *Annales Benedict.* vi. 123, 146, 323. [Likewise Jo. Bugenhagen's *Pomerania*, published by J. H. Balthasar, Greifswald, 1728, 4to, p. 38, 64, 78, &c. The precepts given by this apostle to his

From this time onward, Christianity became so established among the Pomeranians, that *Adalbert* could be ordained as their first bishop.

§ 2. *Waldemar I.*, king of Denmark, obtained very great fame by the many wars that he undertook against the pagan nations, the Slaves, the Wends, the Vandals, and others. He fought not only for the interests of his subjects, but likewise for the extension of Christianity; and wherever he was successful, he demolished the temples and images of the gods, the altars and groves, and commanded Christian worship to be set up. In particular, he subdued, in the year 1168, the whole island of Rugen, which lies near to Pomerania; and now he compelled its ferocious, savage, piratical inhabitants, who had been addicted to senseless superstitions, to hear Christian preachers, and to embrace the Christian worship. The king's designs were promoted and executed by *Absalom*, archbishop of Lund, a great man, whom the king employed as his chief counsellor on all subjects.¹

§ 3. The Finns, who infested Sweden with frequent inroads, were attacked by *Eric IX.*, king of Sweden, called *St. Eric* after his death; and by him subdued, after many bloody battles. As to the year when this took place, historians disagree.² The vanquished nation was commanded to follow the religion of the conqueror, which most of them did with reluctance and disgust.³ The shepherd and guardian assigned to this new church was *Henry*, archbishop of Upsal, who had accompanied the king. But as he treated these new Chris-

new converts, were designed chiefly to wean them from their superstitious practices. They did not go into the essentials of Christianity. They must observe Sundays and the feast-days; they must fast; must bring their children to be baptized, with certain formalities, at Whitsuntide; must not murder their daughters, as formerly; must refrain from polygamy; must not marry their god-mothers; and, in general, must refrain from marrying kindred within the sixth and seventh degrees; they must not bury the bodies of Christians among those of pagans; must build no idol-temples; consult no soothsayer; eat nothing that is unclean; do penance often, &c. See the *Chron. Ursperg. et Halberstadt.* ad ann. 1124. *Schl.*—From the account of one of Otto's great baptismal celebrations, extracted by Mabillon, we learn completely the contemporary mode of administering that sacrament. 'Primus ejus apostolicus labor fuit apud Pirissam urbem, ubi septem circiter millia hominum ad baptismum adduxit, duobus illie exstructis baptisteriis, ut in uno mares, in altero feminas baptizaret. Ad utriusque ingressum cortinæ expansæ erant, sub quas singuli tantum baptizandi intrabant cum patrinis suis, qui baptizandi vestem ac cereum, illo in aquam descendente, accipiebant, et ob oculos suos tenentes ex-

pectabant, donec eam redderent de aqua exeunti. Sacerdos vero qui ad cupam, seu sacrum fontem, stabat, cum audisset potius, quam vidisset, baptizandum in aquam ingressum esse, velo parvulum amoto, trina immersione capitis illius, mysterii sacramentum perficiebat, unctumque liquore chrismatis in vertice, et alba imposita, reductoque velo, de aqua baptizatum exire jubebat, patrinis veste, quam tenebant, illum co-operientibus atque deducientibus. Hic priscus erat ritus conferendi baptismatis, ab Ottone observatus, quem nusquam alibi tam accurate et distincte explicatum inveni.' (*Annal. Bened.* vi. 124.) Otto died in 1139. *Ibid.* p. 323. *S.*]

¹ Saxo Grammaticus, *Hist. Danica*, l. xiv. p. 239. Helmold, *Chron. Slavorum*, l. ii. c. xii. p. 234, with the note there of Henry Bangert. Pontoppidan, *Annales Eccles. Danicæ*, i. 404, &c. [Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* xxv. 245, &c. *Tr.*]

² Most of them, with Baronius, refer it to 1151. Vastovius places it in 1150, and Oernhielmus, A.D. 1157.

³ Claud. Oernhielmus, *Hist. Eccl. Gentis Suecorum*, l. iv. c. iv. § 13. Jo. Loccenius, *Hist. Suecica*, l. iii. p. 76, ed. Francf. Isr. Erlandus, *Vita Erii Sancti*, c. vii. Vastovius, *Vitis Aquilonia*, p. 65, &c.

tians too rigorously, and attempted to punish severely a man of great influence who had committed murder, he was himself massacred; and the pontiff, *Hadrian IV.*, enrolled him among the saints.¹

§ 4. Towards the close of the century, perhaps in the year 1186, some merchants of Bremen or of Lubeck, trading to Livonia, took along with them *Mainhard*, a regular canon of St. Augustine in the monastery of Segeberg in Holstein, to bring that warlike and uncivilised nation to the Christian faith. But, as very few would listen to him, *Mainhard* consulted the Roman pontiff, who created him the first bishop of the Livonians, and decreed that war should be waged against opponents.² This war, which was first waged with the Esthonians, was extended further, and more vigorously prosecuted, by *Berthold*, the second bishop of the Livonians, after the death of *Mainhard*; for this *Berthold*, formerly abbot of Lucca, marched with a strong army from Saxony, and recommended Christianity, not by arguments, but by slaughter and battle.³ Following his example, the third bishop *Albert*, previously a canon of Bremen, entered Livonia in the year 1198, well supported by a fresh army raised in Saxony, and fixing his camp at Riga, he instituted, by authority of *Innocent III.*, the Roman pontiff, the military order of *knights sword-bearers*, who should compel the Livonians, by force of arms, to receive baptism.⁴ New forces were marched, from time to time, from Germany, by whose valour and that of the knights sword-bearers the wretched people were subdued and exhausted, so that they at last substituted the images of Christ and the saints in the place of their gods. The bishops and knights partitioned out among themselves the lands most unjustly wrested from the ancient possessors.⁵

§ 5. The subjugation and conversion of the Slavonians, who inhabited the shores of the Baltic, and were most inveterate enemies of

¹ Jo. Vastovius, *Vitis Aquilonia, seu Vite Sanctor. Regni Sueogothici*, p. 62. Eric. Benzelius, *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Sueogothicæ*, pt. i. p. 33, &c.

² [Mainhard in the war against the Lettes or Lithuanians, taught his Livonians the art of erecting fortified castles, and, in general, a better method of carrying on war. His lieutenant Dietrich, a Cistercian monk, was afterwards bishop of Esthonia. He also was Mainhard's envoy to the pope, who proffered indulgences to all that would assume the cross and march against the Livonians. *Schl.*]

³ [Berthold was a Cistercian, and was appointed successor to Mainhard, in 1196, by the archbishop of Bremen. His first expedition to Livonia was unsuccessful. The Livonians believed that he came among them only to enrich himself out of them; and he found it best to make his escape from them. When he returned with an armed force in 1198, the Livonians killed him. But the army of crusaders so terrified

the inhabitants, that they admitted clergymen among them; though these they soon after chased out of the country. *Schl.*]

⁴ See Henry Leonh. Schurzfleisch, *Historia Ordinis Ensiferorum Equitum*, Witteb. 1701, 8vo.

⁵ See the *Origines Livoniæ, seu Chronicon vetus Livonicum*, published with copious notes, Francf. 1740, fol. by Jo. Dan. Gruber; who, in his notes, mentions and corrects all the other writers on the subject. [We have also three epistles of pope Innocent III. relating to the conversion of the Livonians. The first is addressed to all the Christians in Saxony and Westphalia; the second, to the Christians in the countries of the Slavonians; and the third, to the believers beyond the Elbe. In these the pope commands such as were under vows of pilgrimage to Rome, to substitute for them a crusade against the Livonians. Raynald, *Annales*, ad ann. 1199, No. 38, and *Cod. Diplom. Polon.* v. 1. *Schl.*]

the Christians, gave employment to both civil and ecclesiastical rulers during nearly the whole century. Among them, that very great prince *Henry the Lion* was distinguished. Besides devising and effecting other measures very useful for improving the Slavonian character, he restored and liberally endowed three bishoprics in Slavonia beyond the Elbe; namely, Ratzeburg, Oldenburg, which was soon after transferred to Lubeck, and Schwerin.¹ Among the religious teachers who assailed the ignorance and stupidity of this barbarous nation, the most distinguished was *Vicelin* of Hameln, a man who had but few equals in that age, and who, from presiding over the regular canons of St. Augustine at Faldern, was at length made bishop of Oldenburg. For nearly thirty years, from A.D. 1124 to A.D. 1154, the time of his death, he laboured amidst innumerable difficulties, indefatigably, perseveringly, and successfully, in instructing the Slavonians, and alluring them to Christianity. He also performed many other praiseworthy deeds, which have rendered his name immortal.²

§ 6. It is scarcely necessary to repeat here, what has several times been remarked already, that barbarous nations, brought into the pale of the Christian church in this manner, became disciples of Christ in

¹ See the *Origines Guelphicæ*, iii. 16, 19, 34, 41, 55, 61, 63, 72, 82, and the valuable Preface of Scheidius, § xiv. p. 41. Ludewig's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor.* vi. 230, &c. Jo. Ern. von Westphalen's *Monumenta inedita Rerum Cimbricar. et Megapolens.* ii. 1998, &c. [According to Helmold, in his *Chronicon Slavor.* l. i. c. 69, it was Hartwig, the archbishop of Hamburg, who re-established these bishoprics. Henry the Lion had previously made some campaigns into the territory of the Slavonians; but his object had not been to propagate Christianity. (Nulla de Christianitate, says Helmold, fuit mentio, sed tantum de pecunia.) Otto the Great had formerly established the bishopric of Oldenburg, which extended from that of Holstein as far as the Peene and the town of Demmin: and under Ezo, the tenth bishop, this bishopric was divided by Adalbert, archbishop of Hamburg, into three bishoprics, those of Mecklenburg and Ratzeburg being created within it. But these bishoprics, after the extinction of Christianity among the Slavonians, remained vacant eighty-four years, till the times of Hartwig. This archbishop having in vain laboured to re-annex the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish bishoprics to his province, that he might not be without suffragans, re-established the old Slavonian bishoprics; and made Vicelin bishop of Oldenburg, and Emmehard bishop of Mecklenburg, without the knowledge of the duke and count, who seized upon all the first year's tithes in the bishopric of Oldenburg. Yet the duke listened to the complaints of the bishop, and promised to support him, provided he

would receive investiture from his hands. This the bishop refused, because it was an innovation upon a general custom, which was for bishops to receive investiture only from emperors and kings, and the clergy of Bremen urged him to take this course. But a friend advised Vicelin to yield to the duke, for the good of the church, suggesting that the protection of neither the archbishop nor the emperor would be of much service to him, unless he had the friendship of the duke, the immediate lord of the country. He at length deemed it necessary to follow this advice, and received investiture by the staff from the duke, who gave him the village of Buzoe (Butzow). From the same Helmold it appears why the Slavonians so long opposed Christianity. They were drained by oppressive contributions, and were refused the privileges enjoyed by Saxons. Pribeslav, a Pomeranian chief, said to the bishop that would convert him: 'Dentur nobis jura Saxonum in prædiis et redditibus, et liberent erimus Christiani, ædificabimus ecclesias, dabimus decimas,' &c. *Schl.*]

² A particular account of Vicelin is given by Jo. Möller, in his *Cimbria Litterata*, ii. 910, &c., and by Peter Lambecius, in his *Res Hamburg.* l. ii. p. 12, and by others. But the illustrious Jo. Ern. von Westphalen has exceeded all others in diligence, in his *Origines Neomonsaster. et Bordesholmens.* which are extant in the *Monumenta inedita Cimbrica*, ii. 2344, &c. The preface of this volume also deserves to be consulted, p. 33, &c. An engraved likeness of Vicelin is found in this volume.

name only, and not in reality. The religion taught them was not the pure and simple doctrine which Christ taught, but a method of appeasing God by ceremonies and external acts, which was in several respects very nearly allied to the religion that they were required to abandon. Take away the history and the name of Christ, the sign of the cross, some prayers, and a disagreement in rites, and it will not be difficult to reconcile both to each other to a great extent. Besides, many practices were still tolerated among these nations, which were wholly inconsistent with the nature of Christianity, and which betrayed very great impiety: for the priests, with but few exceptions, did not labour to remove the spiritual maladies of their minds, and to unite their souls to God, but to advance their own interests and those of the Roman pontiff, by extending and establishing their dominion.

§ 7. In Asiatic Tartary, near to Cathay, a great revolution took place, near the beginning of this century, and it was one very favourable to the cause of Christianity. For on the death of *Coiremchan*, or, as others call him, *Kenchan*, a very powerful king of the eastern regions of Asia, at the close of the preceding century, a certain priest of the Nestorians inhabiting those countries, whose name was *John*, made so successful an attack upon the kingdom while destitute of a head, that he gained possession of it, and from a *presbyter* became the sovereign of a great empire. This was the famous *Prester John*, whose country was for a long time deemed by the Europeans the seat of all felicity and opulence. Because he had been a *presbyter* before he gained the kingdom, most persons continued to call him *Prester John* after he had acquired regal dignity.¹ His name as king was

¹ The statements here made respecting the famous *Prester John*, whom our ancestors from the twelfth century onwards supposed to be the greatest and most prosperous of all kings, not only have the greatest appearance of probability among all the accounts that are given of him, but are also supported by the testimony of writers of candour, and the most worthy of credit: namely, William of Tripoli (see Carolus Du Fresne, notes to Joinville's *Life of St. Lewis*, p. 89), the bishop of Gabul, in Otto of Freising's *Chronicon*, l. vii. c. 33. [This bishop had come to Rome to obtain the decision of an umpire on the controversies between the Armenian and Greek churches. He related, that a few years before one John, who lived in the extremities of the east, beyond Persia and Armenia, and was both a king and a priest, had, with his people, become a Nestorian Christian; that he had vanquished the Median and Persian kings, and attempted to march to the aid of the church at Jerusalem, but was obliged to desist from the enterprise because he was unable to pass the Tigris. This king was descended from the Magians mentioned in the Gospel, and was so rich that he had a

sceptre of emerald. *Schl.*]—William Rubruquis, *Voyage*, c. xviii. p. 36, in the *Antiqua in Asiam Itinera*, collected by P. Gerberon; and Alberic, *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1165 and 1170; in Leibnitz's *Accessiones Historiæ*, ii. 345 and 355, and others. It is strange that these testimonies should have been disregarded by learned men, and that so many opinions and disputes should have arisen respecting *Prester John* and the region in which he lived, and should have continued down even to our times. But such is the human character, that what has most simplicity and plainness is despised, and what is marvellous and obscure is preferred. Peter Covillanus, who was directed in the fifteenth century by John II., king of Portugal, to make inquiries respecting the kingdom of *Prester John*, when he arrived in Abyssinia with his companions, on discovering many things in the emperor of the Abyssinians or Ethiopians analogous to what was then currently reported in Europe respecting *Prester John*, supposed that he had discovered that John whom he was ordered to inquire after. And he easily persuaded the Europeans, then scarcely emerged from barbarism, to fall in with his

Ungchan. The exalted opinion of the power and riches of this *Prester John*, entertained by the Greeks and Latins, arose from this, that being elated with his prosperity and the success of his wars with the neighbouring nations, he sent ambassadors and letters to the Roman emperor *Frederic I.*, to the Greek emperor *Manuel*, and to other sovereigns, in which he extravagantly proclaimed his own majesty and wealth and power, exalting himself above all the kings of the earth: and this boasting of the vain-glorious man, the Nestorians laboured with all their power to confirm. He was succeeded by his son or brother, whose proper name was *David*, but was also generally called *Prester John*. This prince was vanquished and slain, near the close of the century, by that mighty Tartar emperor, *Genghiskan*.

§ 8. The new kingdom of Jerusalem in Syria, established in the preceding century by the French, seemed at the beginning of this century to flourish and to stand firm. But this prosperity was soon succeeded by adversity. For most of the crusaders, having returned home, and the Christian generals and princes that remained in Palestine being more attentive to their private advantages than to the public good, the Mahumedans recovered from their sudden terror and consternation, and collecting troops and resources on every side, attacked and harassed the Christians with perpetual wars. During many years they opposed the enemy with valour; but when *Atabec Zenghi*,¹ after a long siege, had taken the city of Edessa, and seemed

opinions. See John Morin, *de Sacris Ecclesie Ordinationibus*, pt. ii. p. 367, &c. But in the seventeenth century, many writings having been brought to light which had been unknown, the learned in great numbers abandoned this Portuguese conjecture, and agreed that Prester John must have reigned in Asia; but they still disagreed as to the situation of his kingdom and some other points. Yet there are some even in our times, and among the most learned men, who choose to give credit to the Portuguese, though supported by no proofs and authorities, that the Abyssinian emperor is that mighty Prester John, rather than follow the many contemporary and competent witnesses. See Euseb. Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 223, 337. Jos. Franc. Lafitau, *Hist. des Découvertes des Portugais*, i. 58, and iii. 57. Henr. Le Grand, *Diss. de Johanni Presbyt.* in Lobo's *Voyage d'Abyssinie*, i. 295, &c. [See above, cent. x. p. 1, c. 1, § 1, note¹, and Mosheim's *Hist. Tartaror. Eccles.* p. 16, &c. Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 1177, § 55, gives us the title of an epistle written by pope Alexander III. to Prester John, which shows that he was an Indian prince and a priest: 'Alexander Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio illustri et magnifico Indorum regi, sacerdotum sanctissimum, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.' *Tr.*—That the Dalai Lama was the Prester John, is denied by Paulsen, the

real author of Mosheim's *Hist. Tartaror. Ecclesiastica*. Yet more recently Joh. Eberh. Fischer, in his Introduction to the *History of Siberia*, p. 81 (in German), endeavoured to show that the Dalai Lonna (Lama) and Prester John are the same person; and that the latter name is a fictitious word, which the Europeans did not correctly understand. And whoever is sensible how low a people may sink under the influence of superstition, will not deem the idolatry of the Thibetians full proof, that the Grand Lama and Prester John could not be the same person. At least, if reliance may be put upon the account of the Augustinian eremite George (of which Gatterer's *Allgem. Hist. Bibl.* contains an extract), it was in the beginning of the twelfth century, that the regal power in Thibet was first joined with that of the Grand Lama; which is a new argument in favour of Fischer's opinion. See the *Hist. Bibl.* viii. 191. *Schl.*—But this hypothesis of Fischer seems to be fully subverted by the arguments of Mosheim and Paulsen, *Hist. Tartaror. Eccles.* p. 137, &c. See Schroeck's *Kirchengesch.* xxv. 192. *Tr.*]

¹ Atabec was an official title given by the Seljukian emperors or sultans to the lieutenants or viceroys whom they placed over certain provinces. The Latin historians of the crusades, of whom a collection was published by Jac. Bongars, call this Atabec Zenghi, *Sanguinus*. See Barth. Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, article *Atabec*, p. 142.

disposed to attack Antioch, the courage of the Christians began to fail. They therefore implored the succour of the Christian kings of Europe, and with tears supplicated for new armies of crusaders. The Roman pontiffs favoured these petitions, and left no means untried to persuade the emperor and other sovereigns to undertake another expedition to Palestine.

§ 9. This new crusade was long a subject of debate in some of the popular assemblies, and in the councils. At length, under pope *Eugene III.*, the celebrated abbot of Clairvaux in France, *St. Bernard*, a man of immense influence, brought the question to an issue. For as he, in the year 1146, *preached the cross* (as the phrase then was) in both France and Germany, but especially in a public assembly of the French at Vezelay, and promised, in the name of God, great victories, and a most prosperous issue of the enterprise, *Lewis VII.*, king of the French, his queen, and a vast number of nobles who were present, devoted themselves to the sacred war. *Conrad III.*, emperor of the Germans, at first resisted the admonitions of *St. Bernard*: but after some delay he followed the example of the French king. Both, therefore, proceeded towards Palestine, with very numerous armies, by different routes. But the greater part of both armies perished miserably on the road, either by famine or by shipwreck, or by the sword of the Mahumedans; to whom they were betrayed by the perfidious Greeks, who feared the Latins more than they did the Mahumedans. *Lewis VII.* left his country in the year 1147, and arrived at Antioch in the month of March in the following year, with a small army, and that exhausted by its sufferings. *Conrad* commenced his march in the month of May 1147, and in November of the same year joined *Lewis* at Nice, having lost the greater part of his troops by the way. Both proceeded to Jerusalem in the year 1148; and they led back to Europe the few soldiers that survived, in the year 1149. For these princes were unable to effect anything, among other causes, on account of the disagreement between them. The only effect of this second crusade was, to drain Europe, in a most unhappy manner, of a great portion of its wealth, and of a vast number of its inhabitants.¹

¹ Besides the historians of the crusades collected by Bongars, see Jo. Mabillon's *Annales Benedict.* vi. 399, 404, 407, 417, 451, &c. Jac. Gervais, *Hist. de l'Abbé Suger*, iii. 104—128, 173, 190, 239, &c. This Suger, a famous abbot of St. Denys, was left by *Lewis VII.* to govern his kingdom during his absence. Vertot, *Hist. des Chevaliers de Malte*, i. 86, &c. Jo. Jac. Massey, *de Rebus Imperii sub Conrado III.* [The French crusaders numbered nearly 100,000 armed men, of whom 70,000 were mounted cuirassiers, and the rest infantry. The German army was of about the same number. The emperor moved first, pursuing a direct course through Hungary, Bulgaria, and Thrace, to Constantinople, where he was

to wait for the arrival of the king. But the Greek emperor received him coldly; and by artifices induced him to cross the Bosphorus, and proceed towards Palestine. The Grecian guides assigned him, led him into desiles and dangerous positions in Lycaonia, where the Mahumedans nearly destroyed his army. After the loss of all his baggage, he was obliged to turn back with but a handful of men. The German army proceeded from Metz, crossed the Rhine at Worms, and the Danube at Ratisbon, passed through Hungary, and arrived safely at Constantinople. There they were told the German army had gone on, and were very successful against the infidels. *Lewis* now passed the straits, and was at Nice when *Conrad* re-

§ 10. The unfortunate issue of the second crusade did not, however, make the Christian cause in the East absolutely desperate. If the Christian princes had attacked the enemy with their combined strength, and acted in harmony, they would have had little to fear. But all the Latins, and especially their chiefs, abandoning themselves without restraint to ambition, avarice, injustice, and other vices, weakened each other by their mutual contentions, jealousies, and broils. Hence a valiant general of the Mahumedans, *Salaheddin*, whom the Latins call *Saladin*, viceroy, or rather king, of Egypt and Syria, assailed the Christians in the most successful manner, captured *Guy* of Lusignan, the king of Jerusalem, in the fatal battle of Tiberias, A.D. 1187; and in the same year reduced Jerusalem under his power.¹ After this ruinous campaign, the hopes of the Christians in the East rested wholly on the aid to be derived from the kings of Europe. This aid the Roman pontiff obtained after many and varied solicitations; but the event was not answerable to his counsels, wishes, and efforts.

§ 11. The third crusade was commenced by the emperor *Frederic I.*, surnamed *Barbarossa*; who traversed the provinces of Greece with a large army of Germans, in the year 1189, and after surmounting numerous difficulties in Asia Minor, and vanquishing the forces of a Mahumedan king resident at Iconium, made his way towards Syria. But the next year, he perished unhappily in the river Saleph, which passes by Seleucia—it is uncertain how; and a great part of his soldiers returned to Europe. The others continued the war, under *Frederic*, son of the deceased emperor: but the plague swept off very many of them, and, at length, their general, the emperor's son, in the year 1191; when the rest dispersed, and very few of them returned to their own country.²

§ 12. The emperor *Frederic* was followed, in the year 1190, by

turned. The sovereigns continued together for a few days, and began their march southerly along the coast. But the emperor, thinking it not honourable for him to attend a camp in which he had no command, returned to Constantinople, and afterwards embarked for the Holy Land. Lewis led his army through the interior of Asia Minor, to avoid passing the large rivers near their mouths. The Mahumedans hovered around him, cut off his supplies, and at length attacked him in the mountains of Laodicea to great advantage, destroyed a large part of his army, and came near to capturing the king himself. At length he arrived with the wreck of his army at Attalia, the capital of Pamphylia, where the Greeks drained them of their resources, and so embarrassed their proceeding by land, that the king, with part of his troops, was obliged to embark on board the few vessels he could obtain, leaving the remainder of his army to fight their way by land, if they could. Those he thus

left, all perished. He and those with him arrived safe at Palestine. The emperor also rejoined him with a few troops. Their united forces formed but a small army; yet they would have been able to reduce Damascus if the Christian princes of the East had not disagreed, and thus embarrassed their operations. The siege was abandoned; the sovereigns visited Jerusalem as pilgrims, and at length returned to Europe, with less than a tenth part of the men that had enlisted in the crusade. *Tr.*]

¹ See the Arab Bohadin's *Life of Saladin*; which Alb. Schultens published in Arabic, with a Latin translation, Lugd. Bat. 1732, fol. c. xxxiv. &c. p. 60, &c. Add Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, artie. *Salaheddin*, p. 742, &c., and Marigny, *Histoire des Arabes*, iv. 289, &c.

² These events are best illustrated by the celebrated count Henry von Bünaui, in his life of *Frederic I.* written in German p. 278, 293, 309, 333, &c.

Philip Augustus, king of France, and *Richard*, surnamed the *Lion-hearted*, king of England. Both these went by sea, and reached Palestine, with a chosen army, in the year 1191. Their first battle with the enemy was not unsuccessful; but in July of that year, after the reduction of the city of Acre, the king of France returned to Europe; leaving, however, a part of his troops in Palestine. After his departure, the king of England prosecuted the war with vigour, and not only vanquished *Saladin* in several battles, but also occupied Jaffa and Cæsarea, cities of Palestine. But being deserted by the French and Italians, and moved also by other reasons of great weight, he concluded a truce with *Saladin*, in the year 1192, for three years, three months, and three days; and soon after left Palestine with his troops.¹ Such was the issue of the third crusade; which drained Germany, England, and France, both of men and money, but afforded very little advantage to the Christian cause in Asia.

§ 13. During these wars of the Christians with the Mahumedans for the possession of the holy land, arose the three celebrated equestrian or military orders: whose business it was to clear the roads of robbers, to harass the Mahumedans with perpetual skirmishes, to afford assistance to the poor and the sick among pilgrims to the holy places, and to perform any other services which the public exigencies seemed to require.² The first of these orders, the *Knights of St. John of Jerusalem*, derived their name from a hospital in the city of Jerusalem consecrated to *St. John the Baptist*, in which certain pious and charitable brethren were accustomed to receive and afford relief to the needy and the sick visitants of Jerusalem. After the establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem, this hospital gradually acquired, from the liberality of pious persons, larger revenues than were requisite for the object of relieving the poor and the sick; and its president or *master*, *Raymund du Puy*, about the year 1120, with his brethren, offered to the king of Jerusalem to make war upon the Mahumedans, at his own expense. The king approved the plan; and the Roman pontiffs confirmed it by their authority. Thus at once, and to the surprise of all, from being administerers to the poor and the sick, who were removed from all bustle and noise, they became military characters; and the whole order was divided into three classes, *knights*, or soldiers who were of noble birth, and whose business it was to fight for religion; *priests*, who conducted the religious exercises of the order; and *serving brethren*, that is, soldiers of ignoble birth. This order exhibited the greatest feats of valour; and thus procured immense wealth. After the loss of Palestine, the knights passed into the island of Cyprus: subsequently they occupied the island of Rhodes, and held it a long time: when

¹ Gabr. Daniel, *Hist. de France*, iii. 426, &c. Rapin Thoyras, *Hist. d'Angleterre*, ii. 251, &c. [Hume's *Hist. of England*, ch. x. vol. i. p. 403, &c.] Marigny, *Hist. des Arabes*, iv. 285, &c.

orders, though not all, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliograph. Antiquar.* p. 465, &c. [The hospital from which they took their name was dedicated to St. John the almoner, patriarch of Alexandria. *Ed.*]

² The writers who treat of these three

expelled from Rhodes by the Turks, they obtained from *Charles V.* the possession of the island of Malta, where their Grand Master still resides.¹

§ 14. The second order was wholly military; that is, it did not embrace both soldiers and priests. It was called the order of *Templars*, from a house situated near the *temple* of Solomon in Jerusalem, which *Baldwin II.*, king of Jerusalem, gave to the knights, temporarily, for their first residence. The order began A.D. 1118, at Jerusalem; and had for its founders *Hugo de Paganis*,² *Godfrey de S. Amore*,³ and seven others, whose names are not known. Its full establishment and its rule it obtained, A.D. 1128, from the council of Troyes in France.⁴ These knights were required to defend the Christian religion by force of arms, to guard the highways, and to protect the pilgrims to Palestine from the cruelties and robberies of the Mahumedans. By its valour this order likewise acquired great fame and vast wealth; but at the same time, by its pride, luxury, cruelty, and other vices, incurred peculiar odium; which rose so high at last, that the order was wholly suppressed by a decree of the pontiff and of the council of Vienne.⁵

§ 15. The third order, that of the *Teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem*, was similar to the first, by requiring care of the poor and the sick, as well as warfare. It originated A.D. 1190, at the siege of Acre or Ptolemais; yet some place its obscure beginnings a little earlier, and at Jerusalem. During this siege some pious and bene-

¹ The most recent and best history of this order is that composed by Renat. Aubert de Vertot, by order of the knights, and published first at Paris, and afterwards at Amsterdam, 1732, 5 vols. 8vo. Add Hipp. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, iii. 72, &c. [In 1798, the knights of Malta betrayed the island to the French fleet, then carrying Buonaparte to Egypt. The English immediately after blockaded the island, took it in 1800, and have held it ever since. The order lost the greater part of its revenues during the French revolution; and from the time Malta was surrendered to the French, sank into insignificance; and is now, A.D. 1830, nearly, if not altogether extinct. *Tr.*—It has still, however, a recognised existence in the Roman and Austrian states, and till 1860, in Naples. It has 4 grand priorates, Rome, Venice, the Two Sicilies, and Bohemia, and is represented diplomatically as a sovereign power at the court of Vienna. The governing body resides at Rome. *Ed.*]

² [Hugues des Payens. *Tr.*]

³ [Or St. Omer. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* vi. 159, &c. [Mabillon there says, 'Their rule was taken almost verbatim from that of St. Benedict, and consisted of the same number of chapters, viz. 72. Many persons suppose that it was drawn up by St. Bernard.' It

received modifications from time to time; but their earliest regulations were the following: The knights shall attend the entire religious services, by day and by night; and if any one is prevented from attending, by his military duties, he shall repeat thirteen Pater noster, in place of matins, nine in place of vespers, and seven in place of each of the minor canonical hours. For each deceased brother, 100 Pater noster shall be said daily for seven days; and his allotment of food and drink (his rations) during forty days shall be given to some poor person. The knights may eat flesh thrice a week, on the Lord's day, Tuesdays, and Thursdays; the other four days they must abstain from flesh, and on Fridays must be content with lenten fare. Each knight may have three horses, and one squire. No one may either hawk or hunt. See Fleury's *Hist. de l'Eglise*, l. lxvii. cap. 55. *Tr.*]

⁵ See Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 56, &c. for an account of the origin of the order. Peter du Puy, *Hist. de l'Ordre militaire des Templiers*, which was republished with many additional documents, Brussels, 1751, 4to. Nic. Gürtler, *Hist. Templariorum Militum*, Amstel. 1691, 8vo. [For a list of more recent writers, see Winer's *Handb. d. Theologischen. Literatur*, Leips. 1826, p. 184. *Tr.*]

volent Germans undertook to provide accommodations for sick and wounded soldiers; and the undertaking so pleased the German princes who were present, that they resolved to establish an association for that object, to be composed of German knights. The Roman pontiff, *Cælestine III.*, afterwards approved of the society, and confirmed it by formal enactments. None were to be admitted into this order except Germans of noble birth; and those admitted were to devote themselves to the defence of the Christian religion and the holy land, and to the care of the poor and the sick. At first, the austerity of the order was very great, clothing and bread and water being the only recompense of the knights for the labours which they endured. But this rigour soon ceased, as the wealth of the society increased. When the order retired from Palestine, it occupied Prussia, Livonia, Courland, and Semigallia; and though it lost those provinces at the Reformation, yet it retained a part of its estates in Germany.¹

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Adverse events in the West — § 2. In the East — § 3. Prester John slain.

§ 1. NEITHER the Jews, nor the polytheists, could give the Christians of the West so much trouble as formerly. The former were accused by the Christians of various crimes, pretended or real; so that their efforts were directed, not so much to make opposition to the Christians, as to defend themselves, in the best manner they could, against their attacks. Such of the polytheists as remained in the north of Europe — and they were numerous in several places — frequently made great slaughter among the Christians.² But the Christian kings and princes, who were in their vicinity, gradually brought their rage under restraints; and did not cease from waging war upon them till they had deprived them both of their independence, and of their religious freedom.

§ 2. The writers of that age are filled with complaints of the cruelty and rage of the Saracens against the Christians in the East. Nor is there any reason to question their veracity. But most of them have omitted to state the great causes of this cruelty, which were, for the most part, on the side of the Christians. In the first place, the

¹ In addition to Raymund Duell's *Hist. Ordinis Teutonici*, Vindob. 1727, fol., see Peter von Dusburg's *Chronicon Prussie*, edited with the notes of Christopher Hartknoch, Jena, 1679, 4to. Hipp. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, iii. 140, &c. The *Chronicon Ordinis Teutonici*, in Ant. Matthæi *Analecta*

Veteris Ævi, v. 621, 658, ed. nova. The *Privilegia Ordinis Teutonici*, in Jo. Peter Von Ludewig's *Reliquiæ Manuscript.* vi. 43.

² Helmold, *Chronicon Slavor.* l. i. c. xxxiv. p. 88, c. xxxv. p. 89, c. xl. p. 99. Lindenberg, *Scriptor. Septentrion.* p. 195, 196, 201. Peter Lambecius, *Res Hamburg.* l. i. p. 23.

Saracens had a right, according to the laws of war, to repel violence by violence: nor is it easy to see with what face the Christians could require of this nation, which they attacked with large armies and slaughtered, that it should patiently receive blows and not return them. Besides, the Christians in the East committed abominable crimes, and did not hesitate to inflict the most exquisite sufferings and distress upon the Saracens. And can any think it strange that they should deem it right to retaliate? Lastly, is it a new and surprising thing that a people, not remarkable for mildness and gentleness of temper, when provoked by the calamities of wars, denominated holy, should be severe upon their subjects, who were united in religion with their enemies?

§ 3. A vast change in the state of the Christians, in northern Asia, took place near the close of this century, in consequence of the victories of the great *Genghiskan*, commander of the Tartars. For this descendant of the Mongals, or Moguls, a hero who has had few equals in any age, attacked *David*, or *Üngchan*, the brother, or son, or at least the successor of the celebrated *Prester John*, and himself called by that name, and having conquered him in battle slew him:¹ then assailing the other princes, who ruled over the Turks, the Indians, and the inhabitants of Cathay, he either slew them, or made them tributary; and after this, invading Persia, India, and Arabia, he overturned the Saracenic empire, and established that of the Tartars in those countries.² From this time the reputation of the Christian religion was greatly diminished in the countries which had been subject to *Prester John*, and his successor *David*; nor did it cease to sink, and to decline gradually, till it was wholly overwhelmed by either Mahumedan errors or the fables of paganism. Yet the posterity of *John*, for a long time after this, held, in the kingdom of Tangut, in which his original sect was, some degree of power, though much restricted, and not independent; and these continued to adhere to the Christian religion.³

¹ As to the year in which Genghiskan attacked and conquered Prester John, the Greek, Latin, and oriental writers disagree very much. Most of the Latin writers fix on the year 1202, and thus refer the event to the thirteenth century. But Marco Paolo, the Venetian, *de Regionibus Oriental.* l. i. c. 51, 52, 53, and others, state that it took place in 1187, and their authority I choose to follow. Demetrius Cantimir, prince of Moldavia, deviates from both; and in his preface to the *History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. xlv. t. i. French ed., states, on the authority of the Arabians, that Genghiskan

did not invade the territories of his neighbours till 1214.

² Petit de la Croix, *Histoire de Genghiz Can*, Paris, 1711, 12mo, p. 120, 121. Barthol. Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, artic. *Genghizkhan*, p. 378. Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Bibliotheca Oriental. Vaticana*, t. iii. pt. i. p. 101 and 295, &c. Jean du Plan Carpin, *Voyage en Tartarie*, cap. v. in the *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, vii. 350.

³ Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*, t. iii. pt. ii. p. 500, &c. [Mosheim, *Hist. Tartaror. Eccles.* c. ii. p. 29, &c. *Tr.*]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LEARNING AND PHILOSOPHY.

§ 1, 2. State of learning and science among the Greeks — § 3, 4. Among the Latins —
§ 5. Study of the civil law — § 6. Canon law — § 7. Philosophy among the Latins —
§ 8. Disagreements among the philosophers — § 9. Contests of the dialecticians. The realists and nominalists.

§ 1. AMONG the Greeks, though the times were calamitous, and revolutions and intestine wars were very frequent, the study of literature and the liberal arts was highly honoured. This was attributable to the patronage and the literary zeal of the emperors, especially the *Comneni*; and likewise to the vigilance of the Constantinopolitan patriarchs, who feared, lest the Greek church should want defenders against the Latins, if her priests were given up to ignorance. The learned and luminous commentaries of *Eustathius*, bishop of Thessalonica, upon *Homer* and *Dionysius*,¹ show that men of the best talents applied themselves diligently to the study of classic literature and antiquities.² And the many respectable historians of the events of their own times, *John Cinnamus*,³ *Michael Glycas*,⁴ *John Zonaras*,⁵

¹ [*Periegetes. Tr.*]

² [Eustathius was archbishop of Thessalonica in 1185, when his eloquence saved that city from demolition by its Sicilian conquerors. He was alive in 1194. His excellent commentary on *Homer* was published, Rome, 1550, 4 vols. fol., and Basil, 1560, 3 vols. fol. He also wrote a good commentary on the geographical poem of *Dionysius Periegetes*, Gr. Paris, 1577, fol. He wrote nothing on theology, so far as is known. *Tr.*]

³ [John Cinnamus, a grammarian and a soldier, secretary to Manuel Comnenus, flourished A.D. 1160, and was alive A.D. 1183. He wrote the history of the two Comneni, John and Manuel, comprising events from 1118 to 1176. The first part is very concise; the latter a full history; and both are written with fidelity, and in a good style. The best edition is that of Car. du Fresne, in six books, Paris, 1670, fol. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Michael Glycas, a native of Sicily,

flourished A.D. 1120. His *Annales Quadripartiti*, is historical, philosophical, and theological. Part I. describes the creation of the world in six days; Part II. extends from the creation to the birth of Christ; Part III. to Constantine the Great; and Part IV. to the death of Alexius Comnenus, A.D. 1118. It was published Gr. and Lat. with notes by Labbé, Paris, 1660, fol. Glycas also wrote *Disputatiuncule II.*, and many epistles, of which fragments are preserved. *Tr.*]

⁵ [John Zonaras, who flourished about 1118, was a native of Constantinople, and for many years in public civil life; but being bereft of his wife and children, he retired to a monastery, and solaced himself by writing for posterity. His *Annals* or *Compendious History*, is in three parts: the first treats of the Jews, from the creation to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; the second gives the Roman history from the founding of Rome to Constantine the Great, abridged chiefly from Dion Cassius; the third part

Nicephorus Bryennius,¹ and others,² are proof that neither the disposition to benefit succeeding ages, nor the ability to write with skill, was wanting to many among the Greeks.³

§ 2. No one took more pains to excite and cherish the love of philosophy than *Michael Anchialus*, patriarch of Constantinople.⁴ The philosophy to which he was attached appears to have been that of *Aristotle*: for the cultivators of philosophy among the Greeks were chiefly employed in expounding and improving this; as appears, among other specimens, from *Eustratius*' exposition of Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Analytics*.⁵ Yet the Platonic philosophy was not wholly neglected. On the contrary, it appears that many, and especially those who embraced the principles of the mystics, much preferred this philosophy to the peripatetic; and they considered *Plato* as suited to men of piety and candour, *Aristotle* to wranglers and the vain-

brings the history of the Greek empire down to the death of Alexius Comnenus, A.D. 1118. The best edition is that of Car. du Fresne, Gr. and Lat. Paris, 1686, 2 vols. fol. Zonaras also wrote commentaries on the apostolic canons, on some canonical epistles of the Greek fathers, and on the canons of the councils; all of which were published Gr. and Lat. Paris, 1618, and with Beveridge's notes, in his *Pandectæ Canonum*, Oxon. 1672, fol. Some tracts and epistles of Zonaras have likewise been published. *Tr.*]

¹ [Nicephorus Bryennius was the husband of the celebrated historian, Anna Comnena, and son-in-law to the emperor Alexius, who raised him to the rank of Cæsar. He was much concerned in the public transactions from 1096 till 1137, the probable year of his death. He wrote the Byzantine history, in four books, from 1057 to 1081, published Gr. and Lat. with notes by Peter Poussin, Paris, 1661, fol., and by Car. du Fresne, subjoined to the history of John Cinnamus, Paris, 1670, fol. *Tr.*]

² [Anna Comnena, the daughter of the emperor Alexius Comnenus, a woman of superior talents and learning, was born, A.D. 1083, flourished A.D. 1118, and lost her husband in 1137. After this, she commenced writing her history of her father's reign, from A.D. 1069 to 1118, which is properly a continuation of her husband's history. She completed it A.D. 1148, and called it *Alexias*, or *de Rebus ab Alexio patre gestis*, libri xv. It is a well-written history; and important, as giving a minute account of the first crusaders, of whom she had personal knowledge. The best edition is that of Poussin, Gr. and Lat., with a Glossary, Paris, 1661, fol., or rather its reprint by Du Fresne, subjoined to Cinnamus, Paris, 1670, fol.

Constantinus Manasses, about 1150, wrote a *Chronicon*, in verse, from the creation to 1081, addressed to Irene, the sister of

Manuel Comnenus; published Gr. and Lat. Leyden, 1616, 4to. and Paris, 1655, fol.

Neophytus, a Greek presbyter and monk, who flourished A.D. 1190, composed a narrative of the calamities of Cyprus, when taken by the English crusaders, A.D. 1191; published Gr. and Lat. by Cotelier, *Monumenta Eccles. Græcæ*, ii. 457.

The preceding list contains the most noted Greek historians of this century. *Tr.*]

³ [In this term, taken in its greatest latitude, must be included the monk Nestor, the father of Russian history, who flourished at Kiow, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and whose annals have procured reputation to professor Schlözer. See his *Probe Russischer Annalen*, Bremen and Götting. 1768, 8vo. *Schl.*]

⁴ Theodorus Balsamon, *Præfat. ad Photii Nomocanonem*; in Henry Justell's *Bibliotheca Juris Canon. veteris*, ii. 814.—[Michael Anchialus was patriarch of Constantinople from 1167 to 1185. According to Balsamon, he was a consummate philosopher; and it is certain that he was a fierce antagonist of the Latins. He has left us five synodal decrees; published Gr. and Lat. in the *Jus Gr. Rom.* l. iii. p. 227. He also composed a Dialogue, which he had with the emperor Manuel Comnenus, upon occasion of the arrival at Constantinople of legates from the Roman pontiff; some extracts from which are published by Leo Allatius, *de Consensu*, &c. l. ii. c. 3, § 2, c. 5, § 2, and c. 9, § 3. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Eustratius was metropolitan of Nice, about 1110, and was reputed a learned man, and distinguished theologian. His comments on Aristotle's *Ethics*, and on the Posterior *Analytics*, have been published. His tract against Chrysolanus, *de Processione Sp. Sancti*, still exists in MS. besides (as is said) some other tracts on the same subject. *Tr.*]

glorious. And their disagreement soon after gave rise to the noted controversy among the Greeks, respecting the comparative merits of the Platonic and the Aristotelian philosophies.

§ 3. In a great part of the western world extraordinary zeal was awakened in this age for the prosecution of literature, and the cultivation of every branch of learning: to which some of the pontiffs, and kings and princes, who could see the utility of learning in improving and establishing society, contributed by their authority and their munificence. Hence associations of learned men were formed, in many places, for teaching the various branches of human knowledge; and as the youth resorted to them in great numbers, eager for instruction, by degrees those higher schools were organised, which the next age called *Universities*. Paris exceeded all the other cities of Europe in the number of its learned men, and of its schools of various kinds, as well as in the concourse of its students. Hence, in this city, about the middle of the century, sprang up the pattern of our own literary institutions, though as yet rude and imperfect; but which time gradually moulded into form and made complete.¹ Nearly contemporaneous was the foundation of a distinguished school at Angers, for various branches of learning, by the care and efforts of *Ulger*, the bishop; though here jurisprudence appears to have held the first rank.² There was already at Montpellier a very celebrated school for the civil law, and for medical science.³ In Italy the school of Bologna, which seems to have had its commencement anterior to this century, was now gaining high renown. It was chiefly resorted to by the students of the Roman law, both civil and ecclesiastical; and especially after the emperor, *Lothair II.*, reinstated it, and conferred on it new privileges.⁴ In the same country the medical school of Salerno, which had before been very celebrated, now allured an immense number of students. While so many schools were rising up in Europe, the sovereign pontiff, *Alexander III.*, enacted a special law in the council of Rome, A.D. 1179, requiring schools to be everywhere set up, or to be reinstated, if they had before existed, in the monasteries, and in the cathedral churches: for such of them as had formerly flourished, were either wholly gone, or much decayed, through

¹ Cæs. Egasse de Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* ii. 463, &c. Steph. Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, l. iii. c. xxix. Peter Lambecius, *Hist. Biblioth. Vindob.* l. ii. c. v. p. 260. *Hist. Litt. de la France*, ix. 60—88.

² Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* ii. 215. Pocquet De la Livonière *Diss. sur l'Antiquité de l'Université d'Angers*, p. 21, &c. Angers, 1736, 4to.

³ *Hist. Générale de Languedoc, par les Bénédictins*, ii. 517, &c.

⁴ The inhabitants of Bologna tell us, their university was founded as early as the fifth century, by Theodosius II., and they show the diploma of that emperor, by which he

enriched their city with such an ornament. But most writers contend that this diploma is a fabrication; and they adduce strong proofs that the school of Bologna was not more ancient than the *eleventh* century, and that its principal enlargement was in the *twelfth* century, particularly in the time of Lothair II. See Car. Sigonius, *Historia Bononiensis*; as published with notes among his works: Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Ævi*, iii. 23, 884, 898, and especially the very learned God. Ge. Keufel's elegant *History of the University of Bologna*, written in German, Helmst. 1750, 8vo. Compare Just. Henr. Böhmer's *Pref. ad Corpus Juris Canonici*, p. 9, &c.

the negligence of the monks and bishops.¹ But the daily increasing fame and glory of the higher schools, or universities, rendered this law of little effect : for the majority flocking to these new seats of learning, the monastic and cathedral schools gradually came to nothing.

§ 4. Among the benefits derived from these many literary associations, at their very commencement, was this, that not only were the boundaries of human knowledge extended, but likewise a new division of the branches of it took place. Hitherto all learning had been confined to what were called the *seven liberal arts*; three of which, grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, comprised what was called the *Trivium*; and the other four, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, were called the *Quadrivium*. Most persons were contented with the *Trivium*; but those who wished to be thought learned men of the first rank, ascended to the *Quadrivium*. To these arts were now added, besides the study of languages, (for which few had much taste,) *theology*,—not, however, the old and simple theology, which was destitute of system and connexion, and rested solely on texts of Scripture, and sentences from the ancient fathers, but *philosophical*, or *scholastic* theology; also, *jurisprudence*, or civil and canon law; and lastly, *medicine*, or *physic*, as it was then called. For, as peculiar schools were now devoted to these sciences, they were of course placed in the list of studies which merited the attention of men of erudition. And when this was done, the common distribution of the sciences had to be changed. Hence the seven liberal arts were gradually included under the term *philosophy*; to which were added *theology*, *jurisprudence*, and *medicine*. And thus these four *Faculties*, as they are called, were, in the next century, formed in the *universities*.

§ 5. In Italy the reputation and authority of the old Roman jurisprudence revived, and caused all other systems of law then in use to go into desuetude, after the capture of Amalphi, A.D. 1137, by the emperor, *Lothair II.*, when the celebrated copy of the *Pandects*, or *Digest*, of which there had been very little knowledge for many centuries, was discovered and came into the hands of the Pisans.² From this time the learned began to study Roman jurisprudence with more eagerness; schools were soon opened for learning it in the university of Bologna; an example which was followed by degrees in other cities both within Italy and without. The consequence was, that whereas men had previously lived under various laws, and every gentleman had been at liberty to choose which he would obey, whether the Salic laws, the Lombardic, the Burgundian, or some other, the Roman laws gradually obtained the ascendancy, through the greater part of Europe, and excluded all the rest. It is an old opinion, that *Lothair II.*, at the instigation of *Imerius*, or Guarnerus, the first teacher of the

¹ See Böhmer's *Jus Eccles. Protestantium*, iv. 706.

² [The story of the discovery of the Pandects at Amalfi, is shown by Savigny to rest on very slight foundation. It is certain that the Pandects were known and studied

before the twelfth century. The MS. is now in the Laurentian library at Florence, and is the only copy that contains the whole fifty books. Hallam, *Lit. Hist.* i. 62, ed. 1855. Ed.]

Roman law in the university of Bologna, published a decree, that all should thenceforth obey the Roman law only, the others being abrogated. But learned men have shown, that this opinion is supported by no solid evidence.¹

§ 6. The civil law being placed among the sciences to be taught in the schools, the Roman pontiffs and their friends deemed it not only useful but also necessary that the *canon law*, or that which regulates the affairs of the church, should have the same privilege. There existed, indeed, some collections of *canons*, or ecclesiastical laws, but there was not one among them that was complete and fit to be expounded in the schools; in consequence both of their want of arrangement and their deficiency in copiousness of matter. Hence *Gratian*, a Benedictine monk, born at Chiusi, and now residing at Bologna, in the monastery of St. Felix and Nabor, about the year 1130, compiled from the writings of the ancient doctors, the epistles of the pontiffs, and the decrees of councils, an *epitome of canon law*, suitable for the instruction of youth in the schools.² The Roman pontiff, *Eugene III.*, was highly pleased with the work: and the doctors of Bologna received it with applause, and immediately adopted it as their guide in teaching; and their example was followed, first by the university of Paris, and then by the other universities. The most learned men of the Roman church acknowledge that *Gratian's Decretum*, as it is commonly called, or his *Concordia discordantium Canonum*, as the author himself called it, is full of numberless faults and mistakes.³ Yet, as it admirably strengthens and supports the

¹ See Herm. Conringius, *de Origine Juris Germanici*, c. xxii. Guido Grandus, *Epist. de Pandectis*, p. 21, 69, ed. Florence, 1737, 4to. Henr. Brenemann, *Historia Pandectar.* p. 41, &c. Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Præf. ad Leges Longobardicas*; in his *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* t. i. pt. ii. p. 4, &c., and in his *Antiquit. Ital. Mediæ Evæ*, ii. 285, &c. On this subject George Calixtus had a warm controversy with Barth. Nihusius, who adhered to the common opinion respecting Irnerius and Lotharius. The history of this controversy is given by Jo. Mollerus, *Cimbria Litterata*, iii. 142, &c.

² [Of Gratian, nothing more is known than is stated in the text. He completed his *Decretum* about 1151. It is divided into three parts. The first is subdivided into one hundred and one *Distinctiones*; in which he treats of law in general, and canon law in particular, in the first twenty *Distinctiones*; and then proceeds to treat of the different orders of the clergy, their qualifications, ordination, duties, and powers. The second part is subdivided into *thirty-six Causes*, each embracing several Questions, which are treated of in one or more chapters. This part probably contains the rules and principles of proceeding in the ecclesiastical courts, in all the varieties of causes that

occur. The third part is much shorter than either of the preceding. It is divided into *five Distinctiones*; and treats of the consecration of churches, worship, the sacraments, fasts and festivals, images, &c.—This work (which, with the *Decretals* of Gregory IX. in five books, the *Liber sextus Decretalium* of Boniface VIII., the *Constitutions* of Clement V., and the *Extravagantes* of John XXII., [and a few others, called *Extravagantes Communes*. Ed.] constitutes the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, and forms more than one half of the whole), is a compilation from genuine and spurious canons, decrees, and decisions, without much discrimination; and is so carelessly made, that the authors are frequently confounded, and one cited for another. It is therefore of no great authority with modern canonists. Though favourable to the pretensions of the popes in the main, it is against their claims in several particulars; and this may have tended to sink its credit with both Roman Catholics and Protestants. After all, it was a noble work for the age in which it was compiled, and justly entitles its author to the appellation of the father of canon law. Tr.]

³ See, among others, Anton. Augustinus, *de Emendatione Gratiani, cum Observationibus Steph. Baluze et Gerh. van Mastricht*;

power of the Roman pontiffs, it has become in a measure sacred, and still retains the high authority which it unreasonably acquired in that illiterate and barbarous age.¹

§ 7. All the Latins who wished to rank among learned men eagerly studied philosophy. Most people, by the middle of the century, divided *philosophy*, taking the word in its broadest sense, into *theoretical*, *practical*, *mechanical*, and *logical*. Under *theoretical* philosophy was comprehended *theology*, so far as it is attainable under the guidance of reason, that is, natural theology; also *mathematics* and *physics*. To *practical* philosophy belonged *ethics*, *economics*, and *politics*. *Mechanical* philosophy embraced the seven arts of common life, including navigation, agriculture, and hunting. *Logic* they divided into *grammar*, and the art of reasoning: and the latter they sub-divided into *rhetoric*, *dialectics*, and *sophistics*. Under the head of *dialectics* they included that branch of metaphysics which treats of general ideas. This distribution of the sciences was generally approved; yet some wished to separate *mechanics* and *grammar* from philosophy: but others opposed this, because they would have all science to be included under the name of philosophy.²

§ 8. But the teachers of these several branches of philosophy were split into various parties and sects, which had fierce contests with each other.³ In the first place, there was a threefold method of teaching philosophy. (I.) The *old and simple* method, which did not go beyond *Porphyry*, and the *Dialectics* ascribed to St. Augustine; and which advised, that few persons should study philosophy, lest divine wisdom should become adulterated with human subtleties. (II.) The *Aristotelian*, which explained and elucidated the works of *Aristotle*. For Latin translations of some of the books of Aristotle were now in the hands of the learned;⁴ though these translations were rude,

Arnheim, 1678, 8vo. [Numerous errors having been discovered in the *Decretum*, on which Augustinus wrote a treatise, it was subjected to a careful revision, by order of the court of Rome, and then published with all the corrections that could be ascertained, by authority of Gregory XIII. A.D. 1580. Tr.]

¹ See Gerh. van Mästricht, *Historia Juris Ecclesiastici*, § 293, p. 325, and Just. Hen. Böhrer, *Jus Eccles. Protestant.* i. 100, &c., and especially his Preface to his new edition of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Halle, 1747, 4to. Alexand. Machiavel, *Observationes ad Sigonii Histor. Bononiensem*, Opp. Sigonii, iii. 128, &c. He here adduces many new things, respecting Gratian and his labours, from a very ancient *Kalendarium Archigymnasii Bononiensis*; but these statements are much questioned. Nor has that famous *Kalendarium* yet been published, of which the Bolognians tell us so much, and of which they have repeatedly promised to give the world a copy, and thus end controversy respecting it. This fact increases

suspicion; and, if I do not misjudge, the fragments of the *Kalendarium*, which have been published, bear manifest marks of pious fraud.

² These statements we have derived from several sources; but especially from Hugo of St. Victor, *Didascal.* l. ii. c. ii. Opp. i. 7, &c., and from the *Metalogicus* of John of Salisbury, in various passages.

³ See Godofr. of St. Victor's poem on the sects of philosophers in this age; published by William Le Boeuf, *Diss. sur l'Hist. Eccles. et Civile de Paris*, ii. 254, &c. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, ii. 562, &c. Ant. Wood, *Antiquitates Oxonienses*, i. 51. John of Salisbury, *Metalogicus* and *Policraticus*, passim.

⁴ Robert Du Mont, *Appendix ad Siegbert. Gemblacensem*; published by Luc. D'Achery, subjoined to the *Opp. Guiberti de Novigento*, ad ann. 1128, p. 753. 'Jacobus Clericus de Venecia transtulit de Græco in Latinum quosdam libros Aristotelis, et commentatus est, scilicet Topica, Analyt. priores et posteriores, et Elenchos. Quamvis anti-

obscure, and ambiguous, so that those who used them in teaching, often fell into strange incongruities and absurdities. (III.) The *free* method, by which men attempted to investigate latent truth, by their own ingenuity, aided, however, by the precepts of *Aristotle* and *Plato*. But those who pursued this method, commendable as it may be in itself, for the most part, misemployed their ingenuity, and wearied themselves and their disciples with idle questions and distinctions.¹ These various opinions, contests, and defects of the philosophizers, induced many to hold all philosophy in contempt, and to wish to banish it from the schools.

§ 9. But none disputed more subtly, or contended more fiercely, than the *dialecticians*; who, being occupied exclusively with *universals*, as they were called, or general ideas, confined their whole science to this one subject, and explained it in different ways.² There were, at this time, two principal sects among them, *Realists* and *Nominalists*; each of which was subdivided into several minor parties. The *Nominalists* of this age were, indeed, inferior in numbers, and in authority, to the *Realists*; yet they were not without followers. To these was added a third sect, that of the *Formalists*; which took, in a sense, middle ground between the disputants. But they really did no good; for they cast no light on the subject, and therefore only furnished new matter for controversy.³ Those devoted to the study of the medical art, astronomy, mathematics, and the kindred sciences, continued to frequent the schools of the Saracens in Spain; and many books of the Arabians were translated into Latin.⁴ For the high repu-

quior translatio super eosdem libros haberetur.' Thomas Becket, *Epistolar.* ii. ep. xciii. p. 454, ed. Bruxell. 1682, 4to. 'Itero preces, quatenus libros Aristotelis, quos habetis, mihi faciatis exscribi.—Precor etiam iterata supplicatione, quatenus in Operibus Aristotelis, ubi difficiliora fuerint, notulas faciatis, eo quod interpretum aliquatenus suspectum habeo, quia licet eloquens fuerit alias, ut sæpe audiui, minus tamen fuit in Grammatica institutus.'

¹ See John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, p. 434, &c., and *Metalogicus*, p. 814, &c., and *passim*.

² John of Salisbury, an elegant writer of this century, pleasantly says, in his *Policraticus*, seu *de Nugis Curialium*, l. vii. p. 451. 'He (the philosopher) is prepared to solve the old question about genera and species; and while he is labouring upon it, the universe grows old: more time is consumed upon it than the Cæsars spent in conquering and subduing the world: more money is expended than all the wealth which Cræsus ever possessed. For this single subject has occupied many so long, that after consuming their whole lives upon it, they have not understood either that or anything else.'

³ John of Salisbury, *Policrat.* l. vii. p. 451, 452. 'Some (the Formalists), with

the mathematicians, abstract the *forms* of things; and to them refer whatever is said about universals. Others (the Realists) examine conceptions (intellectus); and maintain that these go by the name of universals. There were also some (the Nominalists) who held that *words* constitute the genera and species; but their opinion is now exploded, and, with the authors of it, has disappeared. Yet there are still some treading in their steps (though they blush to own their master and his opinions,) and adhering *only to names*, what they take away from things and from sensations, they attribute to words.'—The sect of *Formalists*, therefore, is more ancient than John Duns Scotus, whom the learned have accounted the father of the Formalists. See also John of Salisbury's *Metalogicus*, l. ii. c. xvii. p. 814, &c., where he recounts the contests of these sects. 'Alius (says he, among other things), consistit in *vocibus*, licet hæc opinio cum Roscelino suo fere jam evanuerit; alius sermones intuetur; alius versatur *intellectibus*,' &c.

⁴ Gerhard of Cremona, a celebrated Italian astronomer and physician, removed to Toledo in Spain, and there translated many Arabic books into Latin. See Muratori, *Antiq. Italicæ Medii Ævi*, iii. 936, 937. Peter Mirmet, a French monk, went among the Saracens

tation of the Arabic learning, joined with zeal for the conversion of the Spanish Saracens to Christianity, induced many to apply themselves to the study of the Arabic language and literature.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Lives of the clergy — § 2. Efforts of the pontiffs to aggrandise themselves. The contest respecting investitures — § 3. 4. 5. Its progress — § 6. Compromise between the pontiff and the emperor — § 7. Two popes: Anacletus and Innocent — § 8. The other pontiffs of this century — § 9. Renewal of the contest under Hadrian IV. and Frederic Barbarossa — § 10, 11. Contests in the election of pontiffs — § 12. Contest of Alexander III. with Henry II. — § 13. Alexander advances the Roman see by various arts — § 14. His successors — § 15, 16. The rest of the clergy and their vices — § 17. Contentions between the Cistercians and Cluniacensians — § 18. Lives of the canons — § 19. New monastic orders — § 20. Præmonstratensians — § 21. Carmelites — § 22. The Greek writers — § 23. The Latin writers.

§ 1. WHEREVER we turn our eyes, traces meet us of dishonesty, ignorance, luxury, and other vices; with which both the church and the state were contaminated, by those who wished to be regarded as presiding over and taking the lead in all religious matters. If we except a few individuals, who were of a better character, and who lamented the profligacy and vices of their order; all of them, disregarding the salvation of the people, were intent on gratifying their lusts, increasing their wealth and honours, encroaching and trampling upon the rights of sovereigns and magistrates, in short, on pampering the body. Such as have any desire to know particulars, may consult *Bernard's* five books of Meditations addressed to the pontiff *Eugene*, and his Apology addressed to the abbot *William*; in the first of which works, he censures and deplores the shameful conduct of the pontiffs and bishops; in the other, the disgraceful habits of the monks.¹

in Spain and Africa to learn geography. See Lu. D'Achery, *Spicileg. Vet. Scriptor.* ix. 443, old ed. Dan. Merley or Morlac, an Englishman, fond of mathematics, went to Toledo in Spain, and thence brought away to his own country many Arabic books. See Ant. Wood's *Antiq. Oxonienses*, i. 56, &c. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, went into Spain, and having learned the Arabian language, translated into Latin the Koran, and a life of Mahumed. See Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* vi. 345, l. lxxvii. And this Peter (as he himself tells us, *Biblioth. Cluniacens.* p. 1109), found in Spain, on the Ebro, Robert Retenensis, an Englishman, and Herman, a Dalmatian, as

well as others, pursuing the study of astrology. Many other examples of the kind may be collected from the records of this century.

¹ Gerhohus, *de corrupto Ecclesiæ statu*; in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, v. 63, &c. *Gallia Christiana*, i. 6. Append. t. ii. p. 265, 273, &c. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* ii. 490, 690, &c., where he treats at large of the morals of the ecclesiastics and cœnobites. [Hume (*History of Eng.* ch. x. A.D. 1189,) says of Richard I., king of England, when about to enter on his crusade, that he 'carried so little the appearance of sanctity in his conduct, that Fulk, curate of Neuilly, a zealous preacher of the crusade, who from that merit

§ 2. The Roman pontiffs, who were at the head of the Latin church, laboured during the whole century, though not all with equal success, as well to retain their existing acquisitions of wealth and authority, as likewise to extend them still further, while on the contrary, the emperors and kings exerted themselves to the utmost to diminish their opulence and power. Hence arose perpetual jarring and warfare between the *empire* and the *priesthood*, (as it was then expressed,) which were a source of great public calamity. *Paschal II.*, who was created pontiff at the close of the preceding century, reigned securely at the commencement of this; nor was the opposing faction, that sided with the emperors, sufficiently powerful to fix an imperial pontiff in the chair of the deceased *Guibert*.¹ *Paschal*, therefore, in a council at Rome, A.D. 1102, renewed the decrees of his predecessors against *investitures*, excommunicated *Henry IV.* anew, and stirred up enemies against him wherever he could. *Henry* resolutely withstood these menaces and machinations: but two years after, A.D. 1104, his own son, *Henry V.*, took up arms against his father, under pretence of religion; and now all was over with him. For after an unsuccessful campaign, he was compelled by his son to abdicate the throne, and died friendless and forsaken at Liege, A.D. 1106. Whether the son was induced to engage in this war with his father, by his ambition of reigning, or by the instigation of the pontiff, does not appear. But it is certain that *Paschal* absolved the son from his oath of obedience to his father, and very zealously supported and defended his cause.²

§ 3. But this political revolution was far from answering the expectations of *Paschal*. For *Henry V.* could by no means be induced to give up the right of investing bishops and abbots, although he

had acquired the privilege of speaking the boldest truths, advised him to rid himself of his notorious sins, particularly his *pride*, *avarice*, and *voluptuousness*, which he called the king's three favourite daughters. *You counsel well*, replied Richard, *and I hereby dispose of the first to the Templars, of the second to the Benedictines, and of the third to my prelates.*' Such a sarcasm from a monarch shows the notoriety of clerical vice, as well as the peculiar direction it took in the principal classes of clerical persons. In the preceding chapter, A.D. 1189, Mr. Hume says, 'We are told by Giraldus Cambrensis (*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 480), that the monks and prior of St. Swithun threw themselves, one day, prostrate on the ground and in the mire, before Henry II., complaining, with many tears, and much doleful lamentation, that the bishop of Winchester, who was also their abbot, had cut off *three dishes* from their table. How many has he left you?' said the king. *Ten only*, replied the disconsolate monks. I myself, exclaimed the king, never have more than three; and I enjoin your bishop to reduce you to the same

number.' *Tr.*]

¹ [On the death of Guibert, or Clement III., the antipope, A.D. 1100, his friends chose one Albert for his successor. But he was taken, the very day of his election, and confined by Paschal in the monastery of St. Lawrence. Theodoric was next chosen in his place, who also fell into Paschal's hands, 105 days after his election, and was shut up in the monastery of Cava. The friends of Guibert then chose Magrinulph, or Sylvester IV., for pope; but he was obliged to leave Rome, and died shortly after. Thus Paschal was soon left in quiet possession of St. Peter's chair. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, v. 350, ed. Lond. 1761. *Tr.*]

² We have here consulted, in addition to the original sources, those excellent historians whom we mentioned in the preceding century. [See note, cent. xi. p. ii. c. 2, § 3. Hermann of Tournay (*Narratio*, &c. in D'Achery's *Spicileg.* ii. 914,) states that the pope wrote a letter to young Henry, criminating his father, and exhorting him to aid the church against him. *Tr.*]

conceded to the colleges of *canons* and *monks* the power of electing them. Hence the pontiff, in the councils of Guastalla in Italy and Troyes in France, A.D. 1107, renewed the decrees which had been enacted against investitures. The controversy was now suspended for a few years, because *Henry* was so occupied with his wars that he had no leisure to pursue it. But when his wars were closed, A.D. 1110, he marched with a large army into Italy, to settle this protracted and pernicious controversy at Rome. As he advanced slowly towards Rome, the pontiff, finding himself destitute of all succour, offered to compromise with him on these conditions: that the king should relinquish the investiture with the staff and the ring, and the bishops and abbots should surrender to the emperor the *royal* benefices,¹ [or privileges,] which they had obtained since the times of *Charles the Great*, such as, the power of levying tribute, holding lordships, coining money, and the like. *Henry V.* acceded to these terms, in the year 1111: but the bishops, both of Italy and Germany, vigorously opposed them. A violent conflict having taken place, in the very church of St. Peter, at Rome, *Henry* caused the pontiff to be seized, and conducted as a prisoner to the castle of Viterbo. When he had lain there some time, a new convention was entered into, as necessity bade, in which the pontiff conceded to the king the right of giving investiture to bishops and abbots, with the staff and ring. Thus, peace being concluded, the pontiff placed the imperial diadem upon the head of *Henry*.²

§ 4. This peace, which force and arms extorted, was followed by greater commotions, and more painful conflicts. In the first place, at Rome, violent tumults were raised against the pontiff, who was accused of betraying the interests of the church, and of basely shrinking from his duty. To quiet these tumults, *Paschal* assembled a council in the Lateran palace, A.D. 1112, before which he humbly confessed his fault in the agreement that had been made with the emperor, and submitted the matter to the pleasure of the council. The council rescinded the compact formed with the emperor.³ After this, in various synods and councils, both of France and Germany, *Henry* was excluded from communion, and was even classed among the *heretics*, than which nothing at that day was more to be dreaded.⁴ The princes of Germany likewise made war upon him in several places in behalf of the church. To bring these many and great evils to a termination, *Henry* again marched an army into Italy, in the year 1116, and held a convention at Rome, A.D. 1117, the pontiff having escaped by flight to Benevento. But the Normans came to the aid of the pontiff, and *Paschal* boldly prepared for war against

¹ Beneficia regalia.

² Besides the writers already mentioned, Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* v. 681, and vi. 1, deserves to be consulted, and on each of the years of these and the subsequent transactions.

³ Here again, this pontiff, like Gregory VII., in the Berengarian controversy, placed

his authority in subordination to the decisions of a council, and acknowledged a council to be his superior. The council also disapproved of the acts of the pontiff.

⁴ See Jac. Gervaise, *Diss. sur l'Hérésie des Investitures*; which is the fourth of those he had prefixed to the History of the abbot Sugar, p. lix.

the emperor, and made preparations for an assault upon the city of Rome. Important events were now anticipated, when the pontiff closed his life in the year 1118.

§ 5. A few days after the death of *Paschal*, *John Cajetan*, another Benedictine monk from the monastery of Monte Cassino, and chancellor of the Roman church, was created pontiff, and assumed the name of *Gelasius II.* In opposition to him *Henry* set up another pontiff, *Maurice Bardin*, archbishop of Braga in Spain, who chose the name of *Gregory VIII.*¹ *Gelasius*, therefore, finding himself not safe at Rome, or in Italy, retired into France; and soon after died there, at Cluny. The cardinals who had accompanied him, as soon as he was dead, elected *Guido*, archbishop of Vienne, count of Burgundy, and a relative of the emperor, for sovereign pontiff, and he took the name of *Calixtus II.* It was fortunate, both for the church and the state, that this man was made head of the church. A man of noble birth, and of elevated views, he prosecuted the contest with the emperor with no less vigour than success, both by decrees of councils and by other means; reduced Rome under his power; took the emperor's pontiff captive, and cast him into prison; and fomented civil wars in Germany. At the same time possessing more liberal views than his predecessors in the papal chair, and having no obstinacy of character, he did not reject moderate councils, and could relax something of the demands of his predecessors for the sake of restoring peace, now so ardently desired.²

§ 6. Thus, after multiplied efforts, contests, excommunications, and threats, peace was ratified between the pontiff's legates and the emperor in the diet of Worms, A.D. 1122, on the following conditions: that, hereafter, bishops and abbots should be freely chosen by those whose right it was to elect; but in the presence of the emperor or of his representative;³ that if the electors disagreed among themselves, the emperor should interpose, and using bishops as his counsellors should end the contest: that the person elected should take the oath of loyalty to the emperor, receive what were called the *regalia* from his hand, and perform the duties due to him on account of them; and that the emperor should use a different mode of conferring the *regalia* from that before practised, and should no longer confer human prerogatives by the *staff* and the *ring*, which were the emblems of sacred or divine power, but by a sceptre.⁴ This *Concordat*,

¹ See Steph. Baluze, *Vita Mauricii Bordini*; in his *Miscellanea*, iii. 471, &c.

² If I do not greatly misjudge, this unhappy contest between the emperors and the pontiffs, respecting the investiture of bishops and abbots, would not have been carried on with so much asperity, nor have been protracted so long, if men of liberal views and education had been at the head of the church. But during half a century five monks had governed the church—men born in obscurity, of coarse manners, and incapable of yielding at all, that is, possessing

the characteristic fault of monks, an inflexible obstinacy and pertinacity. But as soon as a man of a better character and of a liberal mind ascended the chair of St. Peter, things assumed a different aspect, and there was a prospect of peace.

³ From this time, therefore, the people in Germany have been excluded from the election of bishops. See Peter De Marca, *de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, l. vi. c. ii. § 9, p. 783, ed. Böhmeri.

⁴ See Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, vi. 76. Jo. Schilterus, *de Libertate Eccles.*

as it is commonly called, was solemnly confirmed the next year in the Lateran council; and it continues in force to our times, although there has been some dispute between the pontiffs and the emperors respecting its true import.¹

§ 7. *Calixtus* did not long survive this pacification; for he died A. D. 1124. His place was filled by *Lambert*, bishop of Ostia, known among the pontiffs by the name of *Honorius II.* Nothing memorable was done by him. At his death A. D. 1130, there was a schism in the church of Rome; for a part of the cardinals chose *Gregory*, the cardinal of St. Angelo, whose pontifical name was *Innocent II.*; but another part of them created *Peter de Leon* pontiff, who was called *Anacletus II.* The party of *Innocent* was the weaker one at Rome and in Italy; wherefore he fled into France and remained there two years. But he had the stronger party out of Italy; for, besides the emperor *Lothair*, the kings of France, England, and Spain, and some others, induced chiefly by the highly-famed *St. Bernard*, the particular friend of *Innocent*, joined themselves to his party; while *Anacletus* had for supporters only the kings of Sicily and Scotland. The schism was terminated by the death of *Anacletus* A. D. 1138; after which *Innocent* reigned alone, till the year 1143; and celebrated several councils, among which was the second Lateran, A. D. 1139.²

§ 8. After the death of *Innocent*, *Guido*, cardinal of St. Mark, under the name of *Cælestine II.*, reigned during five months in peace. His successor, *Lucius II.*, who formerly was *Gerhard*, a regular canon, governed the church during eleven months, but not prosperously. For he was disturbed in various ways by the tumultuous Romans; and in attempting to quell one of their insurrections, he was killed by the stroke of a stone. His successor, *Eugenius III.*, formerly *Bernhard*, a Cistercian monk, and a very distinguished disciple of the celebrated *St. Bernard*, abbot of Clairvaux, came to the government of the church A. D. 1145, and during nine years encountered similar troubles and dangers, until his death, 1152. For he was repeatedly driven from Rome, and at one time passed a long exile in France.³ *Anastasius IV.*, previously *Conrad*, bishop of Sabina, had a more tranquil reign; but it was of short duration;

German. l. iv. c. iv. p. 545, &c. *Cæs. Rasponus, de Basilica Lateranensi*, l. iv. p. 295, &c.

¹ It was contested, among other things, whether the consecration should precede, or follow, the collation of the *regalia*. See Jo. Wil. Hoffmann, *ad Concordatum Hen. V. et Callisti II.* Wittemb. 1739, 4to.

² In addition to the common historians of the popes, see Jo. De Lannes, *Histoire du Pontificat du Pape Innocent II.* Paris, 1741, 8vo.

³ [These tumults at Rome originated from a strong party of citizens, who adopted the principles of Arnold of Brescia (see cap. v. § 10 below,) and wished to shake off the

yoke of priestly government, and restore the ancient form of the Roman empire. After an unsuccessful application to the emperor to make Rome his residence, and to there exercise the same powers as the old Roman emperors had done, they determined to restore the republic, and to reinstate the senate in its ancient grandeur. Such being their object, all their movements were of course sedition against the pontiffs as temporal sovereigns. See G. J. Planck's *Geschichte d. Christl. Kirchl. Gesellschafts-verfassung*, iv. 324, &c., and the authors referred to in note, chap. v. § 10, of this century. *Tr.*]

for he died A.D. 1154, after filling the chair one year and four months.

§ 9. Under his successor, *Hadrian IV.*, who was an Englishman, and a regular canon, and whose true name was *Nicolas Breakspear*, the contentions between the emperors and the Roman pontiffs, which were apparently settled in the times of *Calixtus II.*, broke out anew. *Frederic I.*, surnamed *Barbarossa*, as soon as he was chosen emperor, A.D. 1152, explicitly declared his intention to maintain the dignity and rights of the Roman empire, everywhere, but especially in Italy; and to bring within a narrower compass the immense power and wealth of the pontiffs and of the clergy at large. Perceiving this intention, *Hadrian* felt sure that it was his duty to defend the authority and majesty of the church. Hence, when the emperor was to be crowned, A.D. 1155, first, a contest arose from the pontiff's desire that *Frederic* should act as master of the horse.¹ Then followed other disputes and controversies between them in relation to public matters, which were fiercely agitated by letters. These contests being in a measure settled, others followed of equal magnitude and difficulty, in the year 1158, when the emperor, in order to set bounds to the daily increasing wealth of the pontiff, the bishops, and the monks, made a law that no *fiefs* should be transferred to another person without the knowledge and consent of the lord of whom they were held;² and also exerted all his powers to reduce the minor states of Italy under his authority. An open rupture seemed about to take place, when the pontiff was removed by death, on the 1st of September, A.D. 1159.³

§ 10. When a new pontiff was to be elected, the *cardinals* were divided into two factions. The one, which was the more numerous, created *Roland* of Siena pontiff; the other, the less numerous, elected *Octavian*, cardinal of St. Cæcilia. *Roland* assumed the name of *Alexander III.*; his competitor, that of *Victor IV.* The emperor, who, for various reasons, disliked *Alexander*, gave his support to *Victor*. The council of Pavia, summoned by the emperor A.D. 1160, decided according to the emperor's pleasure. *Victor*, therefore, prevailed in Germany and Italy; and *Alexander* had to quit Rome and Italy, and to retire to France. In the midst of the commotions and strife, *Victor* died at Lucca, A.D. 1164. But another pontiff was immediately elected by order of the emperor; namely, *Guido*, cardinal of St. Calixtus, who assumed the name of *Paschal III.*, and who was acknowledged by the princes of Germany, in the diet of Würzburg, A.D. 1165. *Alexander*, however, returned from France to Italy, prosecuted his cause with some success, and in the Lateran council at Rome, A.D. 1167, deposed the emperor, whom he had before re-

¹ [To hold the pope's stirrups when he mounted or dismounted his horse. *Tr.*]

² See Muratori, *Antiquitates Ital. Medii Ævi*, vi. 239, &c., where he shows, that by this and other laws, *Frederic* first opposed a barrier to the power of the clergy.

³ These events are carefully investigated by the illustrious count Bünau, *History of Frederic I.* written in German, p. 45, 49, 73, &c. 99, 105, &c.

peatedly excommunicated, and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him. But not long after, Rome was taken by the emperor, and *Alexander* was obliged to flee to Benevento, and leave the chair of St. Peter in the hands of *Paschal*.

§ 11. The prospects of *Alexander* seemed to brighten up, when the emperor, after losing the greater part of his army by a pestilential disease, was obliged, against his inclinations, to retire from Italy, and when *Paschal* was removed by death, A.D. 1168. But his expectations were soon disappointed. For the opposite faction elected *John*, abbot of Struma, pontiff, with the title of *Calixtus III.*; and the emperor, though absent in Germany and occupied with various wars and contests, supported the new pontiff as far as he was able. And after settling a degree of peace in Germany, the emperor, A.D. 1174, marched again into Italy with a fine army; intending to chastise the cities and republics which had revolted from him. If success had attended this expedition of the emperor, he would doubtless have compelled *Alexander* to give place to *Calixtus*. But he met with disappointments and reverses; and after several years spent in alternate defeats and partial victories, being discouraged by adversities and difficulties, he concluded a peace with *Alexander III.*, and a truce with his other enemies, at Venice, in the year 1177.¹ Some tell us, that the pontiff, placing his foot upon the neck of the suppliant emperor, repeated the words of David, Ps. xci. 13.² But most of the moderns consider this account as entirely unsupported.³

§ 12. *Alexander III.*, whose conflict with *Frederic I.* procured him fame, had also another contest, and not a light one, with *Henry II.*, king of England, in the case of *Thomas Becket*, archbishop of Canterbury. In the council of Clarendon, A.D. 1164, several regulations were enacted, by which the regal power, over the clergy, was more accurately defined, and the rights of bishops and priests were circumscribed within narrower limits.⁴ *Thomas* refused to submit to these

¹ These transactions are well illustrated by count Bünaü, in his *Hist. of Frederic I.* p. 115—242. To which add, Fortunatus Olmi, *Istoria della venuta a Venetia occultamente nel an. 1177, di Papa Alessandro III.* Venice, 1629, 4to, and Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, iv. 249, &c. *Origines Guelphicæ*, ii. 379, &c. *Acta Sanctor.* April, i. 46, in the Life of Hugo, abbot of Bonneval; and April, ii. 596, in the Life of Galdinus of Milan; which two ecclesiastics acted as arbiters and legates in negotiating this peace.

² [‘Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet.’ S.]

³ See Bünaü's *Life of Frederic I.* p. 242. Chr. Aug. Heumann, *Pœciles*, iii. 145, lib. i. *Biblioth. Italique*, vi. 5, 16, and the writers mentioned by Casp. Sagittarius, *Introd. in Hist. Eccles.* i. 630, ii. 600.

⁴ See Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 82,

83, 101, 102, 104. Dav. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, i. 434, &c. [These articles of Clarendon, or *Constitutions*, as they are called, were drawn up by the king and ratified in a full assembly of the great lords, barons, and prelates of the nation. The civilians yielded a ready assent to them, and most of the prelates were disposed to do the same. But Becket long refused, and at last very reluctantly subscribed to them. And of this compliance he afterwards repented, and obtained absolution from the pontiff, who at the same time disapproved most of the articles, and pronounced them null and void. The articles, as exhibited in Harduin's *Concilia*, vi. pt. ii. 1607, &c. with the papal approbation or disapprobation subjoined to each, are as follow.]

1. If any controversy respecting an advowson and right of presentation to churches shall arise between laymen, or between clergymen and laymen, or between clergy-

regulations; because, in his opinion, they were prejudicial to the divine rights, both of the church at large and of the Roman pontiffs.

men only, it shall be tried and determined in the court of our lord the king. *Condemned by the pontiff.*

2. Churches belonging to a fief of our lord the king cannot be conferred in perpetuity without his consent and approbation. *Tolerated by the pontiff.*

3. Clergymen accused of any matter, being summoned by the king's justiciary, must appear in his court and answer there to whatever the king's court shall require them to answer, and also in the court of the holy church, for what it shall be determined that they should answer there, on the understanding that the king's justiciary shall send into the court of holy church to see how the matter shall there be treated. And if a clergyman shall be convicted or shall confess guilt, the church must no longer protect him. *Condemned.*

4. It shall not be lawful for archbishops, bishops, or parsons of the realm, to go out of the kingdom without licence from our lord the king. And if they go out, and our lord the king see fit, they shall give security that they will not, while going, while absent, or while returning, bring any evil or damage to our lord the king or to the realm. *Condemned.*

5. Excommunicated persons ought not to give bonds to remain [where they are], nor to promise by oath [to do so], but only to give bond or a pledge to abide by the decision of the church, that they may be absolved. *Condemned.*

6. Laymen ought not to be accused, except by certain and legal accusers and witnesses in presence of the bishop (yet so that the archdeacon may not lose his right, nor any thing accruing to him thereby). And if those inculpated are such that no one dares, or is willing to accuse them; the sheriff, at the bishop's instance, shall cause twelve lawful men of the vicinage or the village, to swear before the bishop that they will discover the truth according to their conscience. *Tolerated.*

7. No one who holds of the king *in capite*, nor any one of his servants, shall be excommunicated, nor the lands of any one of them be laid under an interdict, till application has been made to our lord the king, if he is within the realm, or to his justiciary if he be out of it, that he may see justice done; and so, that what belongs to the king's court may be there decided, and whatever belongs to the ecclesiastical court may be remitted to it for decision. *Condemned.*

8. Appeals, should they be made, ought to be from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop; and if the

archbishop should fail to do justice, recourse should be had, lastly, to our lord the king, that so the controversy may be terminated in the archbishop's court, by a precept from the king, and so that it go no further without the king's consent. *Condemned.*

9. If a challenge arise between a clerk and a layman, or *vice versâ*, concerning any tenement which the clergyman would have to be an eleemosynary, and the layman a lay fee, it shall be determined by the award of twelve lawful men, before the king's justiciary, whether the tenement be an eleemosynary or a lay fee. If the award be that it is eleemosynary, the plea shall be in the ecclesiastical court; but if a lay fee, then, unless both claim tenure under the same bishop or baron, the plea shall be in the king's court; but if both claim to hold of the same bishop or baron, the plea shall be in his court; but so that the party which before had seisin, shall not lose his seisin on account of the award made, until it shall have been decided by plea in court. *Condemned.*

10. Whoever belongs to any royal city, castle, borough, or manor of the king, if cited by the archdeacon or bishop for any crime for which he is amenable to them, if he will not make satisfaction upon their summons, they may indeed place him under an interdict; but they may not proceed to excommunicate him till application has been made to the king's chief officer of the village, that he may, by law, bring him to make satisfaction. And if the king's officer fail in his duty, he shall lie at the king's mercy, and thenceforward the bishop may coerce the accused according to ecclesiastical law. *Condemned.*

11. Archbishops, bishops, and all persons of the realm who hold of the king *in capite*, are to look on their possessions as baronies from the king; and therefore are to be responsible to the king's justiciaries and officers, and are to follow and perform all the customs and duties prescribed by the king; and, like other barons, they ought to be present with the barons at the trials in the king's court, till the proceedings come to relate to deprivation of life or of limbs. *Tolerated.*

12. When an archbishopric, bishopric, abbacy, or priory, in the king's demesnes, becomes vacant, it ought to be in his hands; and he shall receive all its rents and issues as of his demesnes; and when the church is to be provided for, the king is to send his mandate to the chief dignitaries of the church, and the election is to be made, in his chapel, with his assent, and by advice of the chief men of the realm whom he shall

Hence a quarrel arose between the king and the archbishop; and the latter fled into France to *Alexander III.*, who was then an exile there. The pontiff and the king of France procured a sort of reconciliation, and *Thomas* returned to England. But, as no means could induce him to yield to the wishes of the king, four of the courtiers, doubtless with the king's privity, assassinated him in the church, before the altar, in the year 1170.¹ The king, after various altercations, had to

call together for that purpose. And the person elected, before he is consecrated, shall there do homage and fealty to the king, as to his liege lord, for his life and limbs and earthly honour, saving however the honour of his order. *Condemned.*

13. If any one of the great men of the kingdom shall refuse justice to an archbishop, a bishop, or an archdeacon, in regard to himself or those that belong to him, the king is to enforce justice. And if it should happen that any one wrongs the king of his rights, the archbishops, or bishops, and archdeacons ought to enforce justice [by their ecclesiastical decisions], so that satisfaction may be made to the lord the king. *Tolerated.*

14. The chattels of those found guilty of high crimes in the king's courts (*qui sunt in regis forisfacto*), are not to be retained in any church, or churchyard, to the obstruction of justice to the king; because those chattels belong to the king, whether they are found in churches or out of them. *Tolerated.*

15. Pleas of debt are to be made in the king's court, whether due upon contract or not. *Condemned.*

16. The sons of tenants in villenage are not to be ordained, without the consent of the lord on whose manor they are found to have been born. *Tolerated.*

See Guthrie's *General Hist. of England*, i. 509, and Harduin's *Concilia*, vi. pt. ii. p. 1607. *Tr.*]

¹ Will. Fitzstephen, *Historia Thomæ Cantuariensis*, in Tho. Sparke's *Scriptores Rerum Anglicar.* London, 1723, fol. p. 4. Christ. Lupus, *Epistole, et Vita Thomæ Cantuar. Epistole, item, Alexandri III., Ludovici VII., Henrici II., in hac causa, ex MS. Vaticano*, Bruxellis, 1682, 2 vols. 4to, and in the works of Lupus. Natalis Alexander, *Selecta Historiæ Eccles. Capita*, sæc. xii. diss. x. p. 833, &c. Thomas Stapleton, *Tres Thomæ, seu res gestæ Thomæ Apostoli, S. Thomæ Cantuariensis, et Thomæ Mori*, Colon. 1612, 8vo.—[Thomas was the son of a London merchant, and educated at Paris. Having entered into the service of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, he was sent to Bologna to study canon law. On his return he was made archdeacon of Canterbury; and not long after the king called him to court, and made him lord chancellor

of England. On the death of Theobald, A.D. 1162, the king made him archbishop of Canterbury. While chancellor, he had served the king with great ability, and lived in great splendour. But he now assumed an austere mode of life, and became a strenuous defender of the pretended rights of the church and a rigid disciplinarian. To restrain the usurpations of the clergy, the king caused the constitutions of Clarendon to be enacted. Against these, and all other attempts of the king to reform abuses, Thomas made strenuous opposition; and exerting his high powers as primate of all England, and possessing great and shining talents, and at the same time being supported by the pope and by the king of France, he was able to thwart all the plans of king Henry. The king therefore caused him to be prosecuted for malconduct while chancellor. He was also arraigned for contempt of the king, and condemned, in a grand council of the nation, at Northampton, A.D. 1164. Becket now appealed to the pope, contrary to the laws of the realm, and soon after fled to France. Protected by the pontiff and the king of France, he treated Henry with insolence; and at length, through the mediation of the pontiff and the king of France, Henry and Becket were so far reconciled, that the latter was permitted to return to his see. But he now carried matters with a high hand, dealing out anathemas and censures against the king's advisers. The king was now in Normandy. The archbishop of York, and two bishops whom Becket had excommunicated, repaired to the king, complaining of the treatment they received from Becket. The archbishop remarked to him, that, so long as Becket lived, the king could never expect to enjoy peace and tranquillity. The king, being violently agitated, burst forth into an exclamation against his servants, whose want of zeal, he said, had so long left him exposed to the machinations of that ungrateful and imperious prelate. Four knights of his household, overhearing the exclamation, immediately formed the resolution to assassinate Becket. They asked leave to go to England, and set out forthwith, without apprising the king of their designs. Soon after they were gone, the king conjectured, from some circumstances and remarks of the men, what they intended to do; and he sent messen-

make such expiations for this crime as the pontiff dictated; and the assassinated *Thomas* was in the year 1173 enrolled among the martyrs, or glorified saints of the highest order.¹

§ 13. *Alexander III.* employed not only arms but also art, and the influence of councils and laws, to establish the independence of the church, and especially to confirm the power of the Roman pontiffs. For (I.) in a council at Rome, A.D. 1179, called the third Lateran council, in order to avoid the commotion so often produced by the election of a new pontiff, he ordained that the right of voting should belong exclusively to the *cardinals*; and that the person who had the votes of two-thirds of the college of cardinals should be considered the legitimate pontiff. This constitution has continued to the present time. Thus, from that period, the election of pontiffs assumed the forms which it still retains; and not only the people, but also the clergy of Rome, were wholly excluded from any participation in it. (II.) He was the first of all the pontiffs, who, in the same council, sanctioned a crusade against *heretics*, who were then troubling the church at large, and especially certain provinces of France.² (III.) He took from bishops and councils the right of designating the persons who might be worshipped as *saints*; and placed *canonisation*, as it is called, among the *greater causes*; that is, such as are to be decided solely by the pontiff.³ (IV.) Omitting some things of minor importance, we add this only, that he actually put in operation the power, claimed by the pontiffs since the time of *Gregory VII.*, namely, that of creating kings. For in the year 1179, he conferred the title of king on *Alphonsus I.* duke of Portugal, who had previously, under *Lucius II.*, made his territory tributary to the church of Rome.⁴

§ 14. *Lucius III.*, who was previously *Ubaldo*, bishop of Ostia, was

gers after them, commanding them not to lay hands upon the primate. But the messengers arrived too late; the deed was done. The king was now greatly distressed, and took every possible means to clear himself of suspicion, and to pacify the pope. The assassins fled to Rome, did penance, and obtained absolution from the pope, on condition of perpetual exile. The king also made his submission to the pope, and with much difficulty obtained absolution in 1172. See Hume's *History of England*, ch. viii. vol. i. p. 322—361, ed. Philad. 1810. Rapin de Thoyras, *Hist. of Eng.* and Collier's *Eccles. Hist. of Eng.* i. 370. — The works of Becket consist of his correspondence, or Letters in six Books, collected by John of Salisbury, and edited by Christian Lupus, Brussels, 1682, 4to, with a *Quadrilogus*, or the fourfold life of Becket, by Herbert his chaplain, William of Canterbury, Alan, abbot of Tewkesbury, and John of Salisbury. *Tr.* — The Lives and Letters were published by Dr. Giles, Oxford, 1845, in 8 vols. See also Robertson's *Life of Becket*, Lond. 1859,

Hook's *Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. ii. London, 1861, and Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*, London, 1857. *Ed.*]

¹ Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, ii. 328, &c. and for his festival, p. 397. Dom. Colonia, *Hist. Litt. de la Ville de Lyon* ii. 249, &c.

² See Natalis Alexander, *Selecta Hist. Eccles. Capita*, sæcul. xii. diss. ix. p. 819, where he treats at large of this council; also Harduin's *Concilia*, vi. pt. ii. p. 1671, &c. [This was the *third general* council of the Lateran; all the preceding, except two, having been *provincial* councils. *Tr.*]

³ The subjects of pontifical elections and *canonisation* were discussed under the tenth and eleventh centuries, above.

⁴ Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 1179. Innocent III. *Epistolæ*, l. i. ep. 49, t. i. p. 54, ed. Baluze. [It should be remembered that Alexander III. only *confirmed* the title of king to Alphonsus; it having long before been applied to him by his army, and by some neighbouring princes. See Pagi, *Critica in Baron.* ad ann. 1139, § 23. *Tr.*]

the first pontiff elected solely by the *cardinals*, according to the regulations of *Alexander III.* His reign, which began A.D. 1181, was a turbulent one; for he was twice driven from Rome by the citizens; who, doubtless, would not bear with a pontiff, elected contrary to the ancient custom, or without the concurrence of the *clergy* and people. He therefore died an exile, at Verona, A.D. 1185. His successor, *Hubert Crivelli*, bishop of Milan, known among the pontiffs by the name of *Urban III.*, died of grief, on account of the conquest of Jerusalem by *Saladin*, A.D. 1187, after performing nothing of much importance.¹ The next pontiff, *Gregory VIII.*, previously *Albert* of Benevento, and chancellor of the church of Rome, died in the second month of his pontificate. After him, *Clement III.*, previously *Paul*, bishop of Palestrina, reigned longer; for he continued to the fourth year, and died A.D. 1191; yet few of his deeds are worth the notice of posterity.² More famous was *Cælestine III.*, who was, before his election, *Hyacinth*, a Roman, and cardinal deacon: for in the year 1194, he laid under an interdict the emperor *Henry VI.* and *Leopold*, duke of Austria, for having imprisoned king *Richard* of England, on his return from the holy land; and also *Alphonso X.*, king of Galicia and Leon, on account of an incestuous marriage: and he commanded, though without effect, *Philip Augustus*, the king of France, to receive back his repudiated wife *Ingelburga*.³ But this pontiff, and nearly all the others of the present century, were outdone and eclipsed by the pontiff elected near the end of the century, A.D. 1198, namely, *Lothaire*, count of Segni, a cardinal deacon, who assumed the pontifical name of *Innocent III.* But his reign will properly be described under the following century.

§ 15. To the flagitious conduct, the frauds, the ignorance, and the corruption of the inferior clergy, bishops, priests, and deacons, the whole history of these times, and the laws of the ecclesiastical councils, afford ample testimony.⁴ It is not strange, therefore, that the monks

¹ [He was the personal enemy of the emperor Frederic I., and quarrelled with him till the day of his death. But he could not coerce him, because the German bishops adhered to the emperor. He once resolved to excommunicate Frederic; but the people of Verona, where he lived, would not allow of such a transaction in their city. See Schmidt's *Kirchengesch.* vi. 249, &c. *Tr.*]

² [The most important of his acts, was his compromise with the citizens of Rome, by which he gave the city a new form of government, yet retained the supreme power in his own hands. He therefore made Rome the place of his residence; whereas his three immediate predecessors had been unable to do so. See Baronius *Annales*, ad ann. 1183, no. 23. *Tr.*]

³ [Though the king did not retreat when the interdict was laid on him, yet as the pope, and the king of Denmark, who was

brother to Ingelburga, continued to prosecute the matter, Philip concluded to end the contest by restoring his queen. See Daniel's *Hist. of France*, i. 426, &c. *Tr.*]

⁴ ['The ecclesiastics of that age had renounced all immediate subordination to the magistrate; they openly pretended to an exemption in *criminal* accusations from a trial before courts of justice; and were gradually introducing a like exemption in *civil* causes. *Spiritual penalties alone could be inflicted on their offences*: and as the clergy had extremely multiplied in England, and many of them were consequently of very low characters, *crimes of the deepest dye, murders, robberies, adulteries, rapes, were daily committed with impunity by the ecclesiastics*. It had been found, for instance, on inquiry, that no less than a *hundred murders* had, since the king's accession' [A.D. 1154—1163], 'been perpetrated by men of that

were in higher repute than the secular clergy; for, being bound by their vows and by their respective rules of life, they had fewer opportunities of committing crimes. And yet these monks, who claimed pre-eminence in the church, and despised and inveighed against both the *secular clergy* and the *regular canons*,¹ had in most places departed entirely from their institutions and rules, and exhibited to the public patterns of vice and wickedness, rather than of virtue.² The *Cluniacensians* were for a long time the best and most devout among the Benedictines: but under their abbot *Pontius*, being loaded with wealth and riches by the liberality of the pious, they entirely laid aside their former strictness, and lived scandalously like other Benedictines. And although some of the succeeding abbots endeavoured to cure the evil, their efforts fell far below their wishes and their expectations; nor could the primitive sanctity of Cluny ever be restored.³

§ 16. Among the *Cistercians*, who were neither so old nor so rich an order as the *Cluniacensians*, there was far more appearance of innocence and sanctity. Hence a large share of the respectability which the *Cluniacensians* had enjoyed, was transferred to the *Cistercians*; and they increased daily in numbers, wealth, and power. No man in this age contributed more to the advancement of this order than *St. Bernard*, the celebrated abbot of Clairvaux, in France, a man of immense influence throughout Christian Europe, one who could effect whatever he pleased, often merely by his word or nod, and could dictate even to kings what they must do. He is therefore justly called the second parent and founder of the Cistercian order: and this order, both in France and in Germany, was called from him the *Bernardine* order.⁴ A hundred and sixty monasteries owed their

profession who had never been called to account for those offences (*Neubr.* p. 394), and holy orders were become a full protection for all enormities. A clerk in Worcestershire having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had at this time proceeded to murder the father; and the general indignation against this crime moved the king to attempt the remedy of an abuse which was become so palpable, and to require that the clerk should be delivered up, and receive condign punishment from the magistrate. (*Fitz-Steph.* p. 33, *Hist. Quad.* p. 32.) Becket insisted on the privileges of the church; and confined the criminal in the bishop's prison, lest he should be seized by the king's officers; maintained that no greater punishment could be inflicted on him than degradation. And when the king demanded that immediately after he was degraded, he should be tried by the civil power, the primate asserted that it was iniquitous to try a man twice upon the same accusation, and for the same offence. *Hume's Hist. of England*, vol. i. chap. viii. reign of Henry II., p. 333, 334. *Tr.*]

¹ See the epistle of Rupert Tuitiensis, in

Edm. Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, i. 285, &c. who places the monks before the apostles.

² See Nigel Wireker, an English poet of much wit, who lived about the middle of this century, in his *Speculum Stultorum*, or *Brunellus*; a poem often published, and in which he severely lashes the several orders of monks of his age, sparing hardly any except the Carthusians. [This poem, among other editions, was published at Frankf. 1602, and at Wolfenbüttel, 1662, 8vo. In it an ass is represented as wishing to exchange his short tail for a long one; indicative of a monk aspiring after an abbey. *Schl.*] Also Bernhard's *Considerationes ad Eugenium*, l. iii. c. 4.

³ See, besides many others, Edm. Martene's *Amplissima Collectio Monumentorum Veterum*, ix. 1119.

⁴ See Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis Benedicti*, t. vi. passim; and in his life of St. Bernard, prefixed to his edition of Bernard's works. Angelus Manriquez, *Annales Cistercienses*; nearly throughout the second vol. and in a part of the third.

origin or their regulations to him; and when he died he left seven hundred monks in his monastery of Clairvaux. Among his disciples, besides many archbishops and bishops, there was even one sovereign pontiff, *Eugene III.*

§ 17. But this prosperity of the *Cistercians* excited the envy of the *Cluniacensians*, and produced, first strong dislike, and afterwards open quarrels, between these two opulent and powerful orders. Each of them followed the rule of *St. Benedict*; but they differed in dress, and in the regulations superadded to the rule. The *Cluniacensians* accused the *Cistercians* of too great austerity; and, on the other hand, the *Cistercians* taxed the *Cluniacensians* with having abandoned their former sanctity and regular discipline; which was strictly true. *St. Bernard*, the oracle and guardian of the *Cistercians*, in the year 1127, first attacked the *Cluniacensians* in writing. *St. Peter Maurice*, abbot of Cluny, replied to him with much modesty. The controversy was now propagated further, and extended over other countries of Europe.¹ To this contest, another of greater warmth was added, respecting tithes. In the year 1132, *Innocent II.*, among other new privileges conferred on the *Cistercians*, exempted them from the payment of tithes on their lands; and as many of these lands had paid tithes to the *Cluniacensians*, they were greatly offended at this indulgence of the pontiff, and entered into warm controversy, both with the *Cistercians* and with the pontiff himself. In the year 1155, this controversy was in some way adjusted; but how, does not clearly appear.²

§ 18. Of the *regular canons*, whose origin was in the preceding century, many spent their time much better than the crowd of monks did; and they were not unserviceable to the church by keeping schools, in various places, and by performing other offices.³ For these reasons the pious and the good treated them with much kindness, and as they were often put in possession of the goods of the vicious monks, the latter loaded them with abuse. The *canons*, on the contrary, assailed the monks both orally and in writings; and maintained, that they ought to be excluded from sacred offices and honours, and to live in their cloisters, withdrawn from the intercourse of men. Hence a long and bitter controversy arose between the monks and the canons respecting their comparative merits and rank; in which both parties went to extremes.⁴ On the side of the monks, among others, the following eminent men, in particular,

¹ S. Bernardi *Apologia* (for so his book is entitled), among his *Opera*, i. 523—533. The reply of Peter Cluniacensis, surnamed Venerabilis, is extant among his epistles, l. i. ep. 28, in the *Biblioth. Cluniacensis*, i. 657—695. Add the *Dialogus inter Cluniacensem et Cisterciensem*; published by Edm. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* t. v. 1569—1654. Compare Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* vi. 80, &c. and Manriquez, *Annales Cisterciens.* i. 28, &c. [Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* l. lxvii. § 49, 50. Tr.]

² See Angel. Manriquez, *Annales Cisterciens.* i. 232, &c. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* vi. 212, 479, and his preface to the *Opp.* S. Bernardi. Jo. de Lannes, *Hist. du Pontificat d'Innocent II.* p. 68, &c. 79, &c. Jo. Nic. Hertius, *de Exemptione Cisterc. a decimis.*

³ See the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, ix. 112, &c.

⁴ See Lamberti *Epistola*; in Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* i. 329, &c.

engaged ardently in the contest, namely, *Peter Abelard*, *Hugo* of Amiens, and *Rupert* of Deutz: the cause of the canons was defended, among others, by *Philip Harveng*, abbot of Good Hope.¹ The relics of this old controversy are visible at the present day.

§ 19. To the Benedictine order, a new sect was added, near the beginning of this century, namely, the order of *Fontevraud*, so named from the place where its first monastery was erected, on the confines of Anjou and Touraine, then a wild spot beset with thorns. Its founder was *Robert* of Arbrisselles, first an eremite, and then a monk; who prescribed for his followers, of both sexes, the rule of *St. Benedict*; but with the addition of some singular and very austere regulations. Among these regulations, one very noticeable, and altogether peculiar, was, that he united the monasteries for the two sexes, and subjected both the men and women to the government of a female; professedly in accordance with the example of *Christ*, who commended *St. John* to the care of his mother, and would have him to obey her as a mother.² *Robert* was equally successful with the other founders of new [monastic] sects in those times: for the novelty of the institution, and the singularity of its form, allured great numbers to embrace it. But he fell under strong suspicion of an excessive and illicit familiarity with the females; from which his modern disciples use all the means in their power to vindicate his character.³

¹ Abælardi *Opp.* p. 228, ed. Paris, 1616, 4to. Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* v. 970, 975, 1614, &c. and his *Amplissima Collectio*, ix. 971, 972. Phil. Harvengii *Opera*, p. 385, Duaci, 1621, fol.

² Peter Abelard, *Opera*, p. 38, whose testimony is confirmed by the form still retained by the order, and is placed beyond all doubt; notwithstanding Jo. Mabillon, from his zeal for the Benedictine fraternity, labours after a sort to invalidate it; in his *Annales Benedict.* v. 423. Concerning this Robert and his order, see the *Acta Sanctor.* Februar. iii. 593, &c. Dion. Sammarthanus, *Gallia Christiana*, ii. 1311, &c. Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, ii. 1187, art. *Fontevraud*, &c. Hipp. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, vi. 83. On the present state of Fontevraud, see Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 108, &c. and Martene's *Voyage Litt. de deux Bénédictins*, pt. ii. p. 1, &c. [What remains of the once famous abbey of Fontevraud, where Henry II. and Richard I. of England were buried, is now used as a prison. Care has been taken of the royal monumental effigies. S.]

³ The Epistles of Godfrey of Vendôme, and of Marbod, in which Robert is severely censured, are well known. In what manner these accusations are answered by the monks of Fontevraud, may be learned from Jo. De la Mainferme, *Clypeus nascentis Ordinis Fontevraldensis*, Paris, 1684, 8vo, and his *Dissertationes in Epistolam contra Robertum*

de Arbrissello, Salmurii, 1682, 8vo. There was a dispute on this subject with Peter Bayle. See the *Dissertation Apologetique pour le Bienheureux Rob. d'Arbrisselles sur ce qu'en a dit M. Bayle*; Anvers. 1701, 8vo, not to mention Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* t. v. and vi. p. 9, 10, and many others.—[‘In the year 1177, some nuns of this order were brought into England, at the desire of Henry II., who gave them the monastery of Ambresbury in Wiltshire. They had two other houses here; the one at Eaton, and the other at Westwood in Worcestershire.’ *Macl.*—The founder of this order, Robert, or Rodbert, was born about A.D. 1047, at Arbrissel, seven leagues from Rennes; became doctor of divinity at Paris in 1074; assisted the bishop of Rennes; was made arch-presbyter in 1085; formed a college of regular canons in 1094, became famous as a preacher; resigned an abbacy in 1098, to travel and preach; set up the monastery of Fontevraud in 1100; and employed several succeeding years in travelling about France, and establishing monasteries, till his death in the year 1117. His order was confirmed by the pontiff in 1113; and Bertrade (formerly queen of France) was the first lady abbess. She died in 1115. About 1700, the order was divided into four provinces, those of France, Aquitaine, Auvergne, and Bretagne; which collectively contained fifty-seven priories. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Fontevraud*. Tr.]

§ 20. *Norbert*, a German, and subsequently archbishop of Magdeburg, attempted to restore the discipline of the *regular canons*, which was now sinking in many places, and wholly prostrate in others. For this purpose, in the year 1121, he established a new sect, at *Premontre* in Champagne;¹ which recommending itself by sobriety of life and manners, and cultivating literature and the useful arts, at once extended itself throughout Europe, and in a little time acquired immense riches.² But this prosperity of the order soon extinguished their primitive zeal, and plunged the *Premonstratensians* into all kinds of vice. They follow the rule, which is called *St. Augustine's*, but with some slight alterations, and the addition of certain severe laws, the authority and influence of which, however, did not long survive their author.³

§ 21. About the middle of the century, one *Berthold*, a Calabrian, with a few companions, migrated to mount Carmel, and in the place where the prophet *Elias* of old is said to have hidden himself, built a humble cottage, with a chapel, in which he and his associates led a laborious and solitary life. As others continued to unite themselves with these residents on mount Carmel, *Albert*, the patriarch of Jerusalem, near the commencement of the next century, prescribed for them a *rule* of life; which the pontiffs afterwards sanctioned by their authority, and also changed in various respects, and when it was found too rigorous and burdensome, mitigated considerably.⁴ Such was the

¹ Premontre, the original seat of this order, is in the Laonnois, in the Isle of France, on the border of Champagne and Picardy. *Von Einem.*

² [The *religious* of this order were at first so poor, that they had nothing they could call their own but a single ass, which served to carry the wood they cut down every morning and sent to Laon in order to purchase bread. But in a short time they received so many donations, and built so many monasteries, that thirty years after the foundation of this order, they had above a hundred abbeys in France and Germany. In process of time, the order increased so prodigiously, that it had monasteries in all parts of Christendom, amounting to 1,000 abbeys, 300 provostships, a vast number of priories, and 500 nunneries. But this number is now greatly diminished. Besides what they lost in Protestant countries, of 65 abbeys that they had in Italy, there is not one now remaining.] *Macl.*

³ See Hipp. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, ii. 156, and the writers cited by him. Chrysostom van der Sterre, *Vita S. Norberti Premonstratensium Patriarchæ*, Antw. 1658, 8vo, Ludov. Hugo, *Vie de S. Norbert*; Luxemb. 1704, 4to. Add Jo. Launoy (though sometimes uncandid), *Inquisitio in Privilegia Ordinis Premonstrat.* cap. 1, 2, in his *Opp.* t. iii. pt. i. p. 448, &c. On the present state of the place and the monastery of Premontre,

see Martene's *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, ii. 49, &c. [The *Premonstratenses*, or monks of Premontre, vulgarly called White Canons, came first into England, A.D. 1146. Their first monastery, called New-House, was built in Lincolnshire, by Peter de Golsa, and dedicated to St. Martial. In the reign of Edward I. the order in question had twenty-seven monasteries in England.] *Macl.*

⁴ I have here followed, principally, Dan. Papebroch, an accurate writer on this subject, and well supported by authorities in the *Acta Sanctor.* Antwerp., April, iii. 774—802. It is well known that the Carmelites moved a great contest with this learned Jesuit, at the court of Rome, for disparaging the dignity and antiquity of their order. The history of this long contest is given by Hipp. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, i. 282, &c. It was terminated in 1698 by Innocent XII., who imposed silence on both parties. [The Carmelites accused Papebroch before Innocent XII., alleging that the volumes of the *Acta Sanctor.* which bore his name, were full of errors. The pontiff referred the case to the Congregation of the Index. The Carmelites, being in high repute in Spain, brought these books before the Inquisition of that country, in 1681; and by that tribunal, the 14 volumes for March, April, and May, were condemned, A.D. 1695. Papebroch and his friends, however, obtained

origin of the celebrated order of *Carmelites*, or, as it is commonly called, the order of *St. Mary of mount Carmel*, which subsequently passed from Syria into Europe, and became one of the principal *mendicant* orders. The *Carmelites* themselves reject with disdain this account of their origin, and most strenuously contend, that the holy prophet *Elias*, of the Old Testament, was the parent and founder of their society.¹ But they are able to persuade very few, (or rather none, out of their society,) that their origin was so ancient and illustrious; and many, even in the Roman communion, hear of such pretensions with very little patience.²

§ 22. I will now mention the principal writers, both Greek and Latin. Among the former, the most noted in after times were, *Philip Solitarius*, whose *Dioptra*, or dispute between the soul and the body, is sufficiently known.³ *Eustratius*, who defended the cause of the Greeks against the Latins, and explained some books of Aristotle.⁴ *Euthymius Zigabenus* [*Zygadenus*], who, on account of his *Panoply against all heretics*, and his expositions of the scriptures, may be ranked among the principal writers of the age.⁵ *John Zonaras*, whose *Annals*, with some other works, are still preserved.⁶ *Michael Glycas*,

liberty to offer to the Inquisition a vindication of the volumes; but all their controversial writings with the Carmelites were in 1697 proscribed by the Inquisition. The next year, the pope interposed, commanding both parties to be silent, and to drop the whole controversy. *Tr.*]

¹ Of the many Carmelite writers who have treated upon this subject, the most concise and neat is Thomas Aquinas, a French Carmelite; in his *Dissertatio Histor. Theol. in qua Patriarchatus Ordinis Carmelitarum Propheta Eliæ vindicatur*; Paris, 1632, 8vo. The modern writers on this controversy with Papebroch are far more tedious.

² See J. Harduin's *Opp. Posthuma*, p. 642, &c. Jo. Baptist Labat, *Voyage en Espagne et Italie*, iii. 87. Courayer, *Examen des Défauts Théologiques*, i. 455, &c. [The rule prescribed to the Carmelites by Albert, A.D. 1205, consisted of sixteen articles: and it required them to confine themselves to their cells, except when at work, and to spend their time in prayer; to possess no individual property; to fast from the feast of the holy cross till Easter, except on Sundays; to abstain from eating flesh altogether; to labour with their hands; and to observe total silence from vespers till the tierce of the next day. This rule was mitigated considerably by Innocent IV. On the conclusion of peace with the Saracens, A.D. 1229, the Carmelites left Syria. Some of them went to Cyprus; others to Sicily; and others to France. They came to England in 1240; and had about forty houses in that country. In the 16th century, St. Theresa, a Spanish lady, undertook to reform the order. This divided them into two classes. The *Carmelites of the*

ancient observance were called *the migrated or moderate*; the reformed, or those of the *strict observance*, were called *bare-footed Carmelites*, because they went *bare-footed*. The former were distributed into forty provinces, subject to one general. The latter quarrelled among themselves, and became divided into the *congregation of Spain*, containing six provinces, and the *congregation of Italy*, embracing all the rest. *Tr.*]

³ [Little is known of this Grecian monk, who flourished about 1105. His *Dioptra*, or Dialogue between the soul and the body, on the principles which should regulate man's life, is extant only in the Latin translation of Pontanus, Ingolstadt, 1604, 4to, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxi. *Tr.*]

⁴ [See p. ii. c. i, § 2, note.]

⁵ See Richard Simon's *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclés. par M. Du Pin*, i. 318, 324. [Euthymius was a monk, highly esteemed by Alexius Comnenus for his erudition, and flourished about 1116. The *Panoplia dogmatica orthodoxæ fidei adversus omnes Hæreses*, is a compilation from the Fathers, made by order of the emperor, and with the aid of several assistants, in defence of the doctrine of the Greek church against all its opposers. It is divided into two parts, and twenty-four *tituli*, or chapters; published (but not entire) by Gregoras, at Tergovist in Wallachia, 1710, fol. His commentaries on the Psalms, and on the four Gospels, were published together in Gr., Verona, 1530, and the latter, by Matthæi, Leips. 1792, 8vo. All his works, ever published, are extant in Latin, in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xix. *Tr.*]

⁶ [See note, c. i. § 1.]

who also devoted himself to history and to some other species of writing.¹ *Constantine Harmenopolus*, a respectable writer on both civil and canon law.² *Andronicus Camaterus*, a strenuous polemic against the Latins and the Armenians, his nation's enemies.³ *Eustathius* of Thessalonica, the most learned Greek of his times, and the well-known commentator on Homer.⁴ *Theodore Balsamon*, who expended much labour in expounding and digesting the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the Greeks.⁵

¹ Some have placed Glycas as late as the fifteenth century. See Jo. Lami, *Diss. de Glyca*; prefixed to his *Delicia Virorum auditor*, tom. i. [See a notice of him in note, c. i. § 1.]

² [Constantine Harmenopolus was a learned civilian and judge at Thessalonica. Cave and others supposed he flourished A.D. 1150; but some place him two centuries later, about 1380. His best work is his *Πρόχειρον νόμων*, or manual of civil law, edited, Gr. and Lat. with notes, Geneva, 1587, 4to. His *Epitome Divinorum Sacrorumque Canonum*, Gr. and Lat., is in Leunclav's *Jus Gr. t. i.* So also his *Liber de Sectis Hæreticis*, and some other tracts. *Tr.*]

³ [Andronicus Camaterus was prefect at Constantinople, and filled other high offices under Manuel Comnenus, A.D. 1156, and was distinguished for his erudition and eloquence. He wrote *Adversus Latinos Liber*, or a Dialogue between Manuel and the Roman cardinals then at Constantinople, respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit; also a dispute of the emperor with Peter, an Armenian doctor; and a tract on the two natures of Christ, and other subjects. *Tr.*]

⁴ [See note, c. i. § 1.]

⁵ For a fuller account of all these writers, see Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*. [Theodorus Balsamon was deacon, nomophylax, chartophylax, and librarian of the great church at Constantinople; and afterwards patriarch of Antioch, though he never took possession of his see, it being in the hands of the Latins. He flourished A.D. 1180, and lived till 1203, or longer. He was the most learned Greek of his times, and a powerful adversary against the Latin church. His works are commentaries on the apostolic canons, the councils and canonical epistles of the fathers (ed. Gr. and Lat., by Justell, and still better by Beveridge, Oxon. 1672, fol.)—Commentaries on the *Nomocanon* of Photius (edited, Gr. and Lat., by Justell, 1615, 4to, and in the *Biblioth. Juris Canon. t. ii.*). A collection of ecclesiastical constitutions (in the *Biblioth. Juris Canon. t. ii.*), and several other treatises on particular points and questions in ecclesiastical law, which were published by Leunclav and Cotelier.

The other Greek writers of this century were the following:—

Nicetas Seidus, an antagonist of the Latins, A.D. 1110; from whom Leo Allatius has made some extracts; *de Consensu*, &c. l. i. c. 14, &c.

Nicetas Byzantinus, a philosopher, *i. e.* a monk, A.D. 1120; who wrote a Defence of the Synod of Chalcedon against the prince of Armenia; which is quoted by Leo Allat. *ubi supra*, and published entire, Gr. and Lat., in the *Gr. Orthod. t. i.*

Georgius, metropolitan of Corcyra, A.D. 1136, distinguished himself as a writer, and negotiator in the controversy with the Latins.

Antonius Melissa, a Greek monk, A.D. 1140; author of *Libri ii. Locorum Communium, de virtutibus et vitiis*; compiled from the fathers; edited, Gr. and Lat., by Gesner, Tiguri, 1546, fol. and Geneva, 1609, fol.

Isaac, Catholicus of the greater Armenia, flourished, perhaps, A.D. 1150; author of two Invectives against the Armenians; Gr. and Lat., in *Auctuar. Nov.* tom. ii.

Lucas Chrysoberges, a monk and patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 1155 (alii, 1148) to 1167; author of some Synodal decrees at Constantinople, A.D. 1166; published by Leunclav, *Jus Gr. Rom.* lib. iii.

Basil Achridenus, metropolitan of Thessalonica, A.D. 1155; author of an epistle to pope Hadrian IV.; who solicited him to renounce the Greek church, and connect himself with the Latin; extant, Gr. and Lat., in the *Jus Gr. Rom.* lib. v.

Michael, a rhetorician and Proteclicus of the great church at Thessalonica, A.D. 1160; who fell into the heresy of the Bogomils, and afterwards renounced it. A short confession of his faith is published by Leo Allat. *de Consensu*, &c. lib. ii. c. 12.

Alexius Aristenus, Nomophylax and Eiconomus of the great church of Constantinople, A.D. 1166. A *Synopsis Canonum*, with the scholia of this ecclesiastic, is in Beveridge's *Pandectæ Canonum*, Oxon. 1672, fol.

Theorianus, a Greek theologian, sent by the emperor Manuel Comnenus, A.D. 1170, to bring the Armenians to the Greek faith. His successful discussion with Nerses, the

§ 23. The following may be considered as the principal Latin writers:—*Bernard*, abbot of Clairvaux, from whom the Cistercian monks took the name of *Bernardins*. He was a man of genius and taste, and of correct views in many respects, yet of a superstitious and ill-controlled mind; one who was able to conceal a great thirst for dominion under the garb of extraordinary piety, and who did not scruple to load with false accusations such as happened to incur his displeasure.¹ *Innocent III.*, the Roman pontiff, whose epistles and other productions contribute to illustrate the religion and discipline of the age.² *Anselm* of Laon,³ a man of acuteness and a skilful dia-

Armenian Catholicus, put into the form of a dialogue, was published, Gr. and Lat., by Leunclav, 1578, 8vo, and then in Ducæus, *Auctarium*, Paris, 1624, t. i. [See also Mai, *Ser. Vet. Nova Coll.* vi. 314. *Ed.*]

Simeon, Magister and Logotheta, about 1170. To him some ascribe the *Synopsis Canonum*, on which Alexius Aristenus wrote *Scholia*; but the work probably, was written before their day.

John Phocas, a native of Crete, first a soldier, and then a monk, and a married presbyter. In 1185 he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the holy places; and on his return, wrote a concise and accurate account of what he saw, entitled *Compendiaria descriptio locorum ab urbe Antiochia usque Hierosolymam, nec non Syriæ et Phœnicie*; edited, Gr. and Lat., by Leo Allat. *Symmict.* pt. i. p. 1. Colon. 1653, 8vo.

George Xiphilinus, patriarch of Constantinople, 1193—1199; wrote *Decretum de Juribus Territoriorum*; extant, Gr. and Lat., in the *Jus Gr. et Rom.* l. i. p. 283.

John Camaterus, patriarch of Constantinople, 1199—1206. His *Decretum de Nuptiis Consobrinorum* was published, Gr. and Lat., by Leunclav, in the *Jus Gr. Rom.* l. iv. p. 285. *Tr.*]

¹ The works of St. Bernard have been splendidly edited by Jo. Mabillon, with learned prefaces to his treatises, containing much valuable information; and an appendix containing the ancient biographies of him: [Paris, 1666, 2 vols. fol. and 8 vols. 8vo, and A.D. 1690, 6 vols.—St. Bernard was born of honourable parentage, at Fontaine, near Dijon, A.D. 1091, and educated at Châtillon, where he distinguished himself much as a scholar. At the age of twenty-two he became a monk at Cîteaux. In 1115, he was created abbot of the newly-erected monastery of Clairval or Clairvaux, in the territory of Langres, where he spent the remainder of his life, and acquired an influence almost unbounded throughout Europe. He was remarkably austere in his mode of living, and wholly absorbed in practical religion. His eloquence was bold, thrilling, and irresistible; for his conceptions were vivid, his language clear and strong, and

his zeal determined and unyielding. In 1127, he attended the council of Troyes, and did much to procure the establishment of the order of Knights Templars. From 1130, he espoused the cause of Innocent II. against his competitors; and for ten years supported that pontiff, and at last procured him a complete triumph. In 1140, he assailed Abelard, and contributed much to destroy his reputation and influence, and to reduce him to a state of wretchedness. In 1146, he set himself to rouse Europe to a new crusade, and persuaded the king of France and the emperor of Germany to march large armies to the holy land. The complete failure of the crusade, contrary to his predictions, much lowered his reputation. But he defended himself, by ascribing the failure to the sins of the crusaders. In 1147, he procured the condemnation of the heresy of Gilbert, bishop of Poitiers. The same year, he assailed the Petrobrusians, and drew off many persons from that heresy. He also attacked and routed the Apostolici. In 1151, he exposed the arrogance and pride of the Roman court. He died A.D. 1153, in the sixty-third year of his age; was sainted; and reported to have wrought innumerable miracles, both before and after his decease.—A prolix life of him was written by several of his contemporaries. The best modern history of his life is that of Aug. Neander, Berlin, 1813, 8vo, in German, entitled *St. Bernard and the age in which he lived*. Milner's *Life of Bernard* (*Ch. Hist.* cent. xii.) is worth reading, though written with partiality. His works are nearly all on practical religion, and consist chiefly of letters and discourses. *Tr.*]

² The Epistles of Innocent III. were republished by Steph. Baluze, in 2 vols. fol. Paris, 1682. [He was pope from 1198 to 1216. Beside Letters, he wrote a number of Tracts and Discourses, chiefly of a practical and devotional character; a commentary on the seven penitential Psalms; three Books on the contempt of the world; and six on the mysteries of the mass. But none of these are now of much value. *Tr.*]

³ [Anselm of Laon was schoolmaster, and dean of the cathedral of Laon, about 1103,

lectician. By him was educated *Abelard*, famous, in that age, for the acuteness and elegance of his genius, the extent of his erudition, his dexterity as a disputant, and the misfortunes which befel him.¹ *Godfrey*, or *Geoffry*, of Vendôme, who has left us epistles and some dis-

and died in 1117. Abelard, his pupil, represents him as neither learned nor discriminating, but a man full of words, without much meaning. (See Abelard's *Hist. of his own sufferings*, c. 3.) He was author of the *Glossa interlinealis*, or interlinear and marginal notes to the Old and New Testaments, from the writings of the fathers; often published; e.g. Lugduni, 1528, Antw. 1634, &c. The commentaries on Matthew and John, on the epistles of Paul, the Apocalypse, and the Canticles, published among the works of Anselm of Canterbury, are by some ascribed to Anselm of Laon. *Tr.*]

¹ See Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Abelard*, i. 18, and iii. 2174, art. *Paraclet*. Jac. Gervais, *Vie de Pierre Abélard, Abbé de Ruys, et de Héloïse*, Paris, 1728, 2 vols. 8vo. The works of Abelard, in one vol. 4to, were published by Francis Amboise, Paris, 1616. But a collection twice, or even thrice as large, might be made; for, *cui non dictus Hylas?*—[Abelard was born of noble parentage, at Palais, near Nantes, A.D. 1079. He first studied under Roscelin, founder of the Nominalists, and removed to Paris, at the age of twenty, to study dialectics under William de Champeaux. After a while he began to dispute with his teacher; and, as many of his fellow-students awarded to him the victory in several cases, his master became jealous of him, and they parted. In 1101, he opened a school of his own at Melun, ten leagues from Paris; and his school being thronged, he removed it to Corbeil, to be nearer Paris. The school of his former master, and present rival, declined fast. But soon after, the health of Abelard failed; and he had to retire for two years. On resuming his school at Corbeil, he completely ran down his rival Champeaux. Abelard, in 1113, removed to Laon to study theology under Anselm. Here again the pupil outshone the master, and became his rival. He now came to Paris, and lectured with vast applause on theology and philosophy, to a great concourse of students from different countries. But, at the age of forty, he seduced the celebrated Heloise, a fatherless girl of eighteen, who was placed under his instruction. She bore him a son; and to pacify her enraged relatives, he privately married her. She, however, denied the marriage, lest it should destroy his prospects in the church, and retired to a monastery. Her uncle now hired ruffians, who entered his chamber by night, and inflicted on his person a disgraceful and cruel mutilation. Heloise then took the veil, and Abelard be-

came a monk at St. Denys. He now resumed lecturing, and also published his 'Theology.' This work brought on him the charge of heresy, and was burned by order of the council of Soissons, A.D. 1121.—Still Abelard was popular as a lecturer. But having asserted that St. Denys, the founder of the church at Paris, was not Dionysius the Areopagite, a new persecution commenced; and he retired from St. Denys, A.D. 1122, to a forest near Nogent in Champagne, where he lived in retirement. But students gathering around him there, a new monastery grew up, called that of the Paraclete. He had now six hundred pupils. Next, he was chosen abbot of St. Gildas at Ruys, near Vannes, where he spent many years. The convent of Argenteuil, where Heloise was, being dispersed, Abelard gave her the convent of Paraclete, where she spent the rest of her life, a devout abbess. Now the famous correspondence between Abelard and Heloise took place; a correspondence which Mr. Pope has transformed and altered greatly in his poetic version. Abelard was again accused of heresy by St. Bernard and others, appealed to the pope, was condemned unheard, set out for Rome, A.D. 1140, reached Cluny, where Peter, the Venerable, received him kindly, procured from the pope his acquittal, and also effected a reconciliation between him and St. Bernard. Abelard passed two years at Cluny, with reputation for piety and learning, and delivered acceptable lectures, though in declining health. He died there, in 1142, aged sixty-three years. Du Pin, in his *Lives of Eccles. Authors*, cent. xii. ch. vii., after examining the fourteen charges of erroneous doctrine imputed to him, pronounces them all false, or frivolous, except two, the eleventh, that the Jews who crucified Christ, did no sin by that act; and the twelfth, that the power of binding and loosing belonged only to the inspired apostles, and extended only to the church militant. The Roman Catholics, generally, according to Bayle, have been less severe upon Abelard's character than the Protestants. His seduction of his pupil all must condemn. It appears, also, that he was both vain and selfish. Neither do his writings display those masterly talents which his reputation as a lecturer would lead us to expect.—His printed Works contain four Epistles to Heloise; seven Epistles to others; a history of his life, till 1134; his apology, or confession of faith; expositions of the Lord's prayer, the Apostles' creed and the Athanasian creed; a reply to

sertations.¹ *Rupert* of Deutz, the most famous expositor of the scriptures among the Latins of this century; a man generally of a sound judgment, and not destitute of imagination and taste.² *Hugo* of St. Victor, a man of prolific mind, who has written on nearly all the branches of knowledge then cultivated, both sacred and profane, and who has said many things well.³ *Richard* of St. Victor, the *coryphæus* of the *mystics* of that age; whose *Arca mystica*, in particular, containing the marrow of this sort of wisdom, was received with avidity.⁴ *Honorius* of Autun, a theologian and philosopher not without reputation.⁵ *Gratian*, a monk, to whom canon law was indebted for a new form and higher respectability.⁶ *William* of Rheims, who composed various tracts to subserve the cause of piety.⁷ *Peter Lombard*, often

queries of Heloise; a tract against heresies; Commentaries on Romans, in five books; thirty-two sermons; directions for the nuns of the Paraclete; and his Introduction to Theology, in three books. *Tr.*]

¹ [Godfrey was abbot of Vendôme from 1093 till after 1129. He was a zealous supporter of Urban II., who created him cardinal; and held an extensive correspondence with pontiffs, cardinals, and bishops. His works, comprising epistles in 5 books, 18 tracts, and 15 sermons, were published by Jac. Sirmond, Paris, 1610, 8vo, and then in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxi. *Tr.*]

² Concerning Rupert of Deutz (Tuitiensis), besides the common historians, Jo. Mabillon treats particularly in his *Annales Benedict.* vi. 19, 20, 42, 144, 168, 261, 282, 296; and also states the controversies into which he was brought. [Rupert was a German monk of St. Lawrence, near Liege, and then abbot of Deutz, near Cologne. He began to write A.D. 1111, and died 1135. He was known as a polemic in his day; and was accused of not holding the doctrine of transubstantiation; but perhaps falsely. He is chiefly known to us as a commentator on nearly the whole Bible; but he also wrote twelve books on the rites of worship through the year; on the conflagration of Deutz; contemplations on death, 2 books; tracts on the will and omnipotence of God; the lives of some saints, &c. His works have been repeatedly printed; e.g. Paris, 1638, 2 tom. fol. *Tr.*]

³ See the *Gallia Christiana*, vii. 661. His works were printed together, in 3 volumes, fol., Rouen, 1648. Derlangius has written expressly of him in his *Diss. de Hugone à S. Victore*, Helmst. 1746, 4to. Add Martene's *Voyage Littéraire*, ii. 91, 92. [Hugo of St. Victor was born A.D. 1096; but whether at Ypres in the Netherlands, or in Lower Saxony, has been contested. He was an Augustinian canon in the monastery of St. Victor, at Paris, where he died A.D.

1140. So fully did he enter into the theological views of St. Augustine, and so exactly did he express them in his writings, that he was called *Augustine the Second*, and also the *Tongue of Augustine*. He commented largely on all parts of the Bible, wrote on Dionysius Areop., and on many philosophical, theological, and practical subjects. But a great part of the works published as his have been adjudged to others. *Tr.*]

⁴ *Gallia Christiana*, vii. 669. [Richard of St. Victor was a Scotchman, a regular canon, and for nine years prior of St. Victor, at Paris, till his death, A.D. 1173. He was the intimate friend of St. Bernard, and of Hugo of St. Victor. He wrote numerous treatises on practical and experimental religion and on biblical and theological subjects; in all of which he spiritualises almost continually. The best edition is said to be that of Rouen, 1650, in 2 vols. folio. *Tr.*]

⁵ This celebrated writer is usually called *Honorius of Autun*; but Jac. le Bœuf has shown that he was a German, in his *Diss. sur l'Hist. Française*, i. 254. [He was a presbyter and schoolmaster in the church of Autun in Burgundy, about 1130. He wrote an account of the ecclesiastical writers, compiled from Jerome, Gennadius, Isidore, and Bede; commentaries on the books of Solomon; a dialogue on predestination and free will; *Gemma Animæ*, or on the mass and its ceremonies; on the visible creation, three books; *Elucidarium*; on Heresies; on the philosophy of the world, four books; on the properties of the sun; a catalogue of the popes; all published in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xx. besides many pieces never published. *Tr.*]

⁶ [See note, c. i. § 6, above. *Tr.*]

⁷ [William of Rheims was, perhaps, first a monk of Clairvaux under Bernard, and certainly abbot of St. Thierry, near Rheims, and then, during nine years, abbot of St. Nicasius at Rheims. In 1153, he resigned his abbacy, and became a Cistercian, in the monastery of Signy. His works are, *de Vita*

called *Master of the sentences*, because he collected and arranged scientifically the theological opinions and decisions of the Latin fathers.¹ *Gilbert de la Porrée*, a theologian and philosopher, who is said to have explained some points in theology erroneously.² *William* of Auxerre, much celebrated for his *Summa Theologica*, or system of theology.³ *Peter* of Blois, whose epistles and numerous tracts are still read with some advantage.⁴ *John* of Salisbury, a man of genius and learning, who united eloquence with the study of philosophy and theology; as is manifest from his *Metalogicus*, and his books *de Nugis*

solitaria Liber; *Speculum Fidei*; *Ænigma Fidei*; *Meditationum Liber*; *de contemplando Deo Liber*; *de Natura Corporis et Animi Libri*, ii.; *Disputatio contra Petrum Abælardum*; *de Erroribus Gulielmi de Conchis Liber*; *de Sacramento Altaris Tractatus*; *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*; *Commentarius in Epist. ad Romanos*, and *de vita Sti. Bernardi, Liber*. All, except the last, are in the *Biblioth. Cisterciensis*, t. iv. Tr.]

¹ *Gallia Christiana*, vii. 68. [Peter Lombard was born at a village near Novara in Lombardy, whence his surname of Lombard. He first studied at Bologna, and then went to France to study theology, being recommended to St. Bernard. At Paris he acquired high reputation as early as 1141; was made professor of divinity there; and, 1159, bishop of Paris, till his death, A.D. 1164. Besides his notes or commentary on the Psalms, and his collections from the fathers on the epistles of Paul, he composed a very celebrated system of divinity, extracted from the fathers, especially from Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, entitled the *Sentences*, and divided into four books. This work was the text-book in theology for some ages; and, in its general arrangements, has served for a model nearly to the present day. The basis of his distribution is the maxim of Augustine, that all knowledge is either of *things* or of *signs*; and that things are divisible into such as are to be *enjoyed*, and such as are to be *used*. Accordingly, in the first book he treats of *things* which are to be *enjoyed*; viz. God, the supreme good of man, his nature, attributes, and subsistence in three persons. In the second book he treats of *things*, to be *used*; viz. the *creation*, its production by the power of God; the formation of angels and men, the apostasy of angels, and the fall of man; of grace and free will, original and actual sin; &c. In the third book he treats of the incarnation and sacrifice of Christ, redemption, faith, charity, and good works, as conditions of salvation. The fourth book treats of the *signs* or sacraments of the church; except that in the seven last sections he treats of the day of judgment

and the future state. See Du Pin's *Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, cent. xii. c. xv. Tr.]

² [Gilbert de la Porrée (Porretanus) was a Frenchman of Aquitaine, rector of the school at Paris, canon, and, A.D. 1141, bishop of Poitiers, till his death, A.D. 1154. This distinguished scholar and philosopher advanced some views in theology, and particularly respecting the Trinity, which were strange to his contemporaries, and caused him to be charged with heresy. See the next chapter, § 11. His notes on the Psalms, commentaries on the epistles of Paul, and treatise on the Trinity, are said to exist in manuscript. All that has been published, is his epistle to the abbot of St. Florentius, appended to the works of Guibert by D'Achery. Tr.]

³ Le Beuf, *Diss. sur la Somme Théologique de Guillaume d'Auxerre*; in P. Malet's *Continuation des Mémoires d'Histoire et de Littérature*, t. iii. pt. ii. p. 317. [He was archdeacon of Beauvais, and died at Rome, A.D. 1230. Schl.—William de Seligniaco, bishop of Auxerre, 1206, and afterwards of Paris, d. 1223. Cave. *Ed.*—But Schroeckh (*Kirchengesch.* vol. xxviii. p. 157) places him near the end of the *thirteenth* century. Tr.]

⁴ [Peter of Blois (Blesensis) was born at Blois, studied the liberal arts at Paris, civil and canon law at Bologna, and theology at Chartres under John of Salisbury. Perhaps he was made a canon at Chartres. In 1167 he went to Sicily, and became tutor, and afterwards secretary to William II., king of Sicily. Soon after, on the banishment of his friend the archbishop of Palermo, he returned to France, and was invited to England, where he was made archdeacon of Bath, archdeacon of London, and chancellor to the archbishop of Canterbury. He died about 1200. His works, consisting of 183 epistles, 65 sermons, and 17 tracts on various subjects then exciting interest, were published, Paris, 1667, fol. He was the fictitious author of a continuation of the history of Ingulf of Croyland, to 1118. Several other works of his are lost. See Du Pin, *Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, cent. xii. c. xi. Tr.]

Curialium.¹ *Peter Comestor*, author of the *Historia Scholastica*, or that epitome of the history contained in the Old and New Testaments, which was formerly studied by the youth in the schools.² The names and merits of the other Latin writers may be learned from the works devoted to this subject.³

¹ [John of Salisbury, one of the brightest geniuses of the age. He was a pupil of Abelard in 1136, and afterwards an intimate friend of Thomas Becket, whom he accompanied in his exile for seven years; but he disapproved of Becket's resistance to the king of England. He returned to England; but on the death of Becket, he again went to France, A.D. 1172; and in 1179, was made bishop of Chartres, where he died three years after. His works are, *Polieraticus*, or on the fopperies of courtiers, in eight books; in which he displays much knowledge of the world, great wit, and very just views of men and things; *Metalogicus*, in four books, an acute and learned treatise on logic, philology, and philosophy; the life of St. Thomas of Canterbury; several hundreds of epistles; and a commentary on Paul's epistles. *Tr.*—Published by Dr. Giles, Oxford, 1848, and by Migne, Paris, 1855.]

² [Peter Comestor was a native of Troyes, and a priest and dean there; then chancellor of Paris. Towards the close of life he retired to the monastery of St. Victor, where he died, A.D. 1198. Numerous manuscript sermons of his still exist. *Historia Scholastica* is a biblical history of the world, from the creation to the end of the book of Acts, in sixteen books. *Tr.*]

³ [The Latin writers of this century omitted by Mosheim, are the following.

Gilbert Crispin, a monk of Bec, abbot of Westminster, died 1117. He travelled to Rome, and had a dispute with a Jew, which he afterwards committed to writing, and entitled *de Fide Ecclesiæ contra Judæos*. He also wrote *contra Judæos Liber*; and a great number of Homilies, which are still preserved in manuscript.

Leo Marsicanus, librarian of Monte Cassino, and cardinal deacon, A.D. 1101. He died after 1116, having been very active and devoted to the holy see. He left a chronicle of the monastery of Cassino, in three books, from St. Benedict to 1055; also some sermons and lives of saints.

Guibert, or Gilbert, abbot of St. Mary at Nogent, in Laonnois; flourished A.D. 1101, and died 1124. He wrote a tract on the composition of sermons; morals on Job; *de Pignoribus sanctorum*, libri iii., several other tracts; and *Gesta Dei per Francos*, or history of the Crusades, up to 1100, in seven books; published in Bongars' Collection, t. i.

Robert, a Benedictine of St. Remigius, at Rheims. He was in the first crusade;

and wrote a history of it from A.D. 1095 to 1099, in nine books; extant in Bongars' Collection, t. i.

Hugo, abbot of Flavigny, in Burgundy; fl. 1101. He wrote *Chronicon Viridunense*, in two parts; the first from the birth of Christ to 1002, and the second to 1102; Labbé, *Biblioth. Nov. MS.* t. i.

Rodolphus Ardens, chaplain to William IV., duke of Aquitaine, A.D. 1101. He left sermons on the lessons for the year; published, Cologne, 1604. 2 vols. 8vo.

Theodoric, abbot of St. Trudo, in the diocese of Liege, who died in exile, at Ghent, 1107. He wrote the life of St. Trudo; and of four or five other saints.

Sigebert Gemblacensis, a monk of Gemblours, A.D. 1101, a partisan of the emperor Henry IV. in his contests with the pope. He wrote a chronicle from 381, where Jerome ends, to 1112; printed among the *Scriptores Germanici*, Francf. 1583, fol. and by Aub. Miræus, Antw. 1608, also *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis; Epistola pro Ecclesiis Leodiensi et Cameracensi, adv. Ep. Paschalis Papæ*; a life of Sigebert, king of France; and some lives of saints. He died A.D. 1112.

Ælnoth, an Englishman, or Dane, a monk of St. Augustine's at Canterbury; who spent most of his life in Denmark, and about 1105 wrote the life and passion of St. Canute, king of Denmark.

Odo of Cambray, schoolmaster at Orleans, abbot of St. Martin of Tournay, chosen bishop of Cambray, A.D. 1105, but refused investiture from the emperor Henry IV. He wrote an exposition of the canon of the mass, and several other tracts extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxi.

Petrus Alfonsus, once Moses, a distinguished Spanish Jew. After his conversion, A.D. 1106, he wrote a dialogue against the Jews; in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxi.

Stephen Harding, an English monk of Sherborne. He travelled in Scotland, France, and Italy; became first a Benedictine at Molesme, then a Cistercian and abbot of Cîteaux, A.D. 1109, died A.D. 1134. He composed regulations for the Cistercians, and some other monastic pieces.

Peter Grossolanus or Chrysolanus, archbishop of Milan, A.D. 1110—1116, which office he was obliged to abdicate. He was sent as a papal legate to Constantinople; and has left us an oration, addressed to the emperor, Alexius Comnenus, on the procession of the Holy Spirit: extant, Latin, in

Baronius, *Annal. ann.* 1115, and Greek and Latin, in Leo Allat. *Orthod. Græca*, t. i.

Gille, or Gillebert, bishop of Limerick, who died A.D. 1139. He has left us *Libellus de statu ecclesiæ; et Epistolæ II.* in Ussher's *Epistolar. Hibernicar. Sylloge*, p. 77.

Berengosus, abbot of St. Maximin, within the walls of Treves; flourished about A.D. 1110. He wrote *de Laude et Inventione Crucis Dominicæ*, and several monastic discourses; extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.* t. xii.

Franco, schoolmaster at Liege, and abbot of Afflighem, about 1111. He wrote *de Gratia Dei Libri XII.* (in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxi.) and some other pieces, among which was a tract on the quadrature of the circle, and another on the principles of arithmetic.

John, archbishop of Lyons, who, A.D. 1112 had a contest with his suffragans respecting lay-investitures, which he wished to suppress. His epistle to them on the subject is in Harduin's *Concilia*, vi. pt. ii. 1919.

Stephen I., bishop of Autun, A.D. 1113—1129; and then a monk of Cluny. He wrote a tract *de Sacramento Altaris*, &c. in the *Biblioth. Patr.* xx. 1872.

Baldric, a native of Orleans, and a monk and abbot in Anjou, A.D. 1095; archbishop of Dol, A.D. 1114—1131. He wrote *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in four books. It is a history of the first crusade, from 1095 to 1100; and is among the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, and among the *Historici Francici* of Duchesne, t. iv. He wrote also the life of Hugo, archbishop of Rouen; and the life of Robert d'Arbrissell, founder of the order of Fontevraud.

Ernulf, a monk of Beauvais, whom Lanfranc invited over to England, where he was successively prior of Canterbury, abbot of Peterborough, and bishop of Rochester; and died A.D. 1124, aged eighty-four. He wrote *de incestis Conjugiis*, and *de corpore et sanguine Domini*; in D'Achery's *Spicileg.* t. ii.

Hermann, a converted German Jew, of Cologne, who was persecuted by his unbelieving friends, became a canon, was contemporary with St. Bernard, and an intimate of Rupert of Deutz. He has left a tract respecting his own conversion; published by Bened. Carpzov. Lips. 1687.

Gelasius II. pope, A.D. 1118, 1119. He was nobly born at Gaeta, educated at Monte Cassino, made chancellor and cardinal deacon at Rome. He had to fight for St. Peter's chair, and to abandon Rome; and died in France. He has left us a life of St. Erasmus [and several epistles. Jaffé, 522. *Ed.*]

Florentius, called Bravonius, an English monk of Worcester, who died A.D. 1118. He wrote a chronicle, from the creation to A.D. 1118; and a genealogy of the English kings; first published, Lond. 1592, 4to.

Callistus II. pope, A.D. 1119—1124, has left us thirty-five epistles, published in the Councils, besides five more in Baluze, *Miscell.* t. ii., and five sermons in the *Biblioth. Patr.* t. xx. [Jaffé, 526. *Ed.*]

Guigo, or Guido, of Dauphiny, fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse, fl. A.D. 1120. He wrote *Scala Claustralium, seu de modo orandi*; several epistles; a life of St. Hugo of Grenoble, &c.

Rodulph, abbot of St. Trudo, near Liege; about 1120. He wrote *Chronicon Monasterii Sti. Trudonis*, in thirteen books; published by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* t. vii.; also a life of St. Lietbert, bishop of Cambray; *Ibid.*

Albert, or Alberic, a canon of the church of Aix, A.D. 1120. He wrote, from the account of others, *Historia Hierosolymitanæ expeditionis sub Godefrido Bullione et aliis*, in twelve books, a very good history of the first crusade, from 1095 to 1120; published by Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, i. 184.

Gauterius, or Galterius, styled the Chancellor, a Frenchman, A.D. 1120. He wrote a history of the war of Antioch, A.D. 1115 to 1119, when Gauterius was taken prisoner; extant in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, i. 441.

Hugo, a Benedictine of Fleury, A.D. 1120. He wrote a *Chronicon*, in six books, from Ninus, king of Assyria, to Lewis the Meek, A.D. 840; and an Epilogue, embracing the transactions of Lewis the Meek: also two Books, *de Regia Potestate, et Sacerdotali Dignitate*.

Robert, surnamed Retenensis, an English student and traveller, who flourished A.D. 1120. He travelled through France, Italy, Dalmatia, and Greece, into Syria, where he stayed long, and acquired the Arabic language. Returning, he settled in Spain, studied astrology, and was made archdeacon of Pampeluna. He abridged the Koran, and translated it into Latin. Huet pronounces the translation a wretched one.

Eadmer, a Benedictine of Canterbury; the pupil, and friend, and biographer of Anselm. He flourished A.D. 1121; and was appointed bishop of St. Andrew's, in Scotland; but never consecrated. He wrote *Historia Novorum, sive sui sæculi*, in six books, from 1066 to 1122; which has been highly extolled; the life of St. Anselm, in two books; and a few tracts on moral subjects. All the above are printed with the works of Anselm. He also wrote the life of St. Wilfrid, archbishop of York, extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. iii. pt. i. Numerous other tracts, historical and religious, are said to exist in manuscript, in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Peter Maurice, the Venerable, born of a

noble French family; first a soldier, and then a monk of Cluny, where he was abbot from A.D. 1123 to 1156. Pontius, the former abbot of Cluny, gave him trouble during the first years of his abbacy. In 1126 he began to preach and write against Peter De Bruis. In 1140, he received Abelard, and reconciled both Bernard and the pope to him. He visited Italy on important business in 1145 and 1150, and was highly honoured by pope Eugene, and the citizens of Rome. He wrote *Epistolarum Libri vi.*, Tracts against the Jews; against heresies and Islamism; against the Petrobrusians; on the transfiguration of Christ; on the translation of the *Koran*, procured by him; and a few other pieces; all published in the *Biblioth. Cluniacensis*, Paris, 1614, and the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxii.

Fulcher, of Chartres, a monk, or presbyter, who accompanied Robert, duke of Normandy in the first crusade; of which he wrote a history, entitled *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem peregrinantium, ab anno 1095 ad annum usque 1124*, in a coarse style. It was published, imperfect, in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*; and complete in Duchesne's *Scriptores Francici*, Paris, 1640, iv. 816.

Honorius II. pope, A.D. 1124—1130, has left us eleven epistles. [Jaffé, 649. *Ed.*]

Herveus, a Benedictine, of Dol, A.D. 1130, wrote a commentary on the epistles of Paul; attributed to St. Anselm, and printed among his works.

Innocent II. pope, A.D. 1130—1143, has left us fifty epistles. [Jaffé, 658. *Ed.*]

Simeon, an Englishman, a Benedictine monk, and precentor in the cathedral of Durham. Here he examined carefully the remains of the library, which the Danes had much injured; and collecting materials from every quarter, became an author. He died about A.D. 1130; and wrote a history of the church of Durham, from 635 to 1096; which another hand continued to 1154; a tract concerning the archbishops of York; another on the siege of Durham; and a history of the English and Danish kings, from 730 to 1129, which John of Hexham continued to 1155, and from which Roger Hoveden took a great part of his history. These works of Simeon were published by Twisden, in his *Scriptores X. Anglici*, Lond., 1652. [*Mon. Hist. Brit.* 645. *Ed.*]

Alger, a deacon and schoolmaster at Liege, during many years, and then a monk of Cluny, under Peter Maurice. He flourished A.D. 1130; and wrote *de Sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini, adversus Berengarium Libri iii.* extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxi. besides some other things, not published.

William of Malmesbury, was a native of Somersetshire, a Benedictine, and librarian and precentor of the monastery of Malmes-

bury, where he flourished, from 1130 to 1143. He wrote a history of the kings of England, in *five* books, from the first arrival of the Saxons, A.D. 449, to 1127: a continuation of it in *two* books, to 1143; a history of the English bishops. These works were collected and published by Savile, Lond. 1596, fol. and Francf. 1601. His life of St. Aldhelm, bishop of Sherburn, is in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. iv. p. 1. Some other works of this celebrated English historian are said to exist still in manuscript. [His life of Aldhelm is also printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 1. There is an *Abbreviation of Amalarius* by him, in MS. in a splendid volume of liturgical tracts, presented by Henry VI. to All Souls college, Oxford (W. W. IV. 2). This contains the attack upon Raban Maur, extracted in Soames's *Bampton Lectures* (p. 414); an important passage, because it is evidence of Malmesbury's adherence to the divinity imported under Lanfranc, and, therefore, a clue to his treatment of Elfric. S.]

Philip, bishop of Tarentum from 1136 to 1139, when he was deposed for adhering to Peter Leonis, the antipope, went to France, and became a monk at Clairvaux, under St. Bernard. In 1150, he was made prior, and 1156, abbot of a convent in the diocese of Chartres; which, however, he resigned before his death, and returned to Clairvaux. He has left us 25 epistles, published by Charles Du Visch, subjoined to his *Scriptores Ordinis Cisterciensis*, p. 336.

Peter, born at Rome, A.D. 1110, a student and monk at Monte Cassino, A.D. 1115—1137, then legate to the emperor Lotharius, who employed him at his court till his death. He wrote *de viris illustribus monasterii Casinensis Libri ii.*; *Liber quartus Chronicæ Casinensis* (A.D. 1086—1138); *de notis literarum Romanarum*; besides numerous tracts never published.

Guerrie, a disciple of St. Bernard, a canon and schoolmaster at Tournay, and then a Cistercian abbot in the diocese of Rheims; died 1157. He wrote sermons on the lessons for the year; printed in an appendix to the works of Bernard, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxiii.

Philip Herveng, called Eleemosynarius, abbot of Good Hope, in Hainault, A.D. 1140; died 1180. He wrote twenty-one epistles; a mystic commentary on the Canticles; Morals on the Canticles; on Nebuchadnezzar's dream; on the fall of man; on the condemnation of Solomon; *six* tracts on the dignity and virtues of clergymen; a life of Augustine; and lives of eight other saints; all published, Douay, 1620, fol.

Orderic Vitalis, an Englishman, born at Attingham (in Shropshire), A.D. 1075, sent to Normandy at the age of eleven, where he became a monk deacon, and presbyter, and

flourished about A.D. 1140. He wrote an Ecclesiastical History, in thirteen books, from the birth of Christ to 1142; published by Du Chesne, among his *Scriptores Normannici*, Paris, 1619, fol. p. 321.

Arnulph, bishop of Lisieux, in Normandy, A.D. 1141. He accompanied Lewis, king of France, in his crusade, A.D. 1147; was papal legate to England in 1160, and much employed in public business, till near his death, A.D. 1182. Many of his sermons, epistles, and epigrams were published at Paris, 1585, 8vo, and then in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxii. Some others have since been published.

Cælestine II. pope A.D. 1143, 1144, has left us three epistles. [Jaffé, 605. *Ed.*]

Lucius II. A.D. 1144, 1145, has left us twelve epistles. [Jaffé, 609. *Ed.*]

Amedeus, bishop of Lausanne, A.D. 1144—1158. He wrote eight homilies in praise of the Virgin Mary; in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xx.

Otho, or Otto, of Freising; of royal German descent, and uncle to the emperor Frederic Barbarossa. He studied at Paris, became a Cistercian monk and abbot, was made bishop of Freising A.D. 1138, engaged in the second crusade A.D. 1147, resigned his bishopric in 1156, and died two years after. He wrote a chronicle from the creation to A.D. 1146, in seven books; with an eighth on the end of the world; also the life and reign of Frederic Barbarossa, in two books. Both have been often published, and particularly among the German historians, A.D. 1585 and 1670, t. i.

Robert Pullen, or Pullus, a distinguished English theologian and scholar. He was made archdeacon of Rochester; but to avoid the confusion of a civil war, retired to Paris, and studied there some time. He returned in 1130, and is said to have read lectures at Oxford for five years, and preached every Sunday. He afterwards returned to Paris; and being deprived of the revenues of his archdeaconry, he appealed to the pope, A.D. 1144, who invited him to Rome, and made him a cardinal. He died about 1150. His only work, that has reached us, is *Sententiarum de Trinitate Libri viii.* It is a system of theology; but, unlike Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, it is not a mere compilation from the fathers, but a biblical and argumentative treatise, in which he shows himself a profound and orthodox divine. It was published by Mathout, Paris, 1655, fol.

Eugene III. pope, A.D. 1145—1153, has left us eighty-nine epistles. [Jaffé, 615. *Ed.*]

John Burgundio, a native of Pisa, flourished A.D. 1148, died 1194. He translated many homilies of Chrysostom, John Damascenus, *de fide Orthodoxa*, and Nemesius' eight books on philosophy.

Anselm, bishop of Havelberg in the duchy of Brandenburg, A.D. 1149, author of three dialogues against the Greeks; published by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* t. xiii.

Gilbert Foliot, an Englishman, abbot of Gloucester, and A.D. 1148, bishop of Hereford, and, A.D. 1163—1187, bishop of London. He was opposed to Thomas Becket. The king employed him much. He was twice excommunicated by the pope. His Commentary on the Canticles was published by Junius, Lond. 1638, 4to, and eight of his epistles are among the epistles of Becket, ed. Brussels, 1682. [His letters are published by Dr. Giles, Oxf. 1848, with those of T. Becket. *Ed.*]

Henry of Huntingdon, the son of a married English priest, canon of Lincoln, and archdeacon of Huntingdon; flourished A.D. 1150. He wrote *Historia Anglorum, ab ipsis gentis primordiis usque ad Stephani regis mortem* (A.D. 1154), *Libris viii.*, published first by Savile, Lond. 1596, fol. and Francf. 1601.

Ailred, Ealred, or Ælred, either a Scot, or an Englishman; a Cistercian monk and abbot of Rievaulx, in Yorkshire; flourished A.D. 1150, and died in 1166. He wrote the life and miracles of St. Edward, king and confessor; genealogy of the kings of England; *de Bello Standardii Tempore Stephani regis; Historia de Sanctimoniali de Wattun*; published by Twissen, Lond. 1652. Also sermons on the lessons for the year; thirty-one sermons on Isaiah; *Speculum charitatis, libri iii.*; *Tractatus de puero Jesu duodecenni*; *de spirituali amicitia, libri iii.*: published in the *Bibliotheca Cisterciensis*, t. v. and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxxiii.

Alanus De Insulis, a Fleming, and monk of Clairvaux; an abbot, and, A.D. 1151—1167, bishop of Auxerre; but he resigned and retired to Clairvaux, where he died A.D. 1182. He wrote a life of St. Bernard, published by Mabillon, in the *Opera Bernardi*.

Galfrid, called also Arthur, bishop of St. Asaph, A.D. 1152—1154 (Geoffrey of Monmouth): author of a history of Britain, from the earliest times to his own age, in twelve books, a work not in much repute; published, Paris, 1517, 4to, and among the *Scriptores Britannia minores*, Heidelb. 1587, fol.

Potho, a Benedictine monk, of Prüm, in the diocese of Treves, A.D. 1152. He wrote *de statu domus Dei libri v.* and *de domo sapientia liber*; in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, t. xxi.

Nicolas, a Cistercian monk of Clairvaux, and secretary to St. Bernard; but being accused of forging letters in Bernard's name, he fled into Italy, and long aspersed the character of Bernard. A book of his epistles is in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxi.; also a

book of his sermons in the *Biblioth. Cisterciensis*. t. iii.

Anastasius IV. pope, A.D. 1153, 1154, has left us thirteen epistles. [Jaffé, 652. *Ed.*] Hadrian IV. (Nicolas Breakspere), the only Englishman that ever filled the papal throne. Disappointed of an English monastery, he went to France, studied at Paris, became an Augustinian canon, prior and abbot, at St. Rufus, near Valence. Going to Rome on business, Eugene III. created him a cardinal, and bishop of Albano. In 1148, he was papal legate to Norway and Denmark. In 1154, he succeeded to the papal chair, till his death in 1159. He has left us forty-four epistles. [Jaffé, 658. *Ed.*]

Elizabeth, a German Benedictine nun, and abbess of Schönaun, in the diocese of Treves, where she died A.D. 1165, aged thirty-six years. She wrote her *Visions or Revelations*, in three books; and a book of epistles: published, Cologne, 1628.

Ecbert, a German Benedictine monk, and abbot of St. Florin, in Schönaun, flourished A.D. 1154; and wrote thirteen discourses against the Cathari; and the life of Elizabeth, his sister, the abbess of Schönaun. His discourses are in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxiii.

Radulphus Niger, a Benedictine, in the diocese of Beauvais, who flourished A.D. 1157 (and not in the preceding century, as some suppose). His commentary on Leviticus, in twenty books, published in the *Biblioth. Patr.* t. xvii., has been much commended. The commentary on the Canticles, ascribed to St. Gregory, and printed with his works, was the production of Radulph.

Zacharias, bishop of Chrysopolis, or a Præmonstratensian monk of St. Martin of Laon; A.D. 1157. He wrote four books of commentaries on the *Μορὸς ἑσπερος*, or Harmony of the four Gospels, by Ammonius of Alexandria; published, Cologne, 1535, fol. and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xix.

Alexander III. pope, A.D. 1159—1181, has left us 337 epistles. [Jaffé, 677. *Ed.*]

John of Hexham, in Northumberland, and an Augustinian canon, A.D. 1160. He continued the history of Simeon Dunelmensis, from 1130 to 1155.

Folmar, head of the monastery of Triftenstein, in Franconia; about A.D. 1160. He opposed the received doctrine of transubstantiation for a time; but recanted. Some of his epistles were published by J. Gretser, subjoined to his *Scriptores cœtanei adv. Waldenses*, Ingolst. 1613, 4to.

Adam, a Scot, and Præmonstratensian, flourished 1160. He wrote a commentary on the rule of St. Augustine; a tract on the triple tabernacle of Moses; on the three kinds of meditation; and forty-seven sermons; published, Antw. 1659, fol.

John Beletus, rector of the theological

school at Paris, A.D. 1162 (alii, A.D. 1328), author of *Rationale divinarum officiorum*; published, Antw. 1570, 8vo, Lyons, 1583, and 1592, 8vo.

Arnold Carnotensis, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Bonneval, in the diocese of Chartres; an intimate friend of St. Bernard, and living A.D. 1162. He wrote a number of treatises on practical religion; published at the close of Cyprian's works, ed. Oxon. 1682.

Bonacursus of Milan, teacher among the Cathari, A.D. 1163. His *Vita Catharorum Hereticorum* is in D'Achery's *Spicilæg.* t. xiii.

Helmold, a presbyter of Lubeck, and a canon; died A.D. 1170. He wrote *Chronicon Solavorum*, from the times of Charles the Great, to 1163; published by Hen. Bangert, Lubeck, 1659, 4to.

Godfrey Viterbiensis, an Italian of Viterbo; a presbyter, and secretary to the successive emperors, Conrad III., Frederic I., and Henry VI. He travelled much during forty years; and became acquainted with Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldaic. He died in 1191. He wrote a *Pantheon*, or *Chronicon universale*, dedicated to pope Urban III.; from the creation to 1186: published by J. Pistorius, *Scriptores rerum Germanicar.* Francf. 1584.

Saxo Grammaticus, a Dane, born of an honourable family in Zeeland, dean of the cathedral of Roskild, and much esteemed by Absalom, archbishop of Lund, who sent him to Paris on business, and prompted him to write his history of Denmark. He flourished A.D. 1173; and died A.D. 1204. His *Historie Danicæ libri xvi.* from the earliest times to 1186, is written in a florid style, and is highly esteemed; best edited by S. J. Stephanus, Soræ, 1644, fol.

Hildegardis, a German abbess of St. Rupert at Bingen on the Rhine; born at Spanheim 1098 and died 1180. Her visions or revelations were solemnly approved and sanctioned by St. Bernard, by many leading Bishops of France and Germany, by three different popes, and by a council at Troyes. She wrote *Scivias*, seu *Visionum sive Revelationum libri iii.*; life of St. Robert, a confessor; thirty-eight epistles; Miscellanies; and an exposition of the rule of St. Benedict; published, Cologne, 1566; and most of them also, *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxiii.

William of Tyre. Whether born in France, Germany, or Palestine, he is supposed to have been related to the kings of Jerusalem. He was made archdeacon of Tyre, A.D. 1167; soon after was sent on business to Constantinople; in 1169, undertook a journey to Europe; on his return was tutor to Baldwin, the prince; and, A.D. 1174, archbishop of Tyre. In the year 1178, he was at the council of the Lateran; and he spent some months at Constanti-

nople. In 1188, Jerusalem being taken by the Saracens, he went to Europe to solicit aid of the kings of England and France. He opposed the election of Heraclius to the bishopric of Jerusalem; who compassed his death by poison, but in what year is unknown. He wrote a history of the crusades to Palestine, from A.D. 1095 to the year 1180, in twenty-three books (very highly esteemed); and published, Basil, 1549, and 1660, and by Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, i. 625.

Hugo Etherianus, a Tuscan, who went to Constantinople, and was patronised by the emperor Manuel. He flourished A.D. 1177, and wrote and disputed strenuously against the Greeks. His tract on the intermediate state of the soul, and his three books on the procession of the Holy Spirit, against the Greeks, were published, Basil, 1543, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxii.

Richard Hagustaldensis, a canon and prior of Hexham, in Northumberland; flourished about 1143. He wrote *Historia de statu et episcopis Hagustaldensis ecclesia*; *Historia de gestis regis Stephani*; and *de bello Standardii*, A.D. 1135; published by Twisden, *Scriptores X. Anglici*, Lond. 1652.

Lucius III. pope, A.D. 1181—1185, has left us two epistles. [Jaffé, 834. *Ed.*]

Peter Cellensis, abbot of the monastery of Celles, near Troyes; and then of St. Remigius, at Rheims; and, A.D. 1182—1187, bishop of Chartres. He wrote *de panibus liber*; *Mosaici Tabernaculi mystica expositio, libri ii.*; *de conscientia liber*; *Epistolarum libri ix.*; *de disciplina claustrali liber*; and sermons on the lessons for the year; all published by the Benedictine monks, Paris, 1671.

Gaufrid, a French monk, prior and presbyter of Limoges, A.D. 1183; and author of a *Chronicon*, of the history of France from 996 to 1184; published by Labbé, *Biblioth. Nov. MS.* t. ii.

Balduin, an English schoolmaster, a Cistercian monk and abbot; bishop of Worcester, A.D. 1180; and archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1185—1190. He accompanied king Richard I. in his crusade, and died in the siege of Ptolemais. He wrote sixteen tracts on practical religion; *de Commendatione Fidei et de sacramento altaris*; all extant in the *Biblioth. Cisterciens.* t. v.

Urban III. pope, A.D. 1185—1187; has left us five epistles. [Jaffé, 854. *Ed.*]

Gregory VIII., pope A.D. 1187; has left us three epistles. [Jaffé, 866. *Ed.*]

Clement III. pope, A.D. 1187—1191; has left us seven epistles. [Jaffé, 869. *Ed.*]

Celestine III. pope, A.D. 1191—1198; has left us seventeen epistles. [Jaffé, 886. *Ed.*]

Stephen, a monk and abbot of Orleans, and of Paris; one of the council of regents, during the crusade of Philip Augustus, A.D. 1190; and bishop of Tournay, A.D. 1192—1202. He wrote, between A.D. 1163 and the time of his death, 278 epistles; published, Paris, 1682, 8vo; also 31 sermons, chiefly on the festivals; and a commentary on the *Decretum* of Gratian; which are still in manuscript.

William of Newburgh, surnamed Parvus; born at Bridlington, in Yorkshire, A.D. 1136; a regular Augustinian canon in the monastery of Bridlington; where he died A.D. 1208, aged 72. He wrote, in a good Latin style, *de rebus Anglicis sui temporis libri v.* from A.D. 1066 to the year 1197; edited by J. Picard, Paris, 1610, 8vo [by Hearne, 1719, and by Hamilton, 1856. *Ed.*]

Radulphus de Diceto, dean of St. Paul's, London. He was a traveller; fl. A.D. 1197; and wrote a brief Chronology from the creation to 1198; and *Imagines Historiarum ab anno 1148 ad annum 1200*; both published by Twisden, *Scriptores X. Anglici*, Lond. 1652.

John Brompton, an English Cistercian abbot of Jermoeux in Yorkshire, A.D. 1436, compiled the *Chronicon ab anno 588 ad annum 1198*; Twisden, *Scriptores X. Anglici*, Lond. 1652.

Roger of Hoveden, a Yorkshireman of illustrious English descent, one of the household of king Henry II.; flourished A.D. 1198; author of *Annalium Anglicanorum libri ii.* from A.D. 731 (where Bede ends) to A.D. 1202; published by Savile, *Historici Anglici*, Lond. 1695, fol. and Francf. 1601.

Galfrid, or Gualter Vinesauf (de Vino Salvo), a Norman-English poet and historian, who flourished A.D. 1199; reputed author of *Historia, sive Itinerarium Richardi Anglorum regis in terram sanctam*; published among the *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores*, Oxford, 1687, t. ii.; of a New Art of Poetry, published by Leyser, Helmstadt, 1724; also of some other works never published. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. Corrupt state of religion.—§ 2. Corruption of the mass of people, and extreme superstition, shown by examples.—§ 3. Scandalous traffic in indulgences.—§ 4. The pontiffs soon claim a monopoly of it.—§ 5. Biblical theology.—§ 6. Doctrinal theology.—§ 7. The proper *scholastics*.—§ 8. The biblical and dogmatic theologians.—§ 9. Opposers of scholastic theology.—§ 10. Its principal antagonist, St. Bernard.—§ 11. And others.—§ 12. State of moral or practical theology.—§ 13. Polemic theology.—§ 14. Controversies between the Greeks and the Latins.—§ 15. Slighter contests among the former.—§ 16. Their controversy respecting John xiv. 28.—§ 17. Concerning the God of Mahumed.—§ 18. Controversy among the Latins, respecting the Lord's Supper.—§ 19. Concerning the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin.

§ 1. So many causes conspire to debase religion, and to tarnish and obscure its lustre, by the numberless inventions of human ingenuity, that the preservation of its seeds from total extinction may seem a wonder. In the first place, the Roman pontiffs would have nothing taught, which militated against their proud supremacy. They, therefore, insisted upon having religion explained and modified in subserviency to that form of government which they found marked out by their predecessors. Those who would not obey their laws, or showed that they regarded holy Scripture more than Roman authority, were most cruelly destroyed with fire and sword. In the second place, the priests and monks, finding it for their interest that the people should be entirely without light and knowledge, amused them with a sort of theatric show, and placed all religion in empty ceremonies, corporeal austerities, and reverence for the clergy. The scholastic doctors united the precepts of the dialecticians with the declarations of the fathers, as constituting a standard of truth; and did not so much explain the principles of revealed religion, as cut them up piecemeal. Their opposites, the *mystics*, maintained that the soul of one truly pious does not move spontaneously, but by a divine impulse; and thus they did not set bounds to human ability, but destroyed it altogether.

§ 2. Hence, instead of religion, astonishing superstition and ignorance reigned everywhere among the people. Very many persons placed more reliance upon relics—generally false, or at least dubious and uncertain—than upon *Christ*, or his merits, and upon prayers founded on his mediation.¹ The rich, who were able themselves to build churches, or to contribute money to their erection and repair, esteemed themselves very happy, and the favourites of heaven: and

¹ See Guibert of Nogent's three books, *de pignoribus* (thus they styled *relics*) *sanc-torum*; in his works, published by D'Achery,

p. 327, &c., where this discerning man assails the superstition of his age.

the poor, who were unable to do so, cheerfully submitted to the offices of beasts, in transporting stones and drawing carts, whenever a church was to be built; and they hoped for eternal salvation for these voluntary hardships.¹ Departed saints had more suppliants than God himself, and the Saviour of mankind: nor was there much inquiry (as there was in after times) how glorified spirits obtain a knowledge of the prayers addressed to them. For the old notion, derived by the Christians from the pagans, that the celestials often descend to this lower world, and linger about the places to which in their lifetime they were attached, prevailed universally, until the *scholastic* doctors gave this subject a particular discussion.² If any man or woman, either from a disordered state of mind, or from a design to deceive, laid claims to divine revelations, the people at large unhesitatingly believed, that God himself conversed with him, in order to instruct the world. This is manifest from the examples of the celebrated German prophetesses, *Hildegardis*, abbess of Bingen, and *Elizabeth*, abbess of Schönau.³

§ 3. This ignorance and superstition of the people, the rulers of the church basely abused for their own emolument, or to extort money: and each order of the clergy had its own peculiar artifices for spoiling the people of their property. The *bishops*, when they had occasion to raise money, either for good and laudable objects, or for bad and illicit ones, allowed transgressors to buy off the penalties, imposed canonically upon sinners, by advancing money for certain religious purposes: that is, they published *indulgences*: and, what mighty enterprises, and what expensive works, were accomplished in this age, by means of *indulgences*, is known to all.⁴ The *abbots* and the *monks*, who had not this power, resorted to other means for raising money. They travelled about the villages, and through provinces, carrying in solemn procession the dead bodies and relics of holy men, which they allowed the people to see, to handle, and to kiss, by paying for the privilege. In this way, they often amassed as great gains as the bishops by their *indulgences*.⁵

§ 4. The Roman pontiffs, perceiving what advantages the inferior

¹ See the tract of the abbot Haymo on this very custom; annexed by Mabillon to his *Annales Benedictini*, vol. vi.; and also those *Annals*, p. 392, &c.

² That I may not be thought to give a false representation, I will quote a very explicit passage from the life of St. Altmann, bishop of Passau; in Sebast. Tengenagel's *Collectio veter. monumentorum*. p. 41. 'Vos licet, Sancti Domini, somno vestro requiescatis—hanc tamen crediderim, spiritus vestros deesse locis, quæ viventes tanta devotione construxistis et dilexistis. Credo vos adesse cunctis illic degentibus, astare vide licet orantibus, succurrere laborantibus, et vota singulorum in conspectu divinæ majestatis promovere.'

See Mabillon's *Annales Benedict.* vi.

431, 529, 554. [See the notice of these prophetesses in the preceding chapter, § 23, note ³. *Tr.*]

⁴ Stephanus Obazinensis; in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, iv. 130. Mabillon, *Annales Benedictini*, vi. 535, &c.

⁵ Innumerable examples of this mode of extorting money may be collected from the records of this age. See the *Chronicon Centulense*, in D'Achery's *Spicilegium veter. Scriptor.* ii. 354; the life of St. Romana; ib. 137. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* vi. 342, 644. *Acta Sanctor. mensis Maii*, vii. 533, in the acts of St. Marculus; where a long journey of such relics is described. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* vi. 519, 520, and ii. 732.

bishops derived from their *indulgences*, concluded that the power of the bishops to remit ecclesiastical penalties, ought to be circumscribed, and the prerogative be almost wholly transferred to the Roman see. Accordingly, they began, as the necessities or convenience of the church, or their own interests required, to publish, not merely the common and ordinary, but likewise the entire and absolute, or the *plenary*, remission of all finite or *temporary* penalties: and they cancelled not only the punishments which the canons and human tribunals inflict, but also those to be endured after death; a stretch of power on which the bishops had never ventured.¹ They first made use of this authority for the sake of promoting the crusades, and were sparing in the use of it; but afterwards, they exerted it for objects of far less importance and of various kinds, and very often merely for their private emolument.² Upon the introduction of this new system, the ancient system of canonical and ecclesiastical penances was wholly subverted; and *penitential books* and *canons* being laid aside, the reins of moral discipline were everywhere relaxed. To support this proceeding of the pontiffs, an unheard-of doctrine was excogitated in this century, which *St. Thomas* in the next century improved and perfected: namely, that there is an immense treasury of good works, performed by holy men over and above what duty required; and that the Roman pontiff is the keeper and the distributor of this treasure; so that he is able, out of this inexhaustible fund, to give and transfer to every one such an amount of good works as his necessities require, or as will suffice to avert the punishment of his sins. This miserable and pernicious fiction, it is to be lamented, is still retained and defended.

§ 5. This century abounded in expositors of the holy Scriptures, if one may judge from the multitude of works professedly of this character; but if we estimate them by their skill and ability, they were almost none at all. For very few inquired after the literal sense of the Scriptures; and even these were destitute of the requisite means of ascertaining it.³ Both the Greeks and the Latins were governed entirely by the authority of the fathers, and compiled from their writings, without discrimination or care, whatever seemed to throw light on the inspired volumes. The reader may inspect, among the Greeks,

¹ Jo. Morin, *de Administratione sacramenti penitentiae*, l. x. c. 20, 21, 22, p. 768, &c. Rich. Simon, *Biblioth. Critique*, iii. c. 33, p. 371. Jo. Mabillon, Preface to the 5th century of his *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* p. lxxi. &c. I designedly refer to none of the Protestant writers.

² Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, v. 761, &c. Franc. Pagi, *Breviar. Romanor. Pontif.* ii. 60. Theod. Ruinart, *Vita Urbani II. Opp. posthum.* iii. 333.

³ [One cause of this incompetence was, that the monks held it unlawful to learn Hebrew from Jewish teachers. A certain monk (as we learn from the statutes of the

Cistercians, A.D. 1198, no. 24 in Martene's *Thesaur. Nov. Anecd.* iv. 1292), had learned Hebrew from a Jew; and the abbot of Clairvaux was directed to investigate the matter, and to bring the monk to punishment. The French Benedictines, in their *Hist. Litt. de la France*, ix. can find among the vast multitude of clergymen who made pilgrimages to Palestine, only *three* persons who, in that way, acquired a knowledge of the Arabic and Greek; namely, William of Tyre, one Philip, and the Englishman Adelaar. See Semler's *Hist. Eccles. Selecta Cap.* iii. 161. *Schl.*]

Euthymius Zigabenus' exposition of the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Epistles: though he offers many remarks of his own which are not contemptible; and among the Latins, the labours of *Peter Lombard*, *Gilbert de la Porrée*, and *Abelard*, on the Psalms of David, and on the Epistles of Paul. Nor is higher commendation due to the best Latin expositors of nearly the whole Bible in this century; such as *Gislebert*, [or *Gilbert*,] bishop of London, called the *Universal*, on account of the extent of his erudition;¹ and *Herveus*, a very laborious Benedictine monk.² Somewhat superior to the rest of the Latins was *Rupert* of Deutz, who expounded various books of the Scriptures; and with him may be coupled *Anselm* of Laon, who composed, or rather compiled, a *Glossa*, as it was called, on the sacred books. Those who chose not to tread in the steps of the ancients, and ventured to try the powers of their own genius, disregarding simplicity, searched after mysteries of every sort in the sacred pages. And in this species of interpretation, none excelled more than the *mystic* doctors, as they are called; for they explained the whole Bible in conformity with the visions of their own minds, and the ideal systems of their own formation. Moreover, those interpreters who made dialectics and philosophy their study, pursued the same course in their expositions of the Scriptures. This mode of interpretation may be seen, distinctly, in *Hugo* of St. Victor's *Allegorical explanations of both Testaments*, in *Richard* of St. Victor's *Mystical Ark*, in *Guibert* of Nogent's *Mystical commentaries on Obadiah, Hosea, and Amos*;³ and in some others.

§ 6. The most distinguished teachers of theology resided at Paris: and, of course, students in theology from all parts of Europe resorted to Paris, in order to attend the lectures of theologians who taught there. The professors of theology in France were divided into several sects. One sect was that of the *ancient theologians*, who supported their religious tenets simply by the declarations of holy Scripture, and by the opinions of the fathers and the decisions of councils; and very rarely introduced anything of human reasoning. Such, in this century, were, *St. Bernard*, *Peter* the Chanter, *Gualter* of St. Victor, and others; who strenuously contended against the *philosophic theologians*. Not totally distinct from this sect, was that which was afterwards called by the name of the *Positivi* and the *Sententiarii*; for these, following the example of *Anselm* of Canterbury, *Lanfranc*, *Hildebert*, and others of the preceding century, supported religious doctrines principally by citations from Scripture and the writings of the fathers; but also resorted to reason and philosophy, especially for solving difficulties and refuting objections; and in the

¹ Concerning him, see Guil. le Bœuf, *Mémoires concernant l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, ii. 486. [He wrote notes on all the Old and New Testaments, and likewise commentaries on certain books, none of which were ever published. *Schl.* This being the case, the value of Mosheim's opinion of him may be easily estimated. *Ed.*]

² An ample account of him is given by Gabr. Liron, *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires*, iii. 29, &c. Add Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* vi. 477, 719.

³ His prologue on Obadiah was published by Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* vi. 637, &c.

use of this resort, some of them were more moderate and cautious, and others less so. The first in this century, who thus explained the principles of religion systematically, is said to have been *Hugo* of St. Victor; who was succeeded by many others. But the first rank in this species of labour belongs to *Peter Lombard*, that is, the Italian from Lombardy, archbishop of Paris, whose *four books of Sentences*, having appeared after the year 1162,¹ at once acquired such authority, that all the doctors began to expound them. And some tell us, that all the doctors of much note, except *Henry* of Ghent, and a few others, commented upon this *Master of the Sentences*, as *Lombard* was called, on account of this work.²

§ 7. These *Sententiarii*, as they were called, though not without faults, nor entirely free from vain and futile speculations, yet resort to dialectical subtleties with moderation, and do not force the doctrines of revelation to yield submission to human sagacity. But, contemporary with them, arose another and more daring sect of theologians, who did not hesitate to apply the terms and the distinctions of the dialecticians to the truths taught by revelation, and to investigate the nature and relations of those truths by the principles of logic. The author of this mode of treating theology, which was afterwards called the *scholastic*, because it prevailed in nearly all the schools, was *Peter Abelard*, a man of great acuteness, who was first a canon, and a celebrated teacher as well of philosophy as of theology, and afterwards a monk, and abbot of Ruys.³ Eager for the applause which he had obtained, others without number, in France, in England, and in Italy, pursued the same course. In this way, the peaceful religion of *Jesus* was soon converted into the science of wrangling. For these men did not explain anything, but by multiplying divisions and distinctions obscured and perplexed the plainest truths; wearied both themselves and others with useless and abstruse speculations; so argued on both sides of the most important questions, as to leave them undecided; and, as there were many things in religion which were inadequately expressed in the phraseology of dialectics, they gave occasion for idle and vain-glorious disputants to invent new terms, and to perplex themselves and others with enigmatical trifles.⁴

§ 8. From this time, therefore, the teachers of theology began to be divided into two classes, the *biblical*, who were called *veteres* [the ancient], and also, *Dogmatici ac Positivi*; and the *scholastic*, who were called the *Sententiarii*, and also, *novi* [the new]. The former interpreted the sacred volume in their schools, though for the most part miserably; and explained religious doctrines nakedly and

¹ Erpold Lindenbrog's *Scriptores Rerum Septentrion.* p. 250.

² A host of these interpreters are exhibited by Ant. Possevin. *Biblioth. Selecta*, t. i. l. iii. c. xiv. p. 242.—[For a notice of Peter Lombard, see note¹, c. 3, § 23. Tr.]

³ This is acknowledged by Abelard himself; Ep. i. c. 9. *Opp.* p. 20. See also Jo.

Launoy, de *Scholis Caroli Magni*, c. lix. *Opp.* iv. 67.

⁴ See Cæs. Egasse de Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* ii. 201, &c. 583, &c. Ant. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxonienses*, i. 58. Jo. Launoy, de *varia Aristotelis Fortuna in Acad. Paris.* c. iii. 187, &c. ed. Elswich, Vitemb. 1720, 8vo.

artlessly, without calling reason and philosophy to their aid, and confirmed them by the testimonies of *Scripture* and *tradition*. The latter did nothing but explain the *Master of the Sentences*, or *Lombard*; and they brought all the doctrines of faith, as well as the principles and precepts of practical religion, under the dominion of philosophy, and involved them in endless perplexities.¹ And as these *philosophical* or scholastic theologians were deemed superior to the others in acumen and ingenuity, young men admired them, and listened to them with the greatest attention; whereas the *biblical* doctors, or those of the *sacred page*, as they were called, had very few, and sometimes no pupils.² This state of things prevailed generally, in the schools of Europe, down to the times of *Luther*.

§ 9. But before these dialectical and metaphysical doctors could obtain such an ascendancy in the schools, they had to pass through many perils, contests, and disasters. For they were opposed on the one hand by the *ancient divines*; and on the other by the *mystics*, who supposed true wisdom is to be acquired, not by reasoning, but by silence and contemplation, and to be drawn from the inmost recesses of the soul. The old contest, therefore, between *faith* and *reason*, which had long been dormant among the Latins, was now revived, and produced great commotions every where. Among the patrons of the *old theology*, those who most violently assailed the *scholastics*, were *Guibert of Nogent*,³ *Peter Cellensis*,⁴ *Peter Cantor*, or the precentor of Paris,⁵ and others; but especially *Gualter* of St. Victor, in his four books *against the four labyrinths of France and the new heretics*.⁶ Of the *mystics*, *Joachim*, abbot of Flora,⁷ *Richard* of St. Victor, and others, inveighed against them; and especially against *Lombard*, notwithstanding that he was much more moderate than the true and proper *scholastics*. The contention and discord were so

¹ See Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. iii. 657, &c.

² Roger Bacon, in his *Opus Majus* addressed to pope Clement IV. (published from the MS. by Sam. Jebb. Lond. 1733, fol.), pt. ii. ch. iv. p. 28, says: 'The Bachelor who lectures on the text (of Scripture), gives place to the lecturer on the sentences, who is everywhere preferred and honoured by all. For he who lectures on the sentences, has the best hour for reading, according to his choice: he has also an associate, and a chamber among the religious; but he who lectures on the Bible wants these, and begs for an hour to read, such as shall please the lecturer on the sentences. Also the man who lectures on the sentences, disputes everywhere, and is accounted a master; but the other, who lectures on the text, cannot dispute, as was exemplified this year at Bologna, and in many other places; which is absurd. It is therefore manifest that the text is subordinate, in this faculty (theology), to the one dominant *Summa*.'—These words clearly show what estimation

was then put upon the sacred volume, and what authority philosophical theology enjoyed. More remarks follow in Bacon well worth reading. He lived in the *thirteenth* century.

³ *Tropologia in Oscan*; Opp. p. 203.

⁴ *Opuscula*; p. 277, 396, ed. Bened.

⁵ In his *Verbum Abbreviatum, sive Summa*; published at Mons, 1639, 4to, by Geo. Galopin; c. iii. p. 6, 7.

⁶ By the four *Labyrinths* of France, he intends Abelard, Gilbert de la Porrée, Lombard, and Peter of Poitiers, who were the principal dialectic theologians of this century. See, respecting this work, which was never published, Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*, ii. 619—659.

⁷ [Among his writings, is a book against Lombard, *de Unitate seu Essentia SS. Trinitatis*; which was condemned in the fourth Lateran council, A.D. 1215. See the *Hist. de l'Abbé Joachim, surnommé le Prophète*; Paris, 1745, 2 vols. 12mo, and Fabricius, *Hist. mediæ et infim. Lat.* l. ix. p. 107. *Schl.*]

great, that the sovereign pontiff *Alexander III.*, in a very numerous and solemn convention, A.D. 1164, condemned this immoderate licentiousness of disputing on sacred subjects;¹ and in the year 1179, he censured and disapproved of some things in the writings even of *Lombard*.²

§ 10. But there was no more potent adversary of the dialectic theologians in this century than *St. Bernard*; whose zeal was immense, and his influence equal to his zeal. He therefore contended against them, not only with words, but also with deeds, councils and enactments. Bitter experience of this was felt by *Peter Abelard*, the chief of the dialectic party at that time, and certainly a man of far more learning and acuteness than *St. Bernard*, though much inferior to him in influence. *Bernard* prosecuted him before the council of Soissons in 1121, and before that of Sens in 1140, accused him of many and very great errors, and at last procured his condemnation.³ *Abelard* was said to have greatly corrupted the doctrine of three Persons in the Godhead, to have attacked the majesty of the Holy Spirit, to have spoken dishonourably of the offices of Christ and of the union of the two natures in him, to have denied the doctrine of divine grace; in short, to have nearly subverted all religion. On some points, undoubtedly, *Abelard* expressed himself unsuitably and improperly; and his subtlety was not always without fault: but it is also manifest, that *St. Bernard*, wholly ignorant of philosophy, and distinguished rather for genius than for intellect, did not understand some of *Abelard's* propositions, and others of them he designedly perverted. For this good man used no moderation, either in praising or in censuring.⁴

§ 11. Nearly the same fate attended *Gilbert de la Porrée*,⁵ who, after teaching philosophy and theology with much reputation, at Paris and elsewhere, was made Bishop of Poitiers. For his two archdeacons, *Arnald* and *Calo*, who had been trained in the schools of the ancient theologians, having heard him speak too metaphysically respecting the divine nature, accused him of blasphemy, before *Eugene III.*, the pontiff, then in France; and to be more sure of success, they engaged *St. Bernard* on their side. *Bernard*, as was usual with him, prosecuted this business with the greatest vehemence, before the pontiff, first in the council of Paris, A.D. 1147, and then in that of Rheims, the following year. In the latter council, *Gilbert*, in order to end the contest, submitted his opinions to the judgment of the

¹ Ant. Pagi, *Critica in Baronium*, t. iv. ad ann. 1164, no. xxi. p. 615.

² Matth. Paris, *Hist. major*, p. 115. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, ii. 402.

³ See Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, artic. *Abelard*, p. 18. Jac. Gervais, *Vie d'Abelard et de Heloise*. Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* vi. 63, 84, 324, 395. Edm. Martene, *Thesaurus Anecdotor*, v. 1139; and numerous others.

⁴ See Jac Gervais, *Vie d'Abelard*, ii. 162. Jo. le Clerc, *Biblioth. Ancienne et Moderne*,

ix. 352, &c. Dion. Petavius, *Dogmata Theol.* i. 217, l. v. c. 6, &c., and St. Bernard himself in many parts of his works, which the index will point out. At last, after numerous vexations and sufferings, of which he himself has left a history, *Abelard* died a monk of Cluny, A.D. 1142. He was a great man, and worthy of a better age, and of better fortune. [See note ¹, c. 2, § 23, p. 126. Tr.]

⁵ [Porretanus.]

council and the pope. All the errors charged upon *Gilbert* indicate too great fondness for nice distinctions, and a disposition to bring the doctrines and truths of revelation under the empire of dialectics. For he drew subtle distinctions between the divine essence and God himself, the properties of the divine persons and the persons themselves, not indeed really, but only *in conception* (*statu rationis*), as metaphysicians say; and, relying on these distinctions, he denied that the divine nature became incarnate. To these he added other opinions, derived from the same source, which were rather fanciful and useless, than pernicious and false; but which the good *Bernard*, who was unaccustomed to such subtle speculations, could not comprehend.¹

§ 12. The state of moral or practical theology must be apparent from what has been stated. Among the Greeks, *Philip* the Solitary has left us a tolerably neat tract, entitled *Dioptra*: in which he makes the soul to hold a dialogue with the body, and advances various thoughts calculated to promote piety. The other Greeks are not worth naming. The Latin divines who treated of the duties of the Christian life, were of two classes; the one *scholastics*, the other *mystics*. The former treated of the virtues, as they did of the articles of faith; that is, in a dry metaphysical manner; and generally combined moral theology with dogmatic. The latter very often express themselves beautifully, and in a manner suited to move the soul; yet without method or discrimination, and not unfrequently they tarnish Christian gold with the dross of Platonism. Most of those, also, who expounded the holy Scriptures, may be classed among the moral writers. For, neglecting the literal sense, they forcibly accommodated the language of the sacred writers to the inculcation of internal holiness and the regulation of the life. This is manifest from *Guibert's* *Morals* on Job, Amos, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah; as well as from others.

§ 13. The passion for wrangling, philosophy, or dialectics, which had equally seized Greeks and Latins, rendered them both pugnacious. At the same time, it led men far away from the true method of discussing religious subjects. For they did not argue for the sake of elucidating the truth, but to confound and silence an adversary with subtle distinctions, with words without meaning, with the authority of names, and even with sarcasms and fallacies. Among the Greeks, *Euthymius Zigabenus* [*Zygadenus*] composed a prolix work against all heresies; which he entitled *Panoplia*. But, to say nothing of his vanity and extreme credulity, nearly all his proofs are derived (as was the common fault of that age) from the declarations of the earlier writers. *Constantine Harmenopolus* wrote a shorter book on the heretical sects. *Zonaras* inveighed against them in verse. Among the Latins, *Honorius* of Autun composed a book on the heresies; and *Abelard* attacked them all. The miserable and

¹ See Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, ii. 223, 232, &c. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* vi. 343, &c. 415, 433. *Gallia Christiana Bened.* ii. 1175. Matth. Paris, *Hist. major*,

p. 56. Petavius, *Dogmata Theologica*, t. i. lib. i. cap. viii. Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, ix. 147. &c. [Harduin's *Concilia*, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1297. *Schl.*]

persecuted Jews were assailed by many of the Latins; by *Gilbert of Châtillon*,¹ *Odo* [of Cambray], *Peter Alfonsus*, *Rupert* of Deutz, *Peter Maurice*, *Richard* of St. Victor, and *Peter* of Blois; the merits of whose works can be easily estimated by such as consider the character of that age. Against the Saracens, *Euthymius*, and some others, appeared as polemics.

§ 14. The contests between the Greeks and the Latins, the subjects of which have already been mentioned, were carried on with great spirit on both sides. On the part of the Greeks, *Euthymius*, *Nicetas*, and others; and on the part of the Latins, among others, *Anselm* of Havelberg, *Hugo Etherianus*, and others, contended with zeal.² Negotiations for a compromise were repeatedly entered upon, both at Rome and at Constantinople; at the instance especially of the Greek emperors of the *Comnenian* family, who thought the friendship of the Latins capable of rendering great services to the Greeks, in the almost desperate state of their public affairs. But as the Latins aimed at nothing short of absolute dominion over the Greeks, and the Greek patriarchs could by no means be persuaded to subject themselves entirely to the Roman pontiffs, and to anathematize their ancestors, these negotiations for peace had the effect rather of irritating the feelings and increasing the hostility of the parties, than of producing a reconciliation.

§ 15. The minor contests need not detain us long. The Greeks, by nature prone to contend and dispute, were scarcely ever free from religious controversies. In this century, especially under *Manuel Comnenus*, who was a learned and over-inquisitive emperor, some contests on religious subjects were excited by the emperor himself; and they produced more excitement among the oppressed people, than was consistent with the welfare of the state. In the first place, a long dispute arose, under this emperor, in what sense it might be said, *the incarnate God was at the same time the offerer and the sacrifice*. After a protracted discussion, during which the emperor had maintained an opinion at variance with the prevalent belief, he yielded at length, and came over to the opinion that was generally received. The consequence was, that many persons of high respectability, who had disagreed with the church, were deprived of their offices.³ What opinion was maintained by the emperor, and what was held by the church, on this subject, we are nowhere distinctly informed. But it is probable, that the emperor and some other learned men, disagreed with the mass of the Greeks, in respect to the Lord's supper, and the *oblation* or sacrifice of Christ in that ordinance.

§ 16. Some years afterwards, a more violent dispute, respecting the import of Christ's words, John, xiv. 28, *My Father is greater than I*, rent Greece into factions. As various explanations of this passage had long existed, and some new ones were advanced about this time,

¹ [Or Gilbert, surnamed Crispin, a monk of Bec. See note³, c. 2, § 23, p. 129. Tr.]

Ecclesiæ Orientalis et Occident. l. ii. c. xi. &c. p. 644, &c.

³ *Nicetas Choniates, Annales*, lib. vii. § 5, p. 112, ed. Venice.

² See Leo Allat. *de perpetua Consensione*

the emperor, who from an indifferent prince made but a poor theologian, added his explanation to the number; and summoning a council, he wished to obtrude it upon all, as being the only true interpretation. He decided, that these words of *Christ* refer to the *created and passible flesh of Christ* (κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ κτιστὴν καὶ παθητὴν σάρκα). And this decision, engraven on tables of stone, he set up in the great church, and made it a capital offence for any one to teach otherwise.¹ But the authority of this decree expired with the emperor; and *Andronicus*, afterwards, strictly prohibited all curious discussions on religion, and on this subject in particular.²

§ 17. Near the close of his life, the same emperor excited another controversy, respecting the God of *Mahumed*. The catechetical books of the Greeks anathematized the *ὀλόσφουρον* (*spherical or globular-shaped*), and solid God of *Mahumed*. For thus the Greeks had translated the Arabic word *elsemel*, which is used in the *Koran*, applied to God; and which has indeed this signification, though it also signifies *eternal*.³ This execration the emperor ordered to be stricken out of those books, as being very offensive to the Mahumедans converted to Christianity. The theologians resisted this order; alleging, that it was not God in general, but the error of *Mahumed* respecting God, that was anathematized; and that *Mahumed* affirmed, *God is not begotten, nor doth he beget*. After very tedious altercations and various attempts to settle the dispute, the bishops in a council consented, that in the instruction of youth, the anathema should no longer be levelled at the God of *Mahumed*, but at *Mahumed* himself, his religion, and all his followers.⁴

§ 18. Among the Latins, different opinions were maintained, and not merely in the schools, but also in books respecting the Lord's supper. For, though all seemed disposed to shun connexion with *Berengarius*, yet many were not very far from him in sentiment; among whom may be named *Rupert* of Deutz, and others:⁵ because the great Berengarian controversy had not yet plainly determined the *mode* of Christ's presence. This same *Rupert* was involved likewise in other controversies, and especially with *Anselm* of Laon and *William* of Champeaux, and with their disciples after their deaths, respecting the *will and omnipotence* of God. The question was, whether God *wills*, and himself *effects*, whatever takes place; or whether he only *permits* certain things to take place, which he would not have to be. *Rupert* maintained the latter; his opponent the former. He was also censured for teaching, among other erroneous

¹ Nicetas Choniates, *Annales*, l. vii. § 6, p. 113.

² Nicetas, in *Andronico*, l. ii. § 5, p. 175.

³ Hadr. Reland, *de Religione Mohammedica*, l. ii. § 3, p. 142.—[This word *elsemel* occurs in the *Koran*, Sur. cxii. where all modern translators, as well as the Mahumедan expositors, understand it to mean *eternal*. The passage, as translated by

Sale, is this: 'SAY, God is one God; the *eternal* GOD: he begetteth not, neither is he begotten: and there is not any one like unto him.' It is probable that the Greek translator perverted the meaning of *Mahumed*, in order to render him ridiculous. *Tr.*]

⁴ Nicetas Choniates, *Annales*, l. vii. p. 113—116.

⁵ Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, ii. 30, &c.

things, that *the angels were created from darkness*; and that *Christ, at the last supper, did not present his body to Judas*.¹

§ 19. Besides these and other private contests, there was a public controversy, about the year 1140, respecting what is called *the immaculate conception* of the virgin *Mary*.² At this time, some French congregations began to observe the festal day consecrated to this *conception*; the English had already observed it for some time, their authority being, as is reported, *Anselm* of Canterbury. Of the more distinguished churches, that of Lyons was the first, or among the first, to adopt this festival. *St. Bernard*, being informed of the matter, addressed a letter to the *canons of Lyons* on the subject, in which he severely censured their conduct, and opposed the idea of such a *conception*. This brought on the controversy: some standing forth in defence of the Lyonese and the festival, and others, supporting the opinion of *St. Bernard*.³ In this century, however, though the feelings of the parties grew warm, there was some moderation in the discussion. But after the Dominicans had fixed themselves in the university of Paris, the controversy was carried on with far more violence; the Dominicans defending the opinion of *St. Bernard*, and the university approving the practice of the church of Lyons.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Rites of the Greeks — § 2. Rites of the Latins.

§ 1. THAT both the public and the private worship of God among the Greeks, through the influence of superstition, was enriched with various additional minute rites, is well attested. And the same passion infected all the Christian communities of the East. Every distinguished individual among the patriarchs of the Greeks, the Nestorians, or the Jacobites, would immortalise himself by some change or amplification of the forms of worship. For the spirit of true religion and piety being, from various causes, nearly extinct, the whole attention of such people was directed to its external signs. One, therefore, ordered the prayers to be recited in a new manner; another changed the mode of singing; another ordained some new honours to be paid to the relics and representations of the saints; and

¹ See Mengoz, *Epistola*; published by Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* i. 290. Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* [v. 623, &c.] vi. 20, 42, 168, 261, &c.

² [‘The defenders of the *immaculate conception* maintained, that the virgin Mary was conceived in the womb of her mother

with the same *purity* that is attributed to Christ’s conception in *her* womb.’ *Macl.*]

³ See *St. Bernard’s Epistle*, lxxiv. t. i. 170, &c. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, ii. 135. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* vi. 327. Dom. Colonia, *Hist. Littéraire de la ville de Lyon*, ii. 233, &c.

another endeavoured to improve the dress and the manners of the priests.

§ 2. What rites prevailed among the Latins in this century, and how they were interpreted, may be learned from *Rupert of Deutz, de Divinis Officiis*. The plan of this work does not admit of a detailed account of the additions to the public ceremonies.¹ We, therefore, only remark, that the veneration for the virgin *Mary*, which had before been excessive, was not a little increased, after it began to be extensively inculcated, that she was conceived immaculately. For, notwithstanding *Bernard* and others opposed this doctrine, as we have stated, yet the judgment of the ignorant and superstitious multitude was much more effective than the decisions of the better-informed: and about the year 1138, a solemn festival was instituted in honour of this *conception*; though neither the author nor the place of this new solemnity is sufficiently known.²

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1. Fanatics among the Greeks—§ 2. The Bogomiles—§ 3. Sectarians among the Latins, and the cause of them—§ 4. The Cathari—§ 5. Two sects of them—§ 6. Their organisation—§ 7. The Petrobrusians—§ 8. The Henricians—§ 9. The impiety of Tanquelin—§ 10. Disturbance of Arnold of Brescia—§ 11. The Waldenses, and their history—§ 12. Their doctrine and opinions—§ 13. Constitution of their churches—§ 14. Minor sects. The Pasagini—§ 15. The Caputiati—§ 16. Eon, and his folly.

§ 1. THE Greeks and the other Oriental Christians of this century had sharp contests with various sorts of fanatics, who are represented as

¹ [The adorning of churches with pictures and precious objects, was carried further. Even the floors were painted and adorned with saints and angels.—New churches were consecrated with sprinkling, inscriptions, anointing, lighting up candles, and with a blessing; perhaps also with singing. The decayed altars that were repaired, must be consecrated anew. More than one altar was now to be found in the same church; for mention is made of the high altar. Altars were ornamented with gold, silver, precious stones, and costly pictures. Before the saints and images in the churches, expensive lamps and candles were kept burning, which were to be put out only during three days preceding Easter. Baptism was no longer administered as formerly, only at certain seasons of the year, but as often as there were subjects presented. The holy supper was still given in both the elements. Clement III. ordained that none but unleavened bread should be used; and that the wine should be mixed with water. The bad custom of

immersing the bread in the cup, and then distributing it, still continued. The doctrine of transubstantiation was very generally received in the Latin churches; and the adoration of the Host was a natural consequence. *Von Einem*.—We are informed by Alberic (*Chronicon*, ad ann. 1200) that the Cistercian abbot Guido, whom the pope had created a cardinal, and despatched as his legate to Cologne, first introduced the practice, at the elevation of the host in the mass, on a signal given by a bell, for the people to prostrate themselves, and remain in that posture until the benediction on the cup; and that these bells attended the clergy in the administration of the sacrament to the sick, to give the signal for prostration. This new rite was confirmed by miracle: for a soldier prostrated himself in the mud, to honour the sacrament as it passed along, and his clothes were not soiled. *Schl.*]

² Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* vi. 327, 412. *Gallia Christiana*, i. 1198.

believing in a two-fold Trinity; as rejecting matrimony, and the eating of flesh; as despising all external worship of God, even baptism and the Lord's supper; and as placing the soul of religion exclusively in prayer, and holding that an evil demon dwells in the nature of all men, which they must expel by incessant prayer. The author of this sect, we are told, was one *Lucopetrus*; whose principal disciple, *Tychicus*, is said to have put false interpretations upon many parts of the sacred volume, and especially upon the history of Christ, as given us by St. Matthew.¹ It is certain that there had been, for a very long time, among the Greeks and Syrians, particularly among the monks, men of this description, who were beside themselves rather than bad; and such still existed in this century. But credit cannot be given to all that is reported of them. Nor are the reasons few for believing, that among these people there were many really pious and devoted Christians, who became offensive to the Greeks, because they resisted the outrageous domination and the vices of the priesthood, and derided the monstrous mass of superstition which was sanctioned by the public authority. The Greeks, and the other nations of the East, were accustomed to designate all persons of this description by the odious names of *Messalians* or *Euchites*; just as the Latins denominated all adversaries of the Roman pontiffs, *Waldenses* or *Albigenses*. But it should be noted, that this name was very ambiguous among the Greeks and the Orientals; being applied promiscuously to all, honest or dishonest, wise or delirious,—who disliked the public ceremonies, censured the vices of the clergy, and maintained that piety alone was necessary to man.

§ 2. From this class of persons, it is said, the *Bogomiles* originated; whose founder, one *Basil*, a monk, when he could not be reclaimed, was burnt alive at Constantinople, under the emperor *Alexius Comnenus*.² What has been handed down to us respecting this man and his opinions, notwithstanding that the Greeks have, undoubtedly, mixed some falsehoods with their statements, will satisfactorily show that this

¹ See Euthymius, *Triumphus de Secta Messalianorum*; in Jac. Tollii *Insignia Itineris Italici*, p. 106—125. [Euthymius relates much that is fabulous in this book; that the original head of the Messalians was named Peter, but called himself Christ; that he promised to appear again after death, and thence obtained the nickname of *Wolfpeter* *λυκόπετρος*. For as his followers, three days after his death, were looking for his resurrection, the devil appeared to them in the form of a *wolf*. Tychicus also applied all the texts that speak of God the Father and the Holy Ghost, to his spiritual father, Peter. As for the old Messalians, see this work, cent. iv. p. ii. c. 5, § 24, &c. *Schl.*]

² [The emperor devised a singular method for detecting the opinions of this man. Basil had sent out twelve of his followers as his apostles, to propagate his doctrines.

One of these, Dibratius, was arrested, and acknowledged that Basil was the head of the sect. Basil was searched out, and brought to the emperor, who received him very flatteringly, admitted him to his table, and called him his very dear father. Thus deceived, Basil disclosed to the emperor all the mysteries of his sect; and the emperor caused his whole disclosure to be written down by a stenographer, who was concealed in the chamber. The emperor now laid aside the character of a learner, and attempted to confute the enthusiast; but he defended himself vigorously, and was not to be terrified by menaces of death. Upon this, the emperor commanded all *Bogomiles*, who persevered in their opinions, to be burned alive. Among these, Basil was one, and was burnt. This account is given us by Anna Comnena, in the passage referred to in the following note. *Schl.*]

system was nearly allied to the religion of the ancient Gnostics and Manichæans. For he maintained that the world and human bodies were not created by God, but by an evil demon whom God cast out of heaven: and of course, that our bodies are the prisons of god-like spirits; and must therefore be subdued by fasting, contemplation, and other exhausting exercises, in order that the soul may regain its lost liberty; that marriage also should be avoided; and the kindred tenets, which are well known, and have been repeatedly stated. Hence also, with the Gnostics and Manichæans, he denied that Christ the Son of God had a real body. He also rejected the law of Moses; and maintained that the human body, at death, reverts back to the mass of depraved matter; and has no prospect of a resurrection. So many instances of men of this description occur, both in the history of ancient times and of this age, that nobody can wonder at finding one of them raise a sect among the Greeks. The name of this sect was derived from the *divine mercy*, which they are said to have incessantly implored. For in the language of the Mysians,¹ *Bogomilus* is one who implores divine mercy.²

§ 3. Among the Latins, far more numerous sects existed. For, as the defects of the public religion and the faults of the clergy were continually increasing; as the pontiffs in general neglected the most important duties of their office, and by various measures, particularly by their *Indulgences*, encouraged irreligion among the people; and as the bishops and the other clergy were more intent on gratifying their lusts than on promoting and diffusing real piety, honest men, who had at heart their own salvation and that of others, could easily see, without any great discernment, that the true religion of the Gospel was lost; and they desired and attempted its restoration. But very few of them were competent to so great an undertaking, as that of reforming religion; for most of them were deficient both in talents and learning; and from the ignorance of their times, they ill understood the Bible. Hence they unavoidably deviated sometimes as much from the religion of Christ, as it is exhibited in the sacred volume, as they did from that of Rome: and at the same time they were extravagant in their censures and amendments.

§ 4. Among the sects of this age, the first place is due to the *Cathari*, of whom mention has been already made. Proceeding from Bulgaria, they made a disturbance in nearly all the countries of Europe; and in all of them, if apprehended, they were miserably

¹ [Mœsians, or Slavonians of Mœsia. Tr.]

² See Anna Comnena, *Alexiados*, l. xv. p. 384, ed. Venice. Jo. Zonaras, *Annales*, l. xviii. p. 336. Jo. Christ. Wolf, *Historia Bogomilorum*; Witteb. 1712, 4to. Sam. Andreas, *Dis. de Bogomilis*; in Jo. Voigt's *Bibliotheca Historiæ Hæresiologicæ*, t. i. pt. ii. p. 121, &c. Chr. Aug. Heumann, *Diss. de Bogomilis*. [They were also called Phundaites, from their *phunda* or girdle. In the Slavonic language, *Bog* signifies God, and

milvi is equivalent to the Greek ἐλέησον, *show mercy*. Besides the tenets mentioned in the text, they rejected image-worship; discarded all mysteries in the sacraments; also the historical books of the Old Testament, together with Solomon's writings; and the conclusion of the Lord's prayer, as being an interpolation; and they admitted no learned men among them. *Schl.*] [Gieseler, iii. 496, says that *Bogomil* means merely the same as *Theophilus*, friend of God. *Ed.*]

put to death.¹ The religion of this faction had some affinity with that anciently professed by the Gnostics and Manichæans; and hence those who held to it were generally called Manichæans, though they differed on many points from the genuine Manichæans. They are agreed in the following opinions: namely, that evil originates from matter; that the creator of this world was a different being from the supreme God; that Christ had not a real body, nor was he truly born, or crucified; that all human bodies are the work of an evil demon, and that they perish without a prospect of resuscitation; they denied that baptism and the holy supper are of any use; they enjoined an austere and rigorous mode of living, abstinence from flesh and all animal substances, from wine, and matrimony; they despised the books of the Old Testament, and revered only the New Testament, especially the four Gospels; and, to pass over several things, they believed that rational souls, by a lamentable misfortune, are inclosed in these bodies, and must be liberated from them by continence, fasting, coarse fare, and other mortifications.²

§ 5. These common sentiments were explained and defined differently by their teachers; so that they were divided among themselves into sects; which however, as they were all subject to persecution, disputed with moderation and calmness. There were two principal parties or sects among these *Cathari*. The one approached near to Manichæism, and maintained two eternal first causes of all things, the God of light, who was the father of Jesus Christ, and the prince of darkness, by whom they supposed the visible world to have been created; the other party admitted but one first cause, the father of Jesus Christ, and the supreme God, by whom, they affirmed, the first matter was produced; but they added to this, that the evil demon, after his revolt from God, digested and separated this matter into the four elements, so that it could be formed into a world. The former held also, that Christ, clad in celestial flesh, descended into Mary, and received nothing from her substance; while the latter believed that Christ assumed *in* Mary, though not *from* Mary, a body that was not real, but imaginary.³ The sect which maintained *two first causes* was denominated, from the place where its principal bishop resided, the sect of *Albano* or the *Albanensians*; and it was subdivided into the adherents of *Balazianusa*, bishop of Verona, and the adherents of *John de Lugio*, bishop of Bergamo. The sect which maintained *one first cause* was divided into the church of *Bagnolo*, which is a

¹ See the compilations of Car. Plessis d'Argentre, in his *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. i., to which, however, much more might be added respecting this universally persecuted and exterminated set of men. [See cent. xi. p. ii. c. 5, § 2.]

² Besides the writers hereafter quoted, see a *Disputatio inter Catholicum et Patetinum*; published by Edm. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* v. 1703, &c. and Bonacursus, *Manifestatio heresis Catharorum*; in Luc. D'Achery's *Spicilegium*,

i. 208, &c.

³ See Bern. Moneta's *Summa adversus Catharos et Waldenses*; published by Tho. Aug. Richini, Rome, 1743, fol. with a dissertation prefixed, *de Catharis*, which is of no great value. Moneta was a respectable writer for the age in which he lived. See lib. i. p. 2, 5, lib. ii. p. 247, &c. [He was of Cremona, and of the earliest Dominicans, after being long a professor at Bologna. He was alive A.D. 1233. *Schl.*]

town of Provence, and the association of *Concorregio*, or *Concorrezzo*. To the church of *Bagnolo*, or *Baiolo*, belonged the community that resided in France, and bore the name of *Albigensians*.¹

§ 6. The internal arrangements of this church had many singularities, which cannot be explained in a narrow compass. The government was administered by *bishops*: but each of these had two vicars attached to him, one of whom was called the *elder son*, and the other the *younger son*. The other teachers or priests were called *Deacons*.² All these, but especially the bishops and their *sons*, were held in immense veneration. And as their moral principles were peculiarly rigid and austere, and not suitable nor tolerable to all, it was necessary to divide their people, as the Manichæan congregations were anciently divided, into two classes, the *comforted* (*consolati*), and the associated, or *confederated* (*fœderati*). The former exhibited a great show of piety, and led in celibacy a life of peculiar rigour, and destitute of all common gratifications and conveniences. The latter, except observing a few rules, lived in the manner of other people; but they made a covenant, which, in Italian, was called *convenenza*, with the church, that, before they died, at least in their last sickness, they would enter the stricter church, and receive the *consolation*, which was their term for initiation.³

§ 7. Of far better character than these, was the presbyter *Peter de Bruys*; who, about the year 1110, attempted a restoration of true religion in Languedoc and Provence, provinces of Gaul; and

¹ Raynerus Sachonus, *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis*; in Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, v. 1761, 1768. [Rayner himself lived seventeen years among the Cathari, and was a leader among them; which gives much weight to his history. *Schl.*] Peregrinus Priscianus in Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, v. 93, where he gives a tabular view of the differences between these sects; yet he erroneously denominates those Albanenses, whom he should have called Albigenses, and who were a branch of the Baioliensians: perhaps it was a mistake of the printer. The opinions of these Baioliensians, or Bagnolensians, may also be well learned from the *Codex Inquisitorius*, published by Phil. Limborch, with his *Historia Inquisitionis*. But what Limborch has himself written concerning the opinions of the Albigensians (*Historia Inquis.* l. i. c. viii. p. 30, &c.) is inaccurate, and not free from errors. I have spent much time in examining these sects, and discriminating among them; a subject which the partialities of authors, and other causes, have greatly obscured. But there is not room here to enlarge. [According to a note of Joh. Conr. Fuesslin, in his *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie der mittlern Zeit*, i. 128 (whose correctness, however, I cannot judge of), the Albigensians here mentioned, must not

be confounded with the Albigensians that appeared in Languedoc; for they lived at Alby, in Montferrat. *Schl.*—According to Rayner, there were sixteen communities, or associations of Cathari; namely, the Albanensians, or those of Donnezacho, the members of which were at Verona and in other parts of Lombardy, about 500 in all; those of Concorrezzo, spread over all Lombardy, and more than 1,500 in number; those of Bajolo, at Mantua, Brescia, Bergamo, and in Milan; others at Vicenza, or in the margraviate; in the territory of Florence; in the valley of Spoleto; the French at Verona and in Lombardy; at Toulouse; at Carcassone; in the region of Albi: the Slavonians; the Latins at Constantinople; the Greeks there; those at Philadelphia in Romania; the Bulgaric and the Duguntic. In the whole world, there were at that time not quite 4,000 Cathari. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* xxix. 484. *Tr.*]

² [Ministers. *Tr.*] See Raynerus Sachonus, *Summa de Catharis*, p. 1766, &c.

³ These statements may be substantiated from the writers that have been mentioned, especially from the *Codex Inquisit. Tolosanae*, and others. [For a more full account of the Cathari, see Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* xxix. 477, &c. *Tr.*]

having drawn many to follow him, after journeying and labouring for twenty years, was burnt by the enraged populace at St. Gilles, A.D. 1130. The whole system of doctrines inculcated by this *Peter* upon his followers, who, from him, were called *Petrobrusians*, is not known; yet there are five of his opinions that have reached us: I. That persons ought not to be baptized until they come to the use of reason. II. That it is not proper to build churches: and that such as are built should be pulled down. III. That the holy crosses ought to be destroyed. IV. That the body and blood of Christ are not distributed in the sacred supper, but only the signs of them. V. That the oblations, prayers, and good works of the living, do not profit the dead.¹

§ 8. He was followed by one *Henry*, an Italian perhaps,² an eremite monk, the parent of the sect of the *Henricians*.³ From Lausanne, a city of Switzerland, he came to Maine; and being driven thence, he travelled through Poitou, Bourdeaux, and the adjacent regions, and at last, in the year 1147, reached *Toulouse*; and everywhere boldly declaimed against the vices of the clergy, and the defects of the prevailing religion, with the applause of the multitude. Being ejected from *Toulouse* by *St. Bernard*, he took to flight; but was apprehended by some bishop, brought before *Eugene III.*, the Roman pontiff, then holding a council at Rheims, and by him committed to prison, A.D. 1148, where he soon after died.⁴ An accurate account of the doctrines of this man also has not come down to us. We only know that he too disapproved of infant baptism, inveighed severely against the corrupt morals of the clergy, despised the festal days and the religious ceremonies, and held clandestine assemblies. Some represent him as being a disciple of *Peter de Bruys*; but on what authority they rely, I do not know.⁵

¹ See Peter the Venerable, *contra Petrobrusianos Liber*; in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*. p. 1117. Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* vi. 346, &c. Jac. Basnage, *Hist. des Eglises Réformées*, period iv. p. 140, &c. [See also Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* xxix. 515, &c. Almost the only source of all that is known of Peter de Bruys and his doctrine, is the epistle or tract of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluni, written expressly to confute the errors of Peter de Bruys, about A.D. 1141. This tract is printed in the *Biblioth. Cluniacensis*. Paris, 1614, fol. p. 1117—1230; and in the *Biblioth. max. Patrum Lugdunens.* tom. xxii. p. 1033, &c. The author states and confutes, in as many chapters, the five errors mentioned by Mosheim; and he says these were the chief errors disseminated by Peter de Bruys, though his disciple Henry advanced a great many others. *Tr.*]

² [So Mabillon conjectures in his Preface to *St. Bernard*, § 6, but Henry may have been a Swiss; as Fuesslin supposes, l. c. p. 214. *Schl.*]

³ [This name sometimes denotes the adherents of the emperor Henry IV. For the pope declared the principles of Henry in respect to investitures to be *heresy*; and Henry V. had to abjure expressly the Henrician heresy. Thus, e.g., in the acts of the council of Quedlinburg (Quintilimburgense), A.D. 1085; in Harzheim's *Concil. Germ.* iii. 200. *Schl.*]

⁴ *Gesta Episcoporum Cenomanensium*; in Mabillon's *Analeceta Veteris Aevi*, p. 315, &c. new ed. The epistle of Gaufrid, inserted in the close of the sixth book of Mabillon's *Life of St. Bernard*; in the *Opp. Bernardi*, ii. 1207. Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 71. Jo. Mabillon, Preface to the *Opp. Bernardi*, § 6. *Annales Benedict.* vi. 346, 420, 434.

⁵ I cannot easily believe he was so; for, to mention no other argument, Peter de Bruys would not tolerate crosses; but Henry entered into a city bearing the standard of a cross in his own hand. See Mabillon, *Analeceta*, p. 316, &c. [Peter, abbot of Cluny, however, expressly calls

§ 9. While these persons were making France uneasy, in Brabant, about the year 1115, one *Tanquelin*, or *Tanquelm*, a man quite uneducated, occasioned very great commotions at Antwerp, and collected an exceedingly numerous party. He was either deranged, or a shameless villain, if credit is due to all that his enemies say of him. For he went about in great pomp; said he was God, or the Son of God; ordered daughters to be debauched in presence of their mothers; and the like. But these statements are not merely hard to be believed, but absolutely incredible.¹ This *Tanchelm* seems to have imbibed the principles of the mystics; to have despised public worship, the sacred supper, and baptism; and to have held secret meetings for religious purposes. And the cause of the numerous calumnies propagated against him probably was, that he, like others of this character, inveighed strongly against the priests and the whole clerical order. He was slain by one of the priests; but his sect did not die with him. It was, however, extinguished finally, it is said, by the celebrated *St. Norbert*, founder of the Premonstratensians.²

him an apostle of Peter de Bruys (in the *Biblioth. Cluniacens.* p. 1123); “qui duobus tantum homuncionibus Petro de Bruis et Henrico ejus pseudapostolo tam facile cessistis.” Also, *ibid.* p. 1117, he says, ‘After that impious (Peter de Bruys) had been removed from one fire to another, from this transitory to an eternal; the heir to his wickedness (*hæres nequitie ejus*) Henry, with I know not what others, did not reform, but altered the diabolical doctrine; and, as I saw written in a note-book containing his own words, he published not merely five, but many errors. But as I have not yet full evidence that he thus thought or preached, I omit to confute them;’ i. e. the additional errors.—How Henry altered, or enlarged the doctrines of Peter, does not appear. He seems to have been a very popular preacher against the vices of the clergy, and the formal heartless devotion of the age. And it is probable, he dwelt more upon practical religion, than doctrinal. See Schroeckh, *Kircheng.* xxix. 517, &c., and Neander’s *Heilige Bernard*, p. 254, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ The epistle of the church of Utrecht to bishop Frederic, concerning Tanchelm; in Seb. Tegnagel’s *Collectio veterum monumentor.* p. 368, &c. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* ii. 98. Argentre, *Collectio judicior. de novis erroribus*, i. 10.

² Lud. Hugo, *Vie de St. Norbert*, l. ii. p. 126. Chrys. van der Sterre, *Vita S. Norberti*, c. 36, p. 164, and the notes of Polyc. de Hertoghe upon it, p. 387, &c. [Abelard speaks of Tanchelm (*Introduct. ad Theologiam*, l. ii. Opp. p. 1066), as a layman who had the folly to give himself out for the Son of God, and allow churches to be erected to his honour. He first travelled to Rome in the garb of a monk, accompa-

nied by a priest; returned soon after to Utrecht, and there obtained many followers. As there was then no bishop at Utrecht, the clergy wrote to the archbishop of Cologne for aid against him; and in this famous letter they style him antichrist; and say he set at nought the pope, archbishops, bishops, and the whole clergy, distributed Christ with his own hands, and maintained that he and his followers were the only true church. They state that he first preached to the ignorant people on the sea-coast; gained over many women, with whom he had lascivious intercourse, and by their means propagated his errors. He now preached in the fields to large assemblies; and was surrounded by a body-guard, like a king, who attended him with arms and a banner. He despised the sacraments, dissuaded from attending the eucharist, and forbade paying tithes to the priests. At last he called himself God; because he had the Holy Ghost as really as Christ had. Some so revered his divinity, that they used the water in which he washed, as a sacrament. He espoused an image of the virgin Mary; and his followers contributed a splendid feast for the occasion. In short, the letter says, the enormities of Tanchelm and his followers are innumerable; and they have brought the public worship into such contempt, that the person who most despises it is esteemed the best saint.—From Utrecht, Tanchelm went to Antwerp (according to the author of the life of St. Norbert), and was attended by 3,000 armed men. At length, about 1124 or 1125, a priest slew him. But his followers could not be brought to renounce his errors, till St. Norbert came among them. ‘If we give

§ 10. In Italy, *Arnold* of Brescia, a pupil of *Peter Abelard*, a man of learning and stern morals, but of a restless temper, attempted a revolution both civil and ecclesiastical. *Innocent II.* compelled him, after being condemned in the Lateran council of 1139, to retire into Switzerland.¹ But he returned, on the death of *Innocent*, and gave great trouble to the new pontiff *Eugene*. After various fortunes, he was seized, and in the year 1155, hanged, and his body burnt to ashes. The unhappy man does not appear to have attempted any violence or injury to religion; but perceiving the immense evils and discords that arose from the vast riches of the pontiffs, bishops, and priests, he thought it required, by the interests of the church and of the world, that the clergy should be stripped of their possessions, prerogatives, and revenues. He therefore maintained, that all the wealth of the Roman pontiff, and also of the bishops and the monks, ought to be transferred to the civil authorities; and nothing be left for any of the ministers of God, but their spiritual powers, and the tithes and voluntary gifts of Christians.² Venerable on several accounts, he had

credit to these statements,' says Schroeckh (*Kirchengesch.* xxix. 658), 'though they appear somewhat overcharged, Tanchelm was both a madman and a villain, who scarcely deserves to be mentioned in a history of religion. Mosheim supposed he was a mystic, who despised external worship, and severely lashed the vices of the clergy. But for this position there is not sufficient testimony.' *Tr.*]

¹ [Arnold is not named in the canons of this council. The twenty-third reads thus: 'Eos—qui religiositatis speciem simulantes, Domini corporis et sanguinis sacramentum, baptisma puerorum, sacerdotium, et ceteros ecclesiasticos ordines, et legitimarum damnant fœdera nuptiarum, tanquam hæreticos ab ecclesia Dei pellimus et damnamus, et per potestates externas coerceri præcipimus.' Thus it refers rather to Peter de Bruys. (For it recounts his errors. Besides, it excommunicates the persons referred to, and delivers them over to the secular sword; but Arnold was not excommunicated nor committed to the executioner at this time. *Tr.*) Yet Otto of Freysing (ad ann. 1139) expressly states, that Arnold, as well as the Petrobrusians, was condemned by this council. He was also banished from Italy, and forbidden to return without permission from the pope. Gunther, in his *Liguirius*, l. iii. v. 275, where he states his doctrines, makes this remark; 'He gave us many just rebukes, mixed with false ones; but our times would not bear faithful admonitions.' After his banishment, Arnold went first into France to Abelard; and from him to Guido, the papal legate, who not long after was himself pope, under the name of Coelestine II. But St. Bernard persecuted him wherever

he could find him, and compelled him to escape incarceration by fleeing to Zurich; where he became a teacher, and was much listened to. Presently a letter was despatched from St Bernard to the bishop of Constance, warning him to banish Arnold out of his diocese. After residing about five years at Zurich, he returned to Rome, A.D. 1145, at a time when the citizens of Rome had been long struggling to restore the ancient consular government, and to free themselves from the civil authority of the pope. These disturbances Arnold promoted under the reigns of Eugene III. and Anastasius IV. But Hadrian IV. excommunicated him, and ordered him into exile. Arnold laughed at it so long as the citizens supported him. At last the pope laid the city under an interdict [the first that was ever laid on Rome], and compelled the citizens to give up supporting Arnold. He had now to leave Rome, and went into Campania, where the margrave and the people revered him as a man of God. In 1155, the emperor, Frederic I., was advancing towards Rome, and entered into a negotiation with the pope respecting his approaching coronation. Here the pope conditioned that Frederic should deliver Arnold of Brescia into his hands. Frederic fulfilled the stipulation, and Arnold was strangled; and to prevent the people from paying veneration to his corpse, it was burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Tiber. *Schl.*—See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* xxvi. 110, &c. 131, 153, &c. *Tr.*]

² See Otto of Freysing, *de Gestis Frederici I.* l. ii. c. 20. St. Bernard, *Epist.* 195, 196, t. i. 187, &c. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, ii. 157. Muratori, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclésiastique*, p. 137, &c. Bünau,

numerous followers, who, from him, were called *Arnoldists*; and who, in subsequent times, often showed themselves, as occasions would permit.

§ 11. But of all the sects that arose in this century, no one was more famous, or obtained higher reputation for probity and innocence, even with its enemies, and no one could count more disciples, than that of those called from their founder, the *Waldensians*; from the place whence they sprang, the *poor men of Lyons*, or the *Leonists*; from the wooden shoes worn by their teachers, and a certain mark upon them, *Insabbatati*, or *Sabbatati*.¹ Peter, a rich merchant of Lyons of France, born at *Vaux*, or *Valdum*, or *Validium*, a town in the March of Lyons, and therefore called *Waldensis* and *Validisius*, being a very pious man, procured the translation of certain books of the Scripture, especially the four Gospels, and of various passages from the fathers, from Latin into French, after A.D. 1160, by the hand of *Stephen de Evisa*, a priest of Lyons.² By reading these books attentively, he learned that the religion then commonly taught to the people in the Roman church, differed altogether from that which *Jesus Christ* himself and his apostles had taught; and earnestly desiring salvation, he distributed his property among the poor, and in the year 1180, with some other pious men, whom he had associated with him, he took upon himself the office of a preacher. The archbishop of Lyons, and the other prelates, opposed this proceeding. But the simple and holy religion which these good men professed, the spotless innocence of their lives, and their contempt for all riches and honours, took such hold upon great numbers, who had some sense of religion, that they readily yielded to them.³ Hence they set up

Vita Friderici I. p. 41. *Chaufepied Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* i. 482.

¹ They were called *Leonists*, because they originated at *Leona*: so Lyons was called in that age. The more perfect among the *Waldensians* wore mean or wooden shoes, which, in French, are called *Sabots*; and likewise the sign of the cross upon their *sabots*, to distinguish them from others. And hence the names of *Sabbatati* [shod with *sabots*], and *insabbatati* [marked on their *sabots*]. See Du Fresnoy, *Glossarium Latin. mediæ*, vi. 4, art. *Sabbatati*. Nicol. Eymericus, *Directorium Inquisitorum*, pt. iii. no. 112, &c.

² See Stephen de Borbone, *de septem Donis Spiritus Sancti*; in Jac. Echard and Quetif's *Bibliotheca Scriptor. Dominicanor.* i. 192. An anonymous tract, *de Hæresi pauperum de Lugduno*; in Martene's *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* v. 1777. [Stephen de Borbone calls the translator, employed by Waldus, Stephen of Ansa; and others, of Emsa. And I suspect that Mosheim wrote Emsa, though, by an error of the press, Evisa occurs in both the old and the new edition of his *Institutes*. In placing the commencement of Waldus' attempt to re-

form religion after 1160, Mosheim has followed Moneta. But Stephen de Borbone says, 'This sect began about the year of Christ 1170, under John, called Bolesmanis, archbishop of Lyons.' *Schl.*]

³ Those who assign a different origin to the *Waldensians*, and particularly those who say they were so called from the *valleys* in which they had lived many ages before the times of Peter Waldus, have no authorities for their opinion, and are refuted by all the historians. [This opinion was first advanced by Beza; and John Leger (in his *Histoire générale des Eglises Vaudoises*) has taken all pains to make it appear plausible. But they are well confuted by Fuessli, in his *Kirchen- und Ketzergeschichte der mittlern Zeit*, vol. i. p. 295, &c. *Schl.*] I will readily grant, that long before these times there had been, resident in the valleys of Piedmont, persons who rejected the prevailing opinions of the Roman church, and who agreed in many things with the *Waldensians*. But those inhabitants of the valleys must be distinguished from the [proper] *Waldensians*, or followers of Peter Waldus, whom all the writers represent to have originated at

societies, first in France, and then in Lombardy; and these multiplied and spread, with amazing rapidity, through all the countries of

Lyons, and to have derived their name from this Peter Waldus. [Dr. Maclaine here boldly attacks the opinions of Mosheim; and citing some of the arguments of Leger, asserts the higher antiquity of the Waldensians, from whom, he says, Peter of Lyons derived the name of Waldus. It is of little consequence whether Peter Waldus gave name to the sect of the Waldensians, or derived his own name from them; but the origin and antiquity of the sect are of more importance. On this subject, Schroeckh, (in his *Kirchengesch.* xxix. 527, &c.) makes the following remarks. As to their age and origin, the ground of their separation from the Roman church, and especially whether they were heretics or reformers, there has been the more controversy between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, because the interests of their respective churches were involved in the discussions. But these party and polemical narratives, which have done so much harm to history, are becoming more and more rare: and we purpose to state only what the lovers of truth, of both parties, may approve.—It was usual formerly to trace the origin of the Waldenses to a very high antiquity; and it must be acknowledged, that a writer of the thirteenth century, who has been already mentioned as first a partisan and then an opposer of the Cathari, Rainerius Saccho, has given occasion for this opinion. In his *Liber adv. Waldenses*, c. 4, (in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, xxv. 262, &c.) he writes concerning them, under one of their appellations (*Pauperes de Lugduno*), ‘Their sect has been the most injurious of all to the church of God, on account of their antiquity; for they, according to some, originated in the times of the Roman bishop Silvester, in the fourth century; and, according to others, existed as early as the days of the Apostles.’ But neither Rainer nor the records of history give the least ground for this assertion; which he seems to have borrowed solely from some Waldensians. In more modern times various arguments have been adduced to support the same position. Especially has one of the principal historians of the Waldensians, himself once a preacher among them in the 17th century, John Leger, in his French work, (*Histoire Générale des Eglises Evangéliques des Vallées de Piémont, ou Vaudoises*; Leyden, 1669, 2 tom. fol.) given himself much trouble to prove that they existed long before the twelfth century. He first cites some ancient and modern historians who are thought to have found traces of them; but who were either too recent to be good witnesses

in the case, or have confounded the Manichæans of the eleventh century, and other opposers of the church of Rome, with the Waldensians. The opinion he adopted from Beza, that these people of his own religion derived their name from the *valleys* (*Vallées*, or, in their own language, *Vaux*) in which most of them resided, is a mere conjecture, founded on the resemblance of the words; though it has long been admitted, that for centuries there had existed in the valleys of Piedmont various sorts of people, who were not in communion with the Roman church. Equally unsupportable is the assertion of Leger, that the Waldensians were descended from Claudius, the famous bishop of Turin, in the ninth century. With more plausibility he argues their high antiquity, from a poem written in the Provençal dialect, and entitled, *The Noble Lesson* (*La noble Leyçon*); which was supposed to be the production of a Waldensian about A.D. 1100. The very name Waldensians (*Vaudés*) occurs in it. But Fuesslin, who has most fully investigated this subject (l. c. p. 299, &c.), has shown that this poem may have been written long after 1100, and can hardly have been composed by an inhabitant of the valleys of Piedmont. [Dr. Maitland, *Facts and Documents*, &c., shows it to be much later; and the investigation of the Waldensian MSS. at Cambridge has proved him to be right. *Ed.*] Basnage also has made Claudius (whom he misrepresents as separating from the communion of the Romish church), to be the father of the Waldensians, and has used other invalid proofs of their high antiquity. (*Hist. de l'Eglise*, ii. 1434). In an essay (subjoined to the German translation of Fleury's *Eccles. History*, xi. 486, &c.) on the community which was persecuted under the name of the Manichæans, the same opinion is maintained; and for proof of it, a Waldensian confession of faith is relied on, which, without any proof, is assigned to the year 1120. And in the latest histories of the Waldensians by Protestants in Germany, we find this high antiquity of the sect assumed, but not proved. The writers, on the contrary, who lived about the middle of the 13th century, several of whom were personally acquainted with the men who had been active in producing the sect of the Waldensians, unitedly tell us, that it was Peter Waldus (called also Valdo, Valdensis, and in his native language, probably, Vaud), a rich citizen of Lyons, who gave, between 1160 and 1180, both existence and an appellation to this sect.—*Tr.* Dr. Maitland maintains this view, and accounts for

Europe: nor could they be exterminated entirely, by any punishments, whether by death, or other forms of persecution.¹

§ 12. *Peter Waldus* and his associates did not aim so much to change the system of religion, or to inculcate new articles of faith, as to restore the form of the church, the morals of the clergy, and the lives of Christians, to that primitive and apostolic simplicity, which they thought themselves to have learned from the words of Christ especially. They taught, accordingly, that the Roman church had degenerated from its original purity and sanctity, in the times of *Constantine* the Great: they denied the supremacy of the Roman pontiff: they would have the rulers and ministers of the church imitate the poverty of the apostles, and procure their own frugal and slender sustenance by manual labour: they asserted, that authority to teach, to confirm, and to admonish their brethren, was, to a certain extent, given to all Christians: the ancient penitential discipline, which was nearly subverted by the grants of *indulgences*, that is, the making satisfaction for sins, by prayer, fasting, and liberality to the poor — they wished to see restored: and these *satisfactions*, on which they laid great stress, they believed any devout Christian could enjoin upon those that confessed: so that it was not necessary for people to confess their sins to priests, but only to lay open their transgressions to individual brethren, and look to them for advice: the power of forgiving sins and remitting the punishment of them, they held to belong to God only; and, therefore, that *indulgences* were an invention of base avarice: they regarded prayers and other rites performed in behalf of the dead, to be useless ceremonies; because departed souls are not detained and subjected to a purgation, in some intermediate region, but are, immediately after death, either taken

the surname borne by Peter, by showing that whatever be its origin, it was far from uncommon, nor in the form of *Wood*, unknown to England. (*Facts and Documents Illustrative of the History, Doctrine, and Rites, of the ancient Albigenses and Waldenses*. Lond. 1832, p. 109.) Upon this etymological question it may be observed, that not *Wood*, but *Waud*, *Wadd*, and *Waddy*, appear to be the English forms of the name *Waldo*. Mr. Faber, however, from Pilichdorf, a writer of the thirteenth century, derives the name *Valdenses* from one Peter, who sprang from the region *Valdis*, three hundred years after Constantine. *Valdis* he considers to be the valleys of the Cottian Alps, immemorially inhabited by the Waldenses. The name *Leonists*, he considers to have come not from *Lyons*, the residence of Peter Waldo, but from a place far less considerable, once similarly named, *Lugdunum Convenarum*, in Aquitaine, now *St. Bertrand*, the birthplace of Vigilantius, whom Jerome so scurrilously attacked for opposing the paganism that was daily mingling with Christianity. (*An Inquiry into the History and Theology of the an-*

cient Vallenses and Albigenses. Lond. 1838, pp. 279, 302). The second of these etymologies may, perhaps, be thought an ingenious but bold conjecture. The first is less easy to dispose of. S.]

¹ See, in addition to the ancient writers concerning the Waldensians, e.g. Sachon, *Summa contra Valdenses*; Monetæ *Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, published a few years since at Rome by Richini; the tract *de Hæresi pauperum de Lugduno*, published by Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* v. 1777, &c. Pilichdorf, *contra Valdenses*, in the *Biblioth. max. Patrum.* t. xxv. and many others; Jo. Paul Perrin, *Hist. des Vaudois*, Geneva, 1619, 8vo, [also in English, Lond. 1624, 4to. Tr.] Jo. Leger, *Hist. générale des Eglises Vaudoises*, l. i. c. 14, p. 156. Jac. Ussher, *de Successione Ecclesiæ Occidentis*, c. viii. p. 209, &c. Jac. Basnage, *Hist. des Eglises Réformées*, t. i. period iv. 329, &c. Thom. Aug. Richini, *Diss. de Waldensibus*; prefixed to Moneta's *Summa*, p. xxxvi. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* ii. 292; and many others. [Especially Fuessli, l. c. vol. i. p. 293—354. *Schl.* And Maitland, as quoted in the last note. *Ed.*]

into heaven, or sent into hell : with other things of a similar nature. Their morals were very strict ; for they explained our Saviour's sermon on the mount, according to the literal import of the words ; and therefore, disapproved altogether of war, law-suits, efforts to acquire wealth, capital punishments, taking any oath, or defending one's life or limbs against offered violence.¹

§ 13. The Waldensian church was governed by *bishops* (whom they styled *Majorales* or *elders*), with *presbyters*, and *deacons* : for they confessed these orders to have been instituted by Christ himself. But all these officers were to be like the apostles ; that is, uneducated men, and absolutely poor, or possessing no property, working people besides, able to procure for themselves the necessities of life by their own industry.² The people³ were divided into the *perfect* and the *imperfect* : of whom, the former voluntarily relinquished all their possessions, exhibited an absolute poverty in the manner of their dress, and emaciated their bodies by frequent fasting ; while the latter lived more generously, and more like other people, yet without any splendour or luxury, very much in the manner of the more strict Mennonites. There was, however, some disagreement among these Waldenses, and especially between those of *Italy* or *Lombardy*, and the *Ultramontanes*, or those living in France and the other countries of Europe. The former looked upon the Roman church as a real church of Christ, though greatly corrupted ; they admitted the validity of its seven sacraments, and offered to continue in its communion, provided they might live in their own way. But the latter maintained that the church of Rome had apostatised from Christ, was destitute of the Holy Spirit, and was that *Babylonian* harlot mentioned by St. John.⁴

¹ See especially, the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanæ*, published by Limborch ; Moneta's *Summa contra Valdenses* ; and the other writers of those times, on the opinions of the Waldensians. Though some of them are more accurate than others, and some ascribe more, and others fewer peculiarities to the sect, yet, in general, they admit the piety and the blameless lives of the Waldensians ; and they plainly show that the sect offered no violence to the common faith of Christians, but only urged a return to the ancient practices of Christians, and opposed the defects in the public worship, and in the conduct of the clergy. [And hence Peter Waldus himself did not renounce the Roman church. On the contrary, in 1179 he sent two of his followers to the council of the Lateran, who presented to the pope a copy of his translations from the Old and New Testaments, with notes and expositions of his own, and requested permission to preach and instruct people in religion. Alexander III. examined them, and forbade their preaching, because they were illiterate. They made a similar attempt under pope Lucius III., but without success. On the contrary, this pope excommunicated them in 1184. See Fuessli, l. c.

p. 333. *Schl.*—One application to the pontiff for his approbation, the abbot of Ursperg (in his *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1212), says, he himself was witness to. See Harduin's *Concilia*, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1692. The decree of Lucius III., excommunicating the Waldensians, A. D. 1183, is in Harduin, l. c. p. 1878. *Tr.*]

² A large proportion of them got their living by weaving : and hence the sect was called, in some places, that of the *Weavers*, in French, *Tisserands*.

³ [Or laity. *Tr.*]

⁴ Moneta, *Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, p. 406, 416, and elsewhere. They appear likewise not to have had the same views in regard to the possession of property ; as appears from Stephen de Borbone, in Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, i. 191. He divides the Waldenses, in other words, indeed, but amounting to the same thing, into the *Poor men of Lyons* (these were the Ultramontanes), and the *Poor men of Lombardy*. The former forbade all possession of property ; the latter allowed of such possession. There are other passages in the ancient writers which confirm this distinction.

§ 14. Besides these larger sects, which had numerous friends and advocates, many other *smaller* and more obscure ones started up, in Italy especially, and France; but these seem soon to have become extinct.¹ In Italy, and especially in Lombardy, which was the principal seat of *heretics*, a singular party spread itself among the people, denominated, though I cannot say why, the *Pasagini* or *Pasagii*, and also the *Circumcised*, which, in common with the other sects, was averse from the Roman church and its regulations, but was also distinguished especially by two peculiarities of sentiment. First, they taught that the law of Moses ought to be observed under the New Testament, with the exception of sacrifices; and accordingly they practised circumcision, abstained from the meats prohibited by Moses, observed the sabbath of the Jews, and the like. Secondly, they corrupted the doctrine of three Persons in the divine nature, and taught that *Christ* was only *the first and a spotless creature of God*: a sentiment the less surprising considering the multitude of Arians there had been in Italy antecedently to this period.²

§ 15. In France, a sort of people, who were called *Caputiati*, from the covering worn on their heads, roamed over Burgundy, the region of Auxerre, and some other parts, in which they caused considerable excitement. These people wore upon their hats or caps a leaden image of the virgin *Mary*; and they wished to restore the primeval liberty of mortals, and universal equality, to the exclusion of all subordination and civil authority. This madness was suppressed by *Hugo*, bishop of Auxerre, not with arguments, but with military force.³ Very different from these were the *Apostolici*, whom *St. Bernard* assailed with great earnestness. They bore this name generally, according to *St. Bernard*, their adversary, because they wished to exemplify in their conduct the apostolic mode of living. They were for the most part *rustics*, and people of low condition, who earned their food and clothing by weaving; but they had numerous and great friends and supporters of every rank and order. Their religion, according to the confession of their adversary himself, was free from errors; and their life was most blameless. Yet, I. They deemed it unlawful to take an oath. II. They suffered their hair and beards to grow long. III. Though they had separate dwelling-houses, they

¹ On the various more obscure sects, see Stephen de Borbone, in Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, i. 191.

² See F. Bonacursus *Manifestatio hæresis Catharorum*; in Luc. D'Achery's *Spicilegium veter. Scriptor.* i. 211, new ed. Gerh. Bergamensis, *contra Catharos et Pasagios*; in Lud. Ant. Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, v. 151, &c. [Fuessli, in his *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie der mittlern Zeit*, i. 46, assigns a very probable cause of the appellation *Pasagini*; supposing it equivalent to *Pasagieri* and *Passagers*, *roamers*, in Greek *δοταροι*; which appellation the Greeks had given to a sort of Manichæans, according to the ac-

count of Peter of Sicily, in his *History of the Manichæans*; in the *Biblioth. max. Patrum*, xvi. 814. *Schl.*—Another conjecture is, that they assumed the name of *Passagii*, derived from the Greek *Πᾶς ἅγιος*, *all holy*. *Tr.*—Maitland supposes that the name *Passagini* was derived from their connexion with the Crusade, *Passagium. Facts and Doc.* p. 449. *Ed.*]

³ Jac. le Bœuf, *Mémoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, i. 317, &c. [Robert du Mont, in his Appendix to Sigebert Gemblacensis, says, the commencement of this sect was in 1182. *Schl.*—See a more full account in Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* xxix. 636, &c. *Tr.*]

assembled together for labour and for worship. IV. They preferred celibacy to marriage, and called themselves *the chaste brethren and sisters*. Yet, V. each of the men had with him some sister, after the manner of the Apostles, with whom he lived familiarly, sleeping in the same chamber, though not in the same bed.¹

§ 16. At the council of Rheims, A.D. 1148, in which pope *Eugene III.* presided, a certain man named *Eon*, of Britany, who was undoubtedly deranged, was condemned. Having heard in the common formula for exorcising evil spirits, these words pronounced: *Per EUM, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos*,² he concluded, from the resemblance between the word *Eum* and his own name, that he was the person who was to judge the quick and the dead. This senseless man should have been given over to the physicians, and not have been classed among heretics. He died in prison: but many of his followers, who could not be dissuaded from reverencing him, were burnt at the stake.³ This single example clearly shows how little sound sense and correct knowledge of religion then existed, even among the rulers of the church.

¹ St. Bernard, *Sermo lxx. in Canticum*; Opp. iv. 1495, &c. ed. Mabillon. [A similar class of people, who wished to revive the apostolical mode of living, appeared in the neighbourhood of Perigord in Guienne; as we learn from the letter of a monk named Heribert, in Mabillon's *Analecta*, iii. 467. But these went still further. They abhorred images and the mass; and had priests, monks, and nuns, in their community. Their leader was named Lucius; and among their adherents they could reckon some of the nobility. *Schl.*]

² [By *Him* who will come to judge the quick and dead.]

³ Matthew Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 68.

William Neubrigensis, *Hist. rerum Anglicar.* l. i. p. 50. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* ii. 241. [He was a wealthy nobleman, of pleasing address, and drew a great number after him. With these he sometimes travelled rapidly over the country with great display; then retiring to places of obscurity, lived in luxury with his attendants. The lawlessness of the party, and the multitudes that were captivated with them, led to his apprehension and imprisonment, and to the execution of his obstinate adherents. See William Neubrigens. ubi supra, and Schroeckh, *Kirchen-gesch.* xxix. 653, &c. *Tr.*]

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Christianity in Northern Asia and China — § 2. Pontifical legates to the Tartars — § 3. The Crusades — § 4. A new crusade — § 5, 6. The remaining crusades — § 7. The expedition of Lewis IX. — § 8. His second attempt — § 9. Conversion of the Prussians — § 10. The Arabians.

§ 1. ALTHOUGH that powerful emperor of the Tartars, or rather the Moguls, *Ginghis-Chan*, and his successors, who had carried their victorious arms through a great part of Asia, and had conquered China, India, Persia, and many other countries, disturbed greatly, and distressed the Christians resident in those countries;¹ yet it appears from the most unquestionable testimony, that numerous bodies of Nestorian Christians were still scattered over all northern Asia and China. The emperors of the Tartars and Moguls were themselves not particularly averse from Christianity; and some of their [subordinate] kings and chieftains had either retained this religion, which they received from their ancestors, or were converted to it by the preaching of the Nestorians.² Yet gradually many of them became infected with the Mahomedan religion, which at length banished Christianity entirely from their camps and courts.

§ 2. As these Tartars, from the year 1241, invaded Europe also, and cruelly harassed and devastated Hungary, Poland, Silesia, and the neighbouring countries, the Roman pontiffs thought proper to

¹ Gregory Abulpharajus, *Historia Dynastiar.* p. 281, &c.

² See Marco Polo, the Venetian, *de Regionibus Oriental.* l. i. c. iv. and l. ii. c. vi. and in many other places. Haytho, the Armenian, *Hist. Oriental.* c. xix. p. 35, c. xxiii. p. 39, c. xxiv. p. 41, &c. Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Bib-*

liothecca Orient. Vatic. t. iii. pt. ii. p. 526, and others; especially the *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*, composed under my superintendence, and published at Helmstadt, 1742, 4to. which I may perhaps enlarge considerably in a future edition. [This purpose was never accomplished. *Schl.*]

attempt a pacification with these new and very ferocious enemies. Therefore, in the year 1245, *Innocent IV.* sent several Dominicans and Franciscans as his legates to the Tartars.¹ Afterwards, *Abaka*, emperor of the Tartars, in the year 1274, sent envoys into Europe to the council of Lyons, under *Gregory X.*² *Nicolas III.* also, in the year 1278, sent some Franciscans as legates to *Coblai*, the emperor of the whole nation. And in the year 1289, *Nicolas IV.* sent to the same emperor *John de Monte Corvino*, with some others, who also carried letters to the Nestorians. Nor were these legates wholly unsuccessful; for they instructed many, both of the Tartars and of the Nestorians, in the principles of the Roman religion, and gathered Christian churches not only in Tartary but also in China. To facilitate this business, *John de Monte Corvino* translated the books of the New Testament and the Psalms of *David* into the language of the Tartars.³

¹ See Luc. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, iii. 116, 149, 175, 256.

² Wadding, l. c. t. iv. 35, v. 128, &c. See this whole subject copiously and critically discussed, in the above-cited *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*; which however might be much enlarged, and in some particulars corrected.

³ Odor. Raynald, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, t. xiv. ad ann. 1278, § 17, &c. p. 282, and ad ann. 1289, § 59, &c. p. 419, ed. Cologne: Peter Bergeron, *Traité des Tartares*, c. xi. p. 61, and many others, cited in the *Historia Tartaror. Eccl.* [Genghis-Khan conquered in battle Un-Khan, the fourth and last of the Christian kings in Central Asia who bore the name of Prester John, in 1202. He now commenced his career of conquest, and during 25 years carried his victorious arms from the Chinese sea to the Euphrates and the Euxine. His four sons harmoniously preserved the unity of the new empire, and extended and consolidated it. In the East, all northern China, as well as Tibet and the countries bordering on Hindostan, were subdued. In the West, the countries from the Indus, including Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Georgia, and the whole region about the Caspian, with the southern part of Russia in Europe, were permanently occupied; and Poland, Hungary, and part of Silesia, as well as Siberia, and all northern Asia, were overrun and devastated, and then abandoned. This vast empire of the Moguls, while united, was subject to the great Khan or emperor, who resided first in Chinese Tartary, and then at Pekin. The central and western provinces were governed by dependent sovereigns or viceroys, who were for the most part the sons and descendants of Genghis, and of course the brothers and relatives of the great Khan. After a very few generations, however, the principal of the provincial governors became nearly or

altogether independent sovereigns; and three of them, the Khans of Kipzack and Russia, the Khans of Zagatai or Transoxiana, and the Khans of Iran or Persia, were lords of extensive empires. Genghis and the succeeding emperors, as well as most of their viceroys in the West, were tolerant towards all religions; and they encouraged men of talents of every religion, warriors, statesmen, physicians, artists of various kinds, and men of letters. Hence in their courts and camps, and in places of high trust in every part of the empire, were to be found Christians, Mahumedans, Jews, and Pagans, all enjoying the free use of their religion. Many Europeans, as Marco Polo, the Venetian, and others, travelled freely from the Bosphorus to China; and in no age, probably, have the Europeans had so free access to the central parts of Asia, as in this century. Genghis himself married a daughter of Prester John; and several of his descendants had Christian wives. Till near the close of the century, most of the Mogul princes, though tolerant to all religions, were rather partial to that of the Christians. And this afforded to the Nestorians (the prevailing sect in those countries) a fine opportunity to propagate their religion all over the East, and particularly in China. The Roman pontiffs also sent not only ambassadors, but missionaries, chiefly Franciscan and Dominican monks, quite to Pekin and China; and in that country they gathered some churches, and at length established an archbishop (*John De Monte Corvino*), with several suffragans. Much greater success would doubtless have now attended the efforts of Christians in China, and throughout the empire, had they been united. But the Roman Catholics and the Nestorians strove to undermine each other; and the Tartar Khans were the protectors of each in turn, against the other. Moreover,

§ 3. The same pontiffs made every effort in their power to sustain the interests of the Latins in Syria and Palestine, which were now nearly ruined; for as they had learned by experience the great amount of gain, dignity, and authority which came to occupants of the Roman see from these Asiatic wars waged under the pretence of religion, they were very solicitous to have them kept up.¹ The first expedition was proclaimed by *Innocent III.* Few, however, of the Europeans obeyed his summons. After various efforts, which were fruitless in most countries, some French nobles, having formed a league with the Venetian republic, put to sea with quite a moderate force. The issue of this expedition was by no means such as the pontiff had anticipated. For these French and Venetians did not direct their course to Palestine, but to Constantinople, which they stormed in the year 1203, for the sake of restoring the emperor *Isaac Angelus*, who had implored their aid against the violence and usurpations of his brother *Alexius*. The next year a bloody sedition took place at Constantinople, in which the emperor *Isaac* died, and his son, *Alexius* junior, was strangled by *Alexius Ducas*, the author of the insurrection. On hearing of this parricide, the generals of the crusaders again took possession of Constantinople on the 12th of April, A.D. 1204; and putting the tyrant *Ducas* to flight, they elected *Baldwin*, count of Flanders, emperor of the Greeks. In opposition to this Latin emperor, the Greeks created, two years after, another of their own nation, *Theodore Lascaris*, who fixed his residence at Nice in Bithynia. From this period till the year 1261, there were two emperors of the Greeks, the one a Frank or Latin, and the other a Greek; of whom the latter resided at Nice, and the former made Constantinople his capital. But in the year 1261, the Greek emperor, *Michael Palaeologus*, by means of his general *Cesar Alexius*, recovered Constantinople, and obliged the Latin emperor, *Baldwin II.*, to flee into Italy. Thus terminated the empire of the Franks at Constantinople, after it had stood fifty-seven years.²

the wars of these Tartars with the Saracens of Syria and Arabia, and with the sultans of Egypt, who oppressed the Christians of Palestine and the East, led them frequently to march armies into Syria, and to solicit alliances with the Christians of Europe against those Mahumedans their common enemies; and this was the cause of frequent embassies between the Moguls and the European sovereigns. But near the close of the century, the Mahumedan religion gained the ascendancy, especially in the western parts of the Mogul empire; and the Khans themselves now leaned towards it, and in some instances allowed the Christians to be persecuted. In general, however, this empire was favourable to the Christian cause in Asia, during this century; and had the Christians who attempted the propagation of their religion, possessed more of its true spirit, and made united and vigorous efforts,

they might probably have now converted more than half of Asia to the Christian faith, and perhaps have established a broad zone of permanent Christian light and influence, from Asia Minor quite to the Chinese seas. See Mosheim, *Historia Tartaror.* Eccles. c. ii. p. 29, &c. and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* xxv. 191, &c. with the civil histories of the Tartars. *Tr.*]

¹ This is stated by some writers of that age: see Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 174, 365, and elsewhere.

² These events are best stated by Charles Du Fresne, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs François*; the first part of which contains Godfrey de Ville-Harduin's, one of the French Generals, *Histoire de la Conquête de la ville de Constantinople par les François*. This work forms also a part of the great *Corpus Byzantinum*, Paris, 1657, fol. See also, among others, Peter

§ 4. The next crusade was undertaken by the united forces of the Italians and Germans, under the pontiff *Honorius III.*, A.D. 1217. The commander-in-chief was *Andrew*, king of Hungary; with whom were *Leopold* of Austria, *Lewis* of Bavaria, and other princes. *Andrew*, after a few months, returned to Europe. The other generals captured the strongly fortified city of *Damietta* in Egypt, A.D. 1220. But their successes did not continue long; for the next year the Saracen fleet completely destroyed that of the Christians, after having cut off its supplies; and this loss, which was utterly irreparable, was followed by the loss of *Damietta*, and the frustration of the high hopes which the Christians had indulged.¹

§ 5. The legates and missionaries of the pontiff now enrolled a new army of crusaders from almost every country of Europe, which was both more numerous and more respectable, because it was anticipated that the emperor *Frederic II.* would take the command of it in his own person. *Frederic* had made such a promise to the Roman pontiff: and he seemed unlikely to go from his engagement, because he had married *Jolanda*, the daughter of the count of Brienne and king of Jerusalem, in the year 1223, and had received with her the kingdom of Jerusalem as a dower. But under various pretences the emperor long delayed his voyage, and at length, in the year 1228, after being excommunicated by *Gregory IX.*, he set out with a small retinue to join the forces which were anxiously waiting in Palestine for his arrival. When he arrived in Palestine, instead of carrying on

Claude Fontenay, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, x. 216, &c. the monk Gunther's *Historia captæ a Latinis Constantinopoleos*; in Henry Canisius' *Lectiones Antiquæ*, iv. 1, &c. See moreover, the Epistles of Innocent III., published by Baluze [and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, &c. ch. lx. lxi. Tr.]

¹ See Jac. de Vitriaco, *Historia Oriental.* and Marinus Sanutus, *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*; in Bongars' *Historians of the Crusades*, or *Gesta Dei per Francos*. [While the Christians were encamped before *Damietta*, we are told that St. Francis, the honest enthusiast who founded the Franciscan order, burning with zeal for the conversion of infidels, and eager for a martyr's crown, went to Egypt, and with a single attendant proceeded from the Christian camp towards that of the Saracens. When arrested at the outposts, he exclaimed, 'I am a Christian: carry me to your Sultan.' The mussulmans did so: and when the Sultan demanded of him who he was, how he came there, and who had sent him, he replied that he was Francis, the servant of Jesus Christ, and that he was sent to him by the most high God, to teach him and his people the way of salvation. Pleased with this address, the Sultan entered into free conversation with him, and found so much amusement in his wild though gentlemanly flights of fancy, that he invited

him to remain with him. Francis replied, that he would do so, on condition that the Sultan would renounce Mahumedanism and embrace Christianity, and would persuade his people to do the same; and added, that if the Sultan doubted, he might order a great fire to be kindled, into which Francis would plunge himself along with some of the mussulman priests, and if he perished, it might be imputed to his sinfulness, but if not, then the Sultan must be convinced. The Sultan said, there were none of his priests that were willing to try the experiment. Then, said Francis, I will plunge in alone, provided you will embrace Christ, if I come out unhurt. The Sultan objected, that his subjects would revolt, and would kill him, if he should renounce their faith. He now offered Francis a large sum of money, to distribute in charity among the Christians; but Francis spurned his money, unless he would become a Christian. At length the Sultan dismissed him, with a guard to conduct him safely to the Christian camp; and, at parting, requested his prayers, that God would vouchsafe to show him which was the true faith, and the religion most pleasing in his sight. See Jac. de Vitriaco, *Hist. Occident.* c. 32, and Bonaventura, *Vita S. Francisci*, c. ix. § 6, 7. Tr.]

the war, he terminated it. For, without the knowledge, and contrary to the wishes of those engaged with him in the enterprise, he concluded a peace in the year 1229, or rather a truce for ten years, with *Melic-Camel*, the Mahumedan sultan; and as the principal condition was, that he should receive the city and the kingdom of Jerusalem, as soon as the city was transferred to him he was crowned king of Jerusalem. Having made these arrangements, he hastened back to Italy, in order to quell some commotions there, which the pontiff had excited in his absence. This crusade therefore terminated more happily than the others.¹

§ 6. Other less noted and less fortunate expeditions to Palestine followed: at first, in the year 1239, that of *Theobald V.*,² count of Champagne and king of Navarre, with other princes of Germany and France; and then in 1240 that of *Richard*, earl of Cornwall, and brother of *Henry III.*, the king of England. The result of neither corresponded with the preparations made for it. In the former, the ambassadors of the emperor *Frederic* in Palestine renewed the truce with the Mahumedans; and the rest of the forces were vanquished by the barbarians at Gaza; and such as survived the slaughter returned to Europe. The chief cause of the disaster was the discord between the Knights Templars and those of St. John of Jerusalem. And hence *Richard* could effect nothing of importance; but, with the consent of most of his confederates, he concluded a truce, such as the shattered state of Christian affairs allowed, with the king of Egypt, and returned to Europe in the year 1241.³

§ 7. As the affairs of the Christians were now declining more and more in the East, *Lewis IX.*, king of France, who was enrolled among the saints after his death, and who is still regarded with peculiar veneration, in fulfilment of a vow made in his very severe sickness A.D. 1248, collected a powerful army and a great fleet, and proceeded to Egypt, anticipating that the conquest of that country would facilitate the operations of war in Palestine and Syria. At first he was successful, for he captured Damietta, a celebrated city of Egypt; but

¹ See the historians of the crusades, and the writers of the life of *Frederic II.*; also Muratori, *Annales Italiae*; and the writers of the history of the Germanic empire. [The pope still considered the emperor as excommunicated, notwithstanding he had satisfied the demands of the pontiff by performing the crusade. By means of the clergy, both in Asia and in Europe, the pope exposed him to various dangers and difficulties; he invaded the emperor's territories in Apulia, during his absence, contrary to all the rules then in force in regard to persons engaged in a crusade; he spread a report of his death, and sent legates into Germany and Denmark, to persuade some other person to suffer himself to be set up as emperor in opposition to *Frederic*. These surely were cogent reasons for the valiant

emperor to hasten back to Italy, and restrain the haughty pontiff within the bounds of his duty. *Schl.*]

² [It was *Theobald VI.* who engaged in this crusade. He was the posthumous son of *Theobald V.*, who died as he was about to embark in the crusade of 1201. See *Fleury, Hist. de l'Eglise*, l. lxxxi. § 26. *Tr.*]

³ The history of these transactions is the most accurately and faithfully detailed by *Geo. Christ. Gebauer*, in his *History of Richard the Emperor*, written in German, l. i. p. 34, &c. It appears from the epistles of *Peter De Vineis*, that *Frederic II.* created *Richard* his viceroy for the kingdom of Jerusalem; and this accounts for the attempts of *Gregory IX.* to retard his voyage.

the progress of the war was most disastrous. The Mahumedans intercepting his supplies in the year 1250, famine and pestilence raged in his camp; *Robert*, the king's brother, indiscreetly pursuing the enemy, was slain in an unsuccessful engagement; the king himself, two of his brothers, and the greatest part of his army, were made prisoners. This magnanimous and heroic monarch, who was also very pious according to the standard of that age, was ransomed at a great price,¹ and, after four years spent in Palestine, returned to France with a few followers in the year 1254.²

§ 8. The king, whose invincible spirit was by no means discouraged by these disasters, renewed the war in the year 1270, because he thought himself still pledged by his vow to God. Having again, accordingly, fitted out an immense fleet, and being accompanied by numerous princes and nobles, he set sail for Africa, intending to establish there an advanced post for the future wars in Asia. Immediately on his arrival he attacked and carried the fortress of Carthage; but soon after a pestilential disease swept off the greatest part of his forces in the harbour of Tunis, and on the 25th of August, A. D. 1270, the king himself became its victim.³ After him, no sovereign of Europe dared again venture on an enterprise of so much peril, toil, and expense. Hence the kingdom of the Latins in the East gradually wasted away, in spite of the efforts of the Roman pontiffs to preserve it; and on the capture of Ptolemais by the Mahumedans, A. D. 1291, it became wholly extinct.⁴ Among the causes of so great a loss, the valour of the enemy was one of the least; the principal causes were, the disunion of the Christians among themselves, the extreme profligacy of those who called themselves Christ's soldiers, and the unskilfulness and obstinacy of the papal legates.⁵

¹ [The ransom, which, together with the restoration of Damietta, the king was obliged to pay for his liberty, was 800,000 gold bezants, and not 80,000, as Collier (*Eccles. History*, i. 456) erroneously reckons. This sum, which was equal then to 500,000 livres of French money, would in our days amount to the value of 4,000,000 of livres, that is, to about 190,000 pounds sterling. *Macl.*]

² Of the 2,800 knights, of noble birth, who accompanied the king from France, not more than 100 were alive, when he embarked from Palestine on his return. Joinville's *Hist. de S. Louis*, p. 81, &c.

³ Here should be consulted, before all others, *Hist. de S. Louis LX. du nom Roy de France*, écrite par Jean Sire de Joinville, enrichi de nouvelles Dissertations et Observations historiques par Charles Du Fresne, Paris, 1668, fol. and next, the biographers of St. Lewis, especially Filleau De la Chaise, *Histoire de S. Louis*, Paris, 1688, 2 vols. 8vo., and, finally, all the writers of histories of France: [*e.g.* J. Gifford, *Hist. of France*, i. 452, &c., 473, &c. ed. Lond. 1791, 4to.

Tr.] Add Menco's *Chronicon*, in Ant. Matthæi's *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, iii. 172, 179. Luc. Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, iv. 294, &c. et passim. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*, iii. 212, 392, &c. Pierre Claude Fontenay, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, xi. 337, &c. 405, 575.

⁴ Anth. Matthæi, *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, v. p. 748. Jac. Echart's *Scriptores Dominicani*, i. 422, &c. Imola on Dante; in Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. Medi Ævi*, i. 1111, 1112.

⁵ [These legates pursued exclusively the interests of the popes, and of the Latin clergy; and laboured, often by harsh means, by imprisonment, and by closing their churches, to bring the Greek clergy, in the countries held by the Latins, under subjection to Rome; and they so irritated the Greeks, that they were often more friendly to the Mahumedans than to the western Christians, and would rather be subject to a people who could be satisfied with an annual tribute, than live under a spiritual monarch, whose avarice, as well as that of his legates, was insatiable. *Schl.*]

§ 9. In the West, the fierce people of Prussia, at the commencement of the century, were still adhering firmly to the superstition of their ancestors; nor could the priests, occasionally sent among them, by their arguments and exhortations induce them to embrace Christianity. Hence *Conrad*, duke of Masovia,¹ thought proper to apply coercion; and in the year 1230, proffering liberal rewards, he invited the knights of the Teutonic order of St. Mary, who on their exclusion from Palestine had fixed themselves at Venice, to undertake the subjugation of the Prussians and their conversion to the Christian faith. They came into the country under *Hermann* of Balcke as their leader, and after an uninterrupted and cruel war of fifty-three years with the Prussians, they brought them with difficulty to submit to the government of the knights, and to allow the Christian religion to be substituted for that of their fathers.² From Prussia these knights made inroads upon the neighbouring nations, particularly upon the Lithuanians; nor did they cease from slaughtering, devastating, and plundering all before them, till this people also were beaten into a simulated submission, not really to Christ, but to these furious and most pugnacious assertors of his cause.³

§ 10. In Spain, the Christian kings of Castile, Leon, Navarre, and Arragon, waged perpetual wars with the Saracen princes, who possessed Valencia, Andalusia, Granada, and Murcia; and such was their success, that the territories of the Saracens were daily reduced to narrower limits, and the boundaries of the Christian church extended. The most distinguished in these contests were, *Ferdinand*, king of Castile and Leon, who obtained a place among the *Saints*; his father, *Alphonso IX.*, king of Leon; *James I.*, king of Arragon; and some others.⁴ In particular, this *James* of Arragon having conquered Valencia in the year 1236, spared no pains to convert his new subjects to the Christian faith, as he could not expel them from the country without serious injury to the state. Hence he ordered the Dominicans, whom he chiefly used for this purpose, to learn the language of the Arabians; and he established schools in the island of Majorca and at Barcelona for the education of preachers of the Christian religion. When these efforts were found to produce little effect upon a people of so much obstinacy, pope *Clement IV.* exhorted the king to expel the Mahumedans from Spain: nor was the latter disinclined; but his nobles frustrated the designs of the pontiff and king.⁵

¹ [In Poland. *Tr.*]

² See Matthæi, *Analecta Vet. Ævi*, iii. 18, v. 684—689. Peter of Duisberg's *Chronicon Prussiæ*; published by Hartknoch; Jena, 1679, 4to, Christ. Hartknoch's *History of the Prussian Church*, written in German, l. i. c. 1, p. 33, &c. and *Antiquitates Prussiæ*, diss. xiv. p. 201, &c. Steph. Baluze, *Miscellanea*, vii. 427, 478, &c. Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, iv. 40,

63, &c. Solignac's *Hist. de Pologne*, ii. 238, &c.

³ Besides those just mentioned, see Ludewig's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor. omnis Ævi*, i. 336, &c.

⁴ See John de Ferreras, *History of Spain*; the whole of vol. iv.

⁵ See Mich. Geddes, *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes*; in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, i. 26, &c.

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

- § 1. Adversities of Christians in the East — § 2. Pretended atheists among the Latins —
 § 3. Frederic II. and the book respecting the three impostors.

§ 1. How much the Christian cause lost ground in Asia will be manifest from that which has been said of the Tartars and of the unhappy issue of the Crusades. If the Saracens had imbibed the same principles as the Latin Christians of this age, they would not have suffered a single Christian to live in all Asia. But though they committed various enormities, and were not a little vexatious to the Christians, yet conduct which the Romans thought holy and right, by them was judged unrighteous and cruel, namely, to exterminate with fire and sword such as were of a different religion and would not abandon it. On the overthrow of the kingdom of Jerusalem, many of the Latins remained still in Syria; and retiring to the rugged mountains of Libanus, they gradually lost their sense of religion and civilisation, to such a degree, that those of them remaining at the present day seem nearly destitute of all knowledge of God.¹

§ 2. The Latin writers of those times often complain of public enemies of the Christian religion, nay, even of those who scoffed at the Supreme Being himself. Nor are these complaints entirely vain and incredible. For men of discernment, who attentively considered the religion which the Roman pontiffs and their servants and friends preached and inculcated as the only true one taught by Christ, and which they maintained by fire and sword, might easily be led to believe, that Christianity was a fabrication, invented and propagated by the priests, for their own advantage; and especially was such a conclusion easy, as there were none to teach them better. Besides, the Aristotelian philosophy, which reigned in all the schools of Europe, and was regarded as sound sense itself, led not a few to discard the doctrines commonly held and preached, respecting divine providence, the soul's immortality, the creation of the world, and other points, and from them others imbibed an irreligious tone.²

¹ Certain tribes of the Derusi or Drusi, residing on the Libanus and Antilibanus, pretend that they are descended from the Franks, and that they were once sovereigns of Palestine. These pretensions are somewhat questionable; yet it is certain, that the descendants of the crusaders still exist in those regions, but so debased, that they more resemble pagans than Christians. [The Druses seem to be a sect of Mahumedans, rather than of Christian origin. See Jowett's *Christian Researches in Syria, &c.*,

p. 35, &c. ed. Boston, 1826, 12mo. If any descendants of the crusaders still exist about mount Libanus, it is much more reasonable to look for them among some of the sects of Roman Catholics there, as the Maronites, the Greeks, or the Syrians, than to suppose they have wholly lost their Christian principles and Roman Catholic character, and are now ranked among Mahumedans and pagans. *Tr.*]

² Not to mention St. Thomas' *Summa contra Gentes*, and others, the reader may

§ 3. At the head of all such enemies to Christian truth stood the emperor *Frederic II.*, if credit is to be given to the sovereign pontiff, *Gregory IX.*, who, in the year 1239, charged him, before all the kings and princes of Europe, with saying *that the whole world had been deceived by three baratators, (that is, impostors,) Jesus Christ, Moses, and Mahumed.*¹ This heavy charge the emperor deemed it necessary to refute, by a public profession of his religious faith. It rested on the testimony of some German princes, and particularly of *Henry Raspo*, landgrave of Thuringia, who said that they were within hearing when *Frederic* blurted out this language.² Perhaps something like this did fall from the lips of *Frederic*, when in a violent passion; for he was not unfrequently imprudent; and there were, among the many learned men that attended him, some from the Aristotelian school, who might have suggested to him such impious thoughts. Hence it came to pass, that a fabulous story was handed down to posterity, respecting a detestable book, *On the three Impostors*, which

consult Bernh. Moneta's *Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, who strenuously combats the enemies of religion in his times. In l. v. c. iv. p. 416, &c. he disputes at large against those who affirmed *that the souls of men perish with their bodies*. In l. v. c. xi. p. 477, he refutes the Aristotelian philosophers, who taught *that the world had existed from eternity, and would continue to exist eternally*. In l. v. c. xv. p. 554, he assails those who, condemning the authority of the sacred volume, *subverted human liberty, and maintained the fatal necessity of all things, even of crimes*. Add Stephen Tempier, the bishop of Paris, *Indiculus errorum, qui a nonnullis Magistris Lutetie publice privatimque docebantur*; written A.D. 1277, and extant in the *Biblioth. Patr. Maxima*, xxv. 233, &c. See also Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Parisiens.* iii. 433, and Gerard du Bois, *Hist. Eccles. Paris.* ii. 501. These teachers, it may surprise us to learn, taught *that all men have but one understanding, that all things are controlled by necessity, that there is no providence of God, that the world existed eternally, that the soul becomes extinct*, and other similar doctrines, which they supported by the principles of Aristotle. And to screen their lives and their safety, they defended themselves against their oppressors in the very same manner as the Aristotelians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did, namely, by distinguishing between *theological truth and philosophical*. They said (as we are distinctly told by Stephen) *These things are true according to philosophy, but not so according to the catholic faith*.

¹ See Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 408, 459, Peter de Vineis *Epistolar.* l. i. [Ep. 31. See also Raynald, ad ann. 1239, where we find the epistle of Gregory IX. addressed

to the Christian kings and princes, in which he says: "Probationes in fidei victoriam sunt paratæ, quod iste rex pestilentie (namely *Frederic*) a tribus baratatoribus, ut ejus verbis utamur, scilicet Christo Jesu, Moyse, et Mahometo totum mundum fuisse deceptum, et duobus eorum in gloria mortuis, ipsum Jesum in ligno suspensum manifeste proposuerit." The emperor's defence, in answer to the pope, is in Harzheim's *Concilia German.* iii. 562, &c. *Schl.*—It should be remembered, that *Frederic* had a long and violent quarrel with the popes, and was at length excommunicated by them. This letter of Gregory was written in justification of the emperor's excommunication. It is couched in very angry terms, and is a laboured attempt to blacken his character. This charge of blasphemy is only one among many accusations heaped together by the enraged pontiff. *Tr.*]

² Herm. Gigas, *Flores Temporum*, p. 126. Chr. Fred. Ayrmann, *Sylloge Anecdotor.* i. 639, &c. [See also Harenberg's *Dissert. de secta non timentium Deum seculo xiii. vel enata vel efficta*, &c. Brunswick, 1755, 8vo. p. 62, &c. In general, the testimony of Raspo is that of an enemy, and of an enemy who was devoted, soul and body, to the pope. Such testimony is little regarded in a court. Excommunication had now become a little too common; and the pope must find out something new, something which had never before been heard of. He therefore represented the emperor, who had made himself suspected, by his intimacy with Averroes, and by his rejection of the prevailing superstition, as being a blasphemer and an atheist; and this in order to alienate from him those with whom the word *excommunication* had lost somewhat of its efficacy. *Schl.*]

was said to have been written either by the emperor himself, or by *Peter de Vineis*, a native of Capua, and a man of great credit and influence, who was the emperor's prime minister.¹

¹ See Casim. Oudin, *Comment. de Scriptor. Eccles.* iii. 66. Alb. Henr. De Sallengre, *Mémoires d'Histoire et de Littérat.* t. i. pt. i. p. 386, &c. ["The book entitled, *Liber de III. Impostoribus sive Tractatus de Vanitate Religionum*, really had no existence at the time that the most noise was made about it. Its supposed existence was probably owing to an impious saying of Simeon of Tournay, doctor of divinity of Paris in the thirteenth century, which amounts to this: 'That the Jews were seduced out of their senses by Moses, the Christians by Jesus, and the Gentiles by Mahomet.' This, or some expression of a similar kind, was imputed to the emperor Frederic and other persons, and that perhaps without any real foundation; and the imaginary book, to which it has given rise, has been attributed by different authors to Frederic, to his chancellor, Peter de Vineis, to Alphonso, king of Castile, to Boccace, Pogge, the Aretins, Pomponace, Machiavel, Erasmus, Ochinus, Servetus, Rabelais, Giordano Bruno, Campanella, and many others. In a word, the book was long spoken of before any such work existed; but the rumour that was spread abroad encouraged some profligate traders in licen-

tiousness to compose, or rather compile, a bundle of miserable rhapsodies, under the famous title of the *Three Impostors*, in order to impose upon such as are fond of these pretended rarities. Accordingly, the *Spaccio della Bestia Triomphante* of Giordano Bruno, and a wretched piece of impiety, called the *Spirit of Spinoza*, were the groundwork or materials from whence these hireling compilers, by modifying some passages, and adding others, drew the book which now passes under the name of the *Three Impostors*, of which I have seen two copies in manuscript, but no printed edition. See La Monnoye's *Dissertation sur le Livre de III. Imposteurs*, published at Amsterdam in 1715, at the end of the fourth volume of the *Ménagiana*. See also an Answer to this Dissertation, which was imprudently exposed to the public eye, in 1716, from the press of Scheurleer in the Hague, and which contains a fabulous story of the origin of the book in question. Whoever is desirous of a more ample and a very curious account of this matter, will find it in the late Prosper Marchand's *Dictionnaire Historique*, vol. ii, at the article *Impostoribus*." *Macl.*]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.

§ 1. Learning among the Greeks.—§ 2. Learning in the West.—§ 3. State of the Academies.—§ 4. The Academic course.—§ 5. The belles lettres.—§ 6. The Greek and Oriental languages.—§ 7. Progress of philosophy.—§ 8. The favourers of Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, and others.—§ 9. Promoters of general knowledge.—§ 10. Study of jurisprudence and medicine.

§ 1. THE severe adversities to which the Greeks were exposed left them but little leisure or resolution for the diligent prosecution of learning. Yet a thirst for knowledge was not wholly extinguished among them; as is manifest from the writers they produced in this age. Among their historians, the most distinguished were *Nicetas Choniates*,¹ *George Acropolita*,² *Gregory* [George] *Pachymeres*,³ and *Joel*, whose Chronology is still extant.⁴ From some tracts of *Nicephorus*

¹ [Nicetas Choniates was a native of Chona (the ancient Colosse), in Phrygia; was educated by his elder brother Michael Choniates, at Constantinople, where he became distinguished as a civilian and public officer, under Alexius Comnenus II. and Isaac Angelus. On the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, A.D. 1204, he retired with his family to Nice, in Bithynia, where he was living in 1206. He wrote a history of the Greek empire, from the death of Alexius Comnenus, A.D. 1118, to the decease of the Latin emperor Henry, A.D. 1206, in twenty-one books; published, Gr. and Lat. Basil, 1557, Paris, 1647, fol. and in the *Scriptores Byzantini*. He also wrote *The-saurus Orthodoxæ Fidei*, in twenty-seven books, which is still extant in MS., and the first five books of which, in a Latin translation by Morel, were published, Paris, 1580, and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* t. xxv.—A funeral oration on his death, by his elder brother, Michael Choniates, archbishop of Athens, in a Latin translation, is printed with his history, and also in the *Biblioth. Patr.* t. xxv. Tr.]

² [George Acropolita was born at Constantinople, and received a learned educa-

tion. He was sent to the court of Nice, when young, A.D. 1228; and continued there most of his life. He rose to the highest civil offices in the gift of the emperors, and was much employed on embassies, and as a special judge or commissioner. He died A.D. 1282. His history of the Greek empire, from the invasion of the Latins in 1203, to the end of their reign at Constantinople, A.D. 1261, was published imperfect, Gr. and Lat. Leyden, 1614, 8vo, and entire, with notes, by Leo Allatius, Paris, 1651, fol. subjoined to his prolix essay, *De Georgiis et eorum scriptis*. Tr.]

³ [George Pachymeres was born at Nice, A.D. 1242. After a good education, he became an ecclesiastic at Constantinople, where he was in high reputation, and rose to the highest offices under the patriarch. He was certainly alive in 1308. He wrote the history of the Greek empire, from 1258 to 1308; published, Gr. and Lat. Rome, 1666, and 1669, 2 vols. fol. Also a paraphrase on Dionysius Areopagita, published with the works of Dionysius; a tract on the procession of the Holy Spirit, and an epitome of Aristotle's Logic, both of which are extant. Tr.]

⁴ [Of Joel, little is known, except that he

*Blemmida*¹ and *Gregory Pachymeres*, it appears, that the Peripatetic philosophy still had its friends among them. Yet others preferred *Plato*; while the majority assiduously studied the younger Platonists, and thought their system capable of being reconciled advantageously with that of *Aristotle*. The writers of sermons and lives of the saints, the combatants against the Latins, and the expounders of their canon law, need not be enumerated. Among the Syrian Christians, the most distinguished writer was *Gregory Abulpharajus*, Maphrian² of the Jacobites; a man of superior genius and extensive learning, and truly respectable as a theologian, an historian, and a philosopher.³ With him may be joined *George Elmacin*, the author of a History of the Saracens.⁴

§ 2. Far happier was the state of learning, of every kind, among the Latins. For the kings and princes of Europe, having learned by

must have been witness of the desolation of Constantinople in 1204. He wrote a brief chronology of the world, from the creation to 1204; published by Leo Allatius, Gr. and Lat., with the works of George Acropolita, Paris, 1651. *Tr.*]

¹ [Nicephorus Blemmida was a presbyter, and a very austere monk of mount Athos, who refused the patriarchate of Constantinople in 1255. He is said to have leaned to the side of the Latin church in their disputes with the Greeks. His two tracts *de Processione Spiritus Sancti* are extant in Latin, annexed to the first volume of Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* and Gr. and Lat. in Leo Allatius' *Orthodox Greek Writers*, t. i. Besides these, an epistle, and an epitome of logic and physics, have been published; and several other small works of his are preserved in manuscript. *Tr.*]

² [Metropolitan or primate, the second title in the Jacobite church. *Ed.*]

³ Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, i. 37. Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* t. ii. c. xlii. p. 244. [Gregory Abulpharajus, or Abul-Farai, Ibn Hakima was the son of a physician, who was a Christian Jew, named Aaron, and, by the Arabs, Ibn Koph. He was born A.D. 1226, at Malatia in Armenia, near the sources of the Euphrates, and became celebrated as a physician and a learned man. When the Moguls overran his country, A.D. 1243, he fled to Antioch with his parents, became a monk, and successively bishop of Guba, Lacabena, Aleppo, and, A.D. 1264, Jacobite Maphrian, or Primate of the East, till his death, in 1286. The first work of his that was published was an abridgment of universal history, from the creation to the year A.D. 1284, written in Arabic, and divided into ten dynasties. The six first relate to the old patriarchs, the judges and kings of the Hebrews, and the Chaldean, the Persian, and Grecian monarchs. The seventh relates to the Romans,

the eighth to the Greeks of Constantinople, the ninth to the Arabians, and the tenth to the Moguls. The last two dynasties make full half the work, and are altogether the most important; for in Greek and Roman history he was not well informed, while in that of the Arabs and Tartars he is perhaps a good authority. The whole was published, Arab. and Lat., by Pocock, Oxford, 1663, 4to.; and the most valuable parts of the ninth dynasty, Dr. Pocock published in 1650, under the title of *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, &c. This Arabic work is an abridgment of a much larger work in Syriac, which was published, Syriac and Latin, under the title of *Bar Hebræi Chronicon Syriacum*, Lips. 1789, 2 tom. 4to. He also wrote many theological and other works, from which Asseman has given us extracts. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengeschichte*, xxiv. 468, &c. *Tr.*]

⁴ [George Elmacin was descended from a respectable family of Syrian Christians which had resided for five generations in Egypt, where they had held the offices of notary and privy councillor. His father, Abuljasirus, was a notary or clerk to the council of war for forty-five years, and died A.D. 1230. Four of his grandfather's brothers were bishops. That he was a Christian there can be no doubt. Yet living among Mahumedans, and his family, if not himself also, holding offices under the government, he is careful to avoid all terms of reproach, when speaking of Mahumed, his religion, and his followers. His history of the Saracens is in the form of *Annals*, and extends from the death of Mahumed to A.D. 1118, and embraces Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia. It was published, with the Latin translation of Erpenius, by Golius, Lugduni, 1625, fol. Elmacin prefixed to it a chronology, from the creation to the time the history begins, which has never been published. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, article *Elmacin*. *Tr.*]

experience what advantages a nation may derive from the cultivation of literature and the useful arts, invited learned men to their territories, stimulated and encouraged a taste for information, and rewarded them with honour and emoluments. Among those who acquired most glory and fame in this way, were the emperor *Frederic II.*, who was himself a man of letters, as well as a distinguished patron of all sorts of learning, and *Alphonso X.*, king of Castile and Leon. The former founded the academy of Naples, caused the books of *Aristotle* to be translated into Latin, assembled all the learned men that he could in his court, and gave many other proofs of his very great attachment to learning.¹ *Alphonso* perpetuated his fame, by composing the *Astronomic Tables*, and some other works.² Accordingly, in this age, schools of the higher order were erected almost every where; various privileges and immunities were conferred on the youth that resorted to them, and to these learned societies that started up on all sides, the form of bodies politic was granted, and they were privileged with a jurisdiction peculiar to themselves.

§ 3. But in these public schools or academies, which were founded at Padua, Modena, Naples, Capua, Toulouse, Salamanca, Lyons, Cologne, and in other places, the whole circle of the sciences then known was not taught, but only certain parts of it, or some particular sciences. That at Paris, which excelled all others in various respects, as well as in the number both of teachers and students, was the first to embrace *all* the arts and sciences, and therefore first became a *university*, or, as it was then expressed, *studium universale*. Afterwards some others were gradually formed upon the same plan. In this mother, therefore, of all the European *universities*, the doctors were first distributed into four colleges, according to the sciences of which they were professors; and these colleges afterwards received the name of *faculties*. Over each college, one of the doctors, designated by the suffrages of the rest, presided for a given time, and was called the *Dean*.³ The head of the whole *university*, at first, was the *chancellor*, namely, the bishop of Paris: but as he seemed not adequate to all the duties, a *rector* was afterwards associated with him.⁴ The college of theology was principally founded and endowed, in the year 1250, by *Robert de Sorbonne*, an opulent and pious man, and a favourite of *Lewis IX.*, or *Saint Lewis*: and from him it derived the name of (*Sorbona*) the *Sorbonne*, which it has retained to the present time.⁵

¹ Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iii. 115. Giannone's *Hist. de Naples*, ii. 497. See also the observations of Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Latin. Medii Ævi*, ii. 618.

² Nic. Antonius. *Biblioth. Vetis Hispanica*, l. viii. c. v. p. 217, and Jo. De Ferreras, *Hist. d'Espagne*, iv. 347, &c.

³ This took place about 1260. See Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iii. 557, 564.

⁴ On this whole subject, in addition to Herm. Conringius, *de Antiquitatibus Academicis*, which is an incomplete work, see Cæsar Egasse De Boulay's *Historia Aca-*

demie Parisiensis, a copious and excellent work, in six volumes; and Claud. Hemæreus, *de Academia Parisiensi qualis primo fuit in insula et episcoporum scholis*, Paris, 1637, 4to. The writers quoted by Conringius are not here enumerated. [The origin of the term *university* is more probably to be sought in the incorporation of the scholars into one body, *universitas*. *Ed.*]

⁵ See Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iii. 223. Charles du Fresne, notes to Joinville's *Life of St. Lewis*, p. 36, &c.

§ 4. Those who would be enrolled among the teachers in any *faculty*, before they could obtain their object, had to go through a long and very difficult process, called the *course*, and to undergo various examinations, during many years. The design of these regulations was to prevent the excessive multiplication of teachers, and to exclude persons, deficient in knowledge and experience, from entering upon duties which required the most solid acquisitions. Those who satisfactorily performed all that was required by the rules, were formally admitted to the rank of *professors*, and with certain public ceremonies, similar to those used in the associations of the unlearned artists and mechanics, were hailed as *Masters*. This custom, first introduced in the preceding century by the Jurists of Bologna, was in the present century, at Paris, first extended to the Theologians, and afterwards to the professors of physic and of the liberal arts. And this was the origin of what are called *academical degrees*; which, like all human institutions, have deviated far from their original design, and are continually varying more and more.¹

§ 5. The *belles lettres* did not derive from these institutions and efforts so much advantage as the other branches of learning did. For most of the young men devoted themselves either to canon or civil law, which opened the way to preferment and wealth; or they attended only to philosophy, which promised them fame as men of acuteness and genius. The pontiffs, therefore, and the other bishops, complained bitterly of the neglect of literature and polite learning, and endeavoured, though in vain, to divert the youth from the study of law and philosophy, to that of sacred literature and the liberal arts.² Still there are some among the writers of this age, whom no man of candour can regard with contempt. Among the poets, *William Brito*,³ *Walter Mapes*,⁴ *Matthew of Vendôme*,⁵ *Alain de l'Isle*, *James of Vitry*,⁶ *Gunther Ligurinus*,⁷ and some others, merit the praise of

¹ Besides the writers already referred to, see Jo. Christ. Itterus, *de Gradibus Academicis*; and Just. Henn. Böhmer, *Pref. ad Jus Canonicum*, p. 14. Ant. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxonienses*, i. 24. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* ii. 256, 682, 684, &c.

² See Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iii. 265, where is an energetic epistle of Innocent III. Also, Ant. Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* i. 124. Imola on Dante, in Muratori's *Antiquit. Ital. Medii Evi.* i. 1262.

³ See *Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, t. xvi. p. 255, &c. [William Brito, the Breton, or Armoricus, born in Bretagne, composed histories of Philip Augustus, in whose court he lived, in prose and verse. The first ends A.D. 1219; the latter extends further, and is entitled *Philippis*. In both he copies from Rigord. Both are extant in Du Chesne's *Scip. Hist. Francicæ*, v. 68, 93, &c. *Schl.*]

⁴ Jo. Wolfius, *Lectiones Memorabil.* i. 430. [Walter Mapes was an English ecclesiastic, chaplain to king Henry II., and afterwards

archdeacon of Oxford. He flourished 1160-1196, and having spent some time at Rome, he was well acquainted with the corruptions of that court, as well as of the clergy at large. His short and satirical poems lash the vices of the times, and particularly of the clergy. John Wolf, l. c. has published six of his pieces: viz. *Apocalypsis Golie Pontificis*; *ad Impios Prelatos*; *ad Malos Pastores*; *ad Christi Sacerdotes*; *Sermo ad eosdem Prelatos Impios*; and, *de Malis Romanæ Curie*. Tr.—The poems ascribed to him were published by the Camden Society, ed. T. Wright, 1841; and his book of *Nugis Curialium*, by the same in 1850. *Ed.*]

⁵ [Matthew of Vendôme (Vindocinensis) is variously placed at the beginning of the century, in the middle, and near its end. He wrote in elegiac verse, the *History of Tobias*, father and son, published, Lyons, 1505, and Bremen, 1642. Tr.]

⁶ De Vitriaco.

⁷ [Gunther was a schoolmaster, a Cistercian monk of Paris, in the diocese of Bâle,

being sprightly and agreeable writers. Among the historians, *Matthew Paris*, distinguished for intelligence and good sense,¹ *Roderic Ximenes*,² *Rigordus*,³ *Vincent of Beauvais*,⁴ *Robert of St. Marino*,⁵ *Martin Polonus*,⁶ *Gervais of Tilbury*,⁷ *Conrad of Lichtenau*,⁸ *William of Nangis*,⁹ and some others, deserve to be mentioned. Those who

and flourished about A.D. 1210. His poetic history of the capture of Constantinople by the Latins was published by H. Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, t. v.; and his celebrated poetic *Life of Frederic Barbarossa*, in ten books, has been often published separate, and also in Justin Reuber's *Scriptores Germanici*, p. 407—734. *Tr.*—This poem, which is not certainly known to be from the same pen as the former poem, dwells much upon Barbarossa's exploits in the Genoese territory, or Ligùria. S.]

¹ [Matthew Paris was an English Benedictine initiated at St. Alban's, A.D. 1217. He was a very exemplary man, in high favour with Henry III. and employed by the pope to reform some foreign monasteries. He is the best historian of the middle ages, learned, independent, honest, and judicious. His *Historia Major*, or *History of England*, extends from the Conquest to 1259, which was the year of his death. His *Historia Minor* is an epitome of the preceding. He also composed the lives of the two Offas, kings of Mercia; the lives of the twenty-three abbots of St. Alban's, up to his time; *Additions to his Historia Major*; and a chronicle, from the creation to William the Conqueror. His works were best published by Wm. Wats, D.D., London, 1640, fol. *Tr.*]

² [Roderic Ximenes, or Simonis, was a Spaniard of Navarre, educated at Paris, and archbishop of Toledo from 1208, till his death, A.D. 1247. He wrote the history of Spain, from the arrival of Hercules there, to 1243, in nine books, which he called the *Historia Gothica*. As amplifications of this, he wrote a history of the Ostrogoths, from 453 to 555; a history of the Huns and Vandals, from their origin to 555; a history of the Arabians, from 570 to 1160; and a Roman history, from Janus to Augustus. The whole was published by Andreas Schott, *Hispania Illustrata*, ii. 26, &c. Francf. 1603. *Tr.*]

³ *Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscript. et des Belles Lettres*, xvi. 243, &c. where also William of Nangis is treated of. [Rigord was probably born in the south of France, of Gothic descent, a physician, historian, and a clerk of St. Denys. He wrote the life of Philip Augustus, king of France, in prose, which William Brito follows in his poetic history. It is in Du Chesne's *Scriptores Hist. Francicæ*, v. 1, &c. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Vincent of Beauvais was sub-prior of Dominicans at Beauvais, and tutor to the

sons of St. Lewis. He probably died about 1264. By direction of the king, he wrote a huge work, of vast reading and little judgment, a kind of encyclopædia, entitled *Speculum naturale, doctrinale, et historiale*. The first part treats of natural history, geography, and chronology; the second, of theology, philosophy, and all the other sciences; the third is a general history of the world. A fourth part, probably by a later author, entitled *Speculum Morale*, treats of practical religion. The whole was printed at Douay, 1624, in 4 vols. fol. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* xxiv. 445, &c. *Tr.*]

⁵ See Jac. Le Beuf, *Mémoires pour l'Hist. d'Auxerre*, ii. 490, where he also treats learnedly of Vincent of Beauvais, p. 494.

⁶ [Martin Polonus, or of Poland, was a native of Troppau, in Silesia, then a part of Poland, and a Dominican monk there, till he went to Rome, and was there made chief penitentiary under the pope for many years. At last, he was appointed archbishop of Gnesen, in Poland, and primate of that kingdom; but died on his way thither, A.D. 1278. He wrote a chronicle of the pontiffs and emperors, from the Christian era to 1277, which was continued by another hand to 1286; often published, but of little value. He also wrote an index to the *Decretum* of Gratian and the *Decretals*, and several sermons. See Schroeckh, l. c. p. 521. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Gervais of Tilbury is said to have been nephew to Henry II. king of England, and born at Tilbury, in Essex. He flourished A.D. 1210. Otto IV. made him marshal of Arles. He wrote, to amuse the emperor, his *Otia imperialia*, in three books, published by Leibnitz, in his *Scriptores rerum Brunsvic. t. i.* Several other of his historical works still exist in manuscript. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Conrad of Lichtenau, or Conrad Urspergensis, served first in the court of the emperor Henry VI., became a priest A.D. 1202, a Præmonstratensian canon in 1205, and abbot of a monastery at Ursperg, or Aversberg, in Suabia, A.D. 1215. He was for some time at Rome, in early life, and died A.D. 1240. His Chronicle, from Belus, king of Assyria, to 1229, is useless for ancient history; but valuable for the times within his personal knowledge. He was no flatterer of the popes. The work was published at Strasburg, 1548 and 1609, fol. with those of Regino and Lambert of Aschaffenburg. *Tr.*]

⁹ [William of Nangis, a Benedictine of St.

composed lives of the saints, detail rather the superstitions and infelicities of the times, than the achievements of the eminently pious. Among these writers, *James* of Vitry stands prominent; who was likewise author of a *History of the Lombards*, which is full of insipid stories.¹

§ 6. To Greek literature some attention was paid, by *Roger Bacon*, a man of extraordinary genius, by *John Balbus*,² *Robert Capito*, and a limited number of others. The Hebrew language and theology had still fewer cultivators. Yet we learn, that *Raymund Martini*, the intelligent author of the *Pugio Fidei*, *Bacon*, *Capito*, and a few others, were no inconsiderable proficient in such learning. The Arabic language and learning were studied by many of the Spaniards, and likewise by the Dominican friars, to whom the Christian kings of Spain committed the instruction of the Jews and Arabians resident in Spain.³ The Latin grammarians, even the best of them, are all jejune and barbarous. This is manifest from the one who had the highest reputation, and whose work was taught in all the schools, from this century on to the sixteenth, *Alexander de Villa Dei*, of the Franciscan order. His *Doctrinale*, composed in the year 1240, in what are called *Leonine* verses, involves the rules of grammar in such nonsense and obscurity, as can scarcely be believed by one who has not looked over the book.

§ 7. The Latins, who had before philosophized variously, gradually submitted themselves, in this century, exclusively to the authority and the principles of *Aristotle*. Certain books of *Aristotle*, especially his *Metaphysics*, were read in Latin, and publicly explained to the students at Paris, near the beginning of this century.⁴ But as it appeared, that from these books, *Almeric* had derived his errors respecting God and some other subjects, they were prohibited as

Denys, fl. A.D. 1301; and wrote a Chronicle, from the creation to 1301; also the lives of Lewis IX. and Philip III. The Chronicle was published by D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, xi. 405, and the biographies by Du Chesne, *Scriptores Hist. Franc.* t. v. Tr.]

¹ See Joh. Geo. Schelhorn, *Amœnitates Litter.* xi. 324, &c. [It was not James de Vitriaco, but James de Voragine, who composed the *Historia Lombardica*, as is correctly stated in chap. ii. § 45. James de Voragine was born in Liguria, became a Dominican, provincial of his order for Lombardy, general of the order, archbishop of Genoa. He flourished A.D. 1290; is said to have favoured the emperor against the pontiffs; and died about 1298. He was a pious and charitable man, but credulous, and a great collector of fables. His *History of the Lombards* is a mere collection of legends of the saints; often published in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but always disliked by intelligent Roman Catholics. He also wrote a Chronicle of Genoa, published by Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Ital.* t. ix. and

many sermons, which have been printed. See Cave's *Hist. Litt.* ad an. 1290. Tr.]

² [John, sometimes called de Balbis, or De Janua, i.e. Genoa, cannot well be placed in this list. For he says of himself, near the beginning of the famous *Catholicon*, [a general Latin dictionary, Tr.] which he composed, "Hoc difficile est scire, et maxime mihi, non bene scienti linguam Græcam." Schl. Hallam gives him credit for some Greek learning. *Lit. Hist.* i. 82. Ed.]

³ See Rich. Simon's *Lettres Choïsies*, iii. 112. Nic. Antonius, *Biblioth. Vet. Hispanica*, passim; and the *Historians of Spain*.

⁴ Franc. Patricius *Discussiones Peripateticæ*, t. i. l. xi. p. 145. John Launoï, de *Varia Aristotelis Fortuna in Academia Paris.*, c. i. p. 127, ed. Elswich. It is commonly said, that those books of Aristotle were translated into Latin from the Arabic. But Rigordus (*de Gestis Philippi regis Francor.* ad. an. 1209, in Andr. Du Chesne's *Scriptores Hist. Franc.* p. 119), expressly says, they were brought from Constantinople, and translated out of Greek into Latin.

pestilent, by the council of Sens, in the year 1209.¹ Yet a few years afterwards, A.D. 1215, the Logic of *Aristotle* was again introduced into the university of Paris; while his physical and metaphysical books were still excluded.² Subsequently, the emperor *Frederic II.*, who was a great friend to learning, ordered the books of *Aristotle*, and of other ancient philosophers, to be translated, partly from Arabic, and partly from Greek, into Latin, by selected persons, (as he expressed it,³) well skilled in each language. And as this translation was recommended by the emperor himself to the university of Bologna, and doubtless to others also, the influence of *Aristotle* was increased immensely in all the schools of Europe. And this influence was extended by the many Latin translators of some of the works of *Aristotle*, who arose afterwards; as *Michael Scot*, *Philip* of Tripoli, *William Fleming*, and others; though all of them were deficient in knowledge, and in acquaintance with the languages.⁴

§ 8. *Aristotle* reached the summit of esteem and reputation when the mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, embraced his philosophy, taught it universally in the schools, and illustrated it by their writings. For these friars, from this time onward, stood foremost in learning, both sacred and profane, in Europe, and were followed by nearly all who would rise above the vulgar in knowledge. The first who published expositions of *Aristotle*, were *Alexander of Hales*, an Englishman, and a Franciscan and doctor at Paris, who acquired the title of the *Irrefragable Doctor*; ⁵ and *Albert the Great*, a German Dominican, and bishop of Ratisbon, a man, undoubtedly, of no common genius, and the general guide of his age.⁶ After these, a pupil of *Albert*,⁷ *Thomas Aquinas*, who was the great luminary of the schools, and was called the *Angelic Doctor*, a Dominican, exalted the glory of *Aristotle* more than all others. For he expounded his books, both orally and in writing, and also caused a new Latin translation of his works to be made by one of his associates, more correct and clear than any used before.⁸ Through the influence of these

¹ Launoï, l. c. cap. iv. p. 195, and his *Syllabus rationum, quibus Durandi causa defenditur*; *Opp.* t. i. pt. i. p. 8, &c.

² Natalis Alexander, *Selecta Hist. Eccles. Capita*, t. viii. c. iii. § 7, p. 76.

³ Peter de Vineis, *Epistolar.* l. iii. Ep. lxvii. p. 503, &c. This epistle is directed *ad Magistros et Scholares Bononienses*. But it is probable, that the emperor sent similar epistles to the other schools in Europe. It is commonly said, that *Frederic* caused Latin translations to be made of *all the works* of *Aristotle* that are extant, and that this was in 1220. But neither position can be proved from this epistle; nor, as I suppose, from any other testimonies.

⁴ Concerning these translators of *Aristotle*, see Ant. Wood's *Antiquit. Oxon.* i. 119, and Sam. Jebb's *Præf. ad Opus Majus Rogeri Baconi*, Lond. 1733, fol. I will subjoin the opinion of *Bacon*, a very com-

petent judge, concerning these translations of *Aristotle*, as taken by Jebb from a manuscript: *If I had control over these books of Aristotle (the Latin translations), I would cause them all to be burnt: for it is a loss of time to study in them, and a cause of error, and a furtherance of ignorance, beyond what can well be expressed.*

⁵ See Luke Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, iii. 233, &c. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*, iii. 200, 673, &c.

⁶ Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Mediævæ*, i. 113, &c.

⁷ This is according to the opinion of the Dominicans, which appears most probable. See Anton. Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas*, p. 90. But the Franciscans eagerly maintained that *Thomas* was a pupil of *Alexander of Hales*. See Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, iii. 133, &c.

⁸ Most persons suppose that the author

men, therefore, and a few others, notwithstanding the opposition of many divines, and the disapprobation of the pontiffs, *Aristotle* became the dictator in philosophy, among the Latins.

§ 9. There were, however, in Europe several persons of superior genius and penetration, who, while they valued *Aristotle* highly, wished to extend the boundaries of human knowledge; and were disgusted with the meagre and jejune method of philosophizing, derived from the books of *Aristotle*.¹ Among them, the following obtained, very deservedly, the highest reputation; namely, *Roger Bacon*, an Englishman of the Franciscan order, called the *Admirable Doctor*; an extraordinary man, skilled far beyond the standard of his age, in philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, the mechanic arts, and in various languages, and also much renowned for his important discoveries:² *Arnold* of Villa Nova, a Frenchman, as many believe, though some make him a Spaniard; greatly distinguished for his knowledge of the medical art, philosophy, chemistry, poetry, languages, and of many other things:³ and *Peter de Abano*, or *de Apono*, an Italian, and a physician of Padua, surnamed the *Reconciler*, on account of the book

of this new Latin version of the works of *Aristotle*, which *Thomas Aquinas* caused to be made, was *William de Moerbeke*, a Dominican of Flanders, well acquainted with both Latin and Greek, and archbishop of Corinth. See *Jac. Echard's Scriptorum Dominicani*, i. 388, &c. *Casim. Oudin, Comment. de Scriptor. Eccles.* iii. 468. *Jo. Franc. Foppens, Biblioth. Belgica*, i. 416. But others, though supported by fewer authorities, attribute the work to *Henry Kosbein*, who was also a Dominican. See *Echard's Script. Dominic.* i. 469, &c.

¹ *Roger Bacon*, quoted by *Steph. Jebb*, in the preface to *Bacon's* larger work, says: "Never was there so great an appearance of wisdom, and so great ardour in study, in so many faculties, and so many countries, as during the last forty years; for doctors are scattered everywhere—in every city, in every castle, in every borough, students, principally under the two orders (*i.e.* the Dominicans and the Franciscans, who were almost the only people that pursued literature), which was never the case till within about forty years: and yet never was there so great ignorance and so great misapprehension.—The mass of students doze and yawn like asses, over the bad translations (he intends the books of *Aristotle*, the translations of which he would censure as being ridiculous and exceedingly faulty), and waste altogether the time and labour and expense they lay out upon them. Appearances are all that engross their attention; and they care not what it is they know, but only what they may seem to know, before the senseless multitude."

² That such was his character, strikingly

appears from his *Opus Majus*, as it is called, addressed to the Roman pontiff, *Clement IV.*, and published by *Stephen Jebb*, M.D. from a Dublin manuscript, with a learned preface and notes, London, 1733, fol.; a work well worth reading. The other works of *Bacon*, which were numerous, still remain for the most part in manuscript. See, concerning him, *Ant. Wood's Antiq. Oxonienses*, i. 136, &c. *Wadding's Annales Minorum*, iv. 264, &c. v. 51. *Thom. Gale, ad Jamblichum de Mysteriorum Ægyptior.* p. 235. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. et Crit.* t. i. art. *Bacon*, p. 3, &c. [*Rees's Cyclopædia*, art. *Roger Bacon*. Tr.—His *Opus Minus* and *Opus Tertium* are edited by *Mr. Brewer*, Lond. 1861. Ed.]

³ See *Nic. Antonius, Biblioth. vetus Hispanica*, t. ii. l. ix. c. i. p. 74. *Peter Joseph, Vie d'Arnaud de Villeneuve*, Aix, 1719, 12mo. *Niceron, Mémoires des Hommes Illustres*, xxxiv. 82. *Nicol. Eymeric, Directorium Inquisitorium*, p. 282; where there is an account of his errors. [*Arnold*, or *Arnaud de Villeneuve*, was born about the middle of this century, studied at Paris and Montpellier, visited the schools in Italy and in Spain, where he studied physic under Arabian masters, and learned their language. His reputation was very high as a physician and a scholar. At Paris he uttered so freely his opinions of the monks and the mass, as to bring himself into danger; and he retired to the court of *Frederic of Aragon*. He died about A.D. 1312. His works, which were numerous, were collected and published at Lyons, 1520, fol. and at Bâle, 1585. See *Rees's Cyclopædia*, art. *Arnaud*. Tr.]

he wrote, entitled, *The reconciler of the differences among philosophers and physicians*; a man of acuteness, and profoundly read in philosophy, astronomy, the medical art, and mathematics.¹ But all these received this as the reward of their talents and industry, that they were ranked by the ignorant multitude among magicians and heretics, and hardly escaped being burned at the stake. *Bacon* was confined many years in a prison; and both the others, after their deaths, were, by the *Inquisition*, judged worthy of the flames.

§ 10. In what manner theology was taught will be stated in a subsequent chapter. Law, now divided into sacred, or *canon* law, and civil, was prosecuted by vast numbers: but each division was disfigured and obscured, rather than elucidated, by numerous silly expositions. Several persons undertook to collect what are called the *decretal* epistles of the pontiffs; which constitute no small part of the canon law.² The most distinguished in this labour was *Raymund* of Pennafort, a Catalonian, and general of the Dominican order. He compiled his work under the directions of *Gregory IX.*, and divided it into five books. *Gregory* directed this to be annexed to the *Decretum* of *Gratian*, and to be expounded in all the schools.³ Near the end of the century, *Boniface VIII.* caused a new collection to be made: which, being subjoined to the five previous books, is called the *sixth Book of the Decretals*.⁴

¹ Of him, no one has written with more industry, than John Maria Mazzuchelli, *Notizie Storiche e Critiche intorno alla vita di Pietro d'Abano*; in Angelo Calogera's *Opusculi scientifici et filologici*, xxiii. 1—54. [He was born at Apono or Abano, a village near Padua, about 1250, studied Greek at Constantinople, and medicine and mathematics at Paris, and taught medicine at Padua. He was prosecuted by the Inquisition, as being a magician, at the time of his death, A.D. 1315. His book, entitled *Conciliator*, &c., discusses more than 200 questions and problems, chiefly medical, but others philosophical, astrological, &c. It was first published, Venice, 1471, fol. and frequently afterwards. Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, art. *Apone*, and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* xxiv. 539, &c. Tr.]

² Concerning them, see C. E. de Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*. iii. 98, &c.

³ Gerh. a Mastricht, *Hist. Juris Ecclesiastici*, § 353, p. 384. Jo. Chiflet, *de Juris utriusque Architectis*, c. vi. p. 60, &c. Jac. Echard and Quetif's *Script. Dominicani*, i. 106, &c. *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp.* Januarii, i. 404, ad diem vii.

⁴ [The five books of the Decretals are digested under a series of *Tituli*, and divided into books according to the order of subjects. The *liber sextus Decretalium* pursues the same arrangement, and therefore is divided into five books. Subsequently another collection was made by order of Clement V., called *Clementina*, which is divided also into five books. Several smaller collections, afterwards made, first by John XXII. and then by various pontiffs, are not so digested, but are thrown together promiscuously; and are therefore called *Extravagantes*. The *Decretum* of Gratian, the five books of Decretals by Gregory, and the others mentioned in this note, constitute the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. The voluminous *expositors* of the Canon Law do not comment upon all the books now enumerated, in their order; but they follow the five books of the Decretals regularly through, and introduce what occurs in Gratian, the *liber sextus*, &c. at the proper places: thus their commentaries are always divided into five parts, and generally in five vols. fol. Tr.]

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Corruption of the clergy — § 2. The Roman pontiffs — § 3. Their power of creating bishops, &c. — § 4. The authority of their legates — § 5. The pontiffs increase in wealth — § 6, 7, 8. The arrogant tyranny of Innocent III. shown by several examples — § 9. Honorius III. — § 10. Wrong conduct of Gregory IX. — § 11. Innocent IV. — § 12. Alexander IV. and Urban IV. — § 13. Gregory X. — § 14. Innocent V., Hadrian VI., John XXI., and Nicolas III. — § 15. Martin IV. and Nicolas IV. — § 16. Cœlestine V. — § 17. Boniface VIII. — § 18. New orders of Monks — § 19. Orders of Monks that have become extinct — § 20. The orders that still flourish — § 21. The Mendicants — § 22. Their history — § 23. They acquired great veneration in Europe — § 24. The Dominicans — § 25. The Franciscans — § 26. Both did good service to the pontiffs — § 27. Their contests with the university of Paris — § 28. Their adversary — § 29. Insolence of the Mendicants — § 30. Conflicts between the Dominicans and the Franciscans — § 31, 32. Discord among the Franciscans respecting the true meaning of their rule — § 33. Other jars among them, respecting the Everlasting Gospel of Joachim — § 34. The book of Gerhard is condemned — § 35. The constitution of Nicolas III. respecting the rule of St. Francis — § 36. It produces new commotions, and rouses up the Spiritual — § 37, 38. Continuation of these commotions — § 39. The Fratricelli and the Beguards — § 40, 41. The Tertiarii, Boccasoti, and Beguins — § 42. The Lollards — § 43. The Greek writers — § 44. The Latin writers.

§ 1. BOTH Greeks and Latins are equally free in exposing and lashing the wickedness and scandalous excesses of their prelates and religious teachers. Nor will any one, acquainted with the events of this period, pronounce their complaints excessive.¹ Some men of high rank attempted to heal this malady, which from the head diffused itself throughout the body: but their power was inadequate to a task so arduous. The Greek emperors were impeded by the calamities of the times; and the Latins, on account of the power of the Roman pontiffs, and the superstition of the age, could effect nothing of importance.

§ 2. A vivid picture of this may be seen, by reading over the history of the Latin pontiffs. For all who had any share in the government of the Church, were like sovereign lords; at least, in their feelings and disposition. They perseveringly urged, and with violence, with menaces, and frauds, and force of arms, that *fundamental* principle of the papal canon law, that the Roman pontiff is the sovereign lord of the whole world; and that all other rulers in church and state have so much power and authority as he sees fit to let them have. Resting on this eternal principle, as they conceived it to be, the

¹ See the expressive letter of the pontiff, Gregory IX., to the archbishop of Bourges, A.D. 1227, for correcting the vices of all orders of the clergy; published by Dion. Sammarthanus, *Gallia Christiana*, t. ii.

App. p. 21, &c. See also Charles du Fresne's notes to the life of St. Lewis, p. 99; where he treats especially of the disorders of the court of Rome.

pontiffs arrogated to themselves the absolute power not only of conferring sacred offices, or *benefices*, as they are called, but also of giving away empires, together with a corresponding right of taking their authority from kings and princes. The more intelligent indeed, for the most part, considered [general] councils as superior to the pontiffs; the kings and princes too who were not blinded by superstition, restrained the pontiffs from intermeddling with worldly or civil affairs, and bade them to be contented with the regulation of things sacred; they maintained their power to the utmost of their ability, and even claimed for themselves supremacy over the church in their respective territories.¹ But they had to do these things cautiously, if they would not learn by experience, that the pontiffs had long arms.

§ 3. In order to reign more absolutely and more securely, both in church and state, the pontiffs claimed, in particular, the right of appointing all presiding officers, in the church, of every rank and description, *bishops, abbots, canons, &c.*, at their discretion. Thus they who had formerly contended with so much zeal for the free election of presiding officers in the church, against the encroachments of emperors and kings, now themselves overthrew the whole right of free elections; and either *reserved* to themselves the richer benefices, or *provided* for the vacant churches, by assigning to them their dependents and friends: nay, they even set aside prelates who were duly elected, in order to substitute others in their places.² The pretence was, care for the safety of the church, and fear lest *heretics* should creep into the fold of Christ.³ *Innocent III.* first assumed this power; and after him *Honorius III.*, *Gregory IX.*, and others. But the progress of this usurpation was resisted in some measure by the bishops, who had before been accustomed to confer the smaller benefices, but most of all by the kings of France and England, who met it by their complaints, their edicts, and their laws.⁴ In particular, *Lewis IX.*, or *St. Lewis*, king of France in the year 1268, before he embarked in his crusade, published the famous ordinance, called by the French the *Pragmatic Sanction*, by which he carefully secured the rights of the Gallican church against the machinations of the pontiffs.⁵ This vigilance rendered the pontiffs more cautious and

¹ As specimens, the reader may peruse the letters of Innocent III., and the emperor Otto IV., published by Geo. Chr. Gebauer, in his German *History of the emperor Richard*, p. 611—614. And the French and English kings, as well as some others, were equally active with Otto, in defending their rights against the pontiffs.

² A great many examples of such Provisions and Reservations can be collected in this century. See Stephen Baluze, *Miscellanea*, vii. 443, 466, 470, 488, 491, 493, &c. *Gallia Christiana*, i. 69, Appendix. Luke Wadding's *Annales Minorum*; in the *Diplomata* pertaining to this century, *passim*, Ant.

Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* i. 148, 201, 202 [and Hallam's *View of the Middle Ages*, ch. vii. Tr.]

³ See an epistle of Innocent IV. in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, vii. 468.

⁴ See Cæs. Eg. de Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iii. 659, &c. and especially iv. 911, &c.

⁵ In addition to the other writers on the ecclesiastical law of France, see Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iii. 389. [The ordinance called the Pragmatic Sanction, may be seen in Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* t. ii. App. ad ann. 1268, no. 37, p. 618. See also Gifford's *Hist. of France*, i. 477. Tr.]

slow in their proceeding; but it did not divert them from their purpose. And *Boniface VIII.* declared boldly and distinctly, that the whole church is under the control of the pontiffs; and that kings, and patrons, and religious bodies, have only so much power as the vicars of Christ may choose to give them.

§ 4. The legates, sent into the different provinces by the pontiffs, eagerly imitated their masters: for they unhesitatingly invaded the rights of religious bodies, and conferred the lesser benefices, and sometimes the larger also, at their pleasure, on such as they favoured, on pecuniary accounts, or for other reasons:¹ they extorted money, in various ways, and often in such as were most iniquitous: they deceived the unguarded, by forged [papal] briefs, and by other artifices: they not unfrequently disturbed the public tranquillity, and put themselves at the head of factions: they carried on a most scandalous and wicked traffic in *relics* and *indulgences*; and did other things even worse than these. And hence all the writers of those times are full of complaints of the crimes and villanies of the papal legates.² And this led *Alexander IV.*, in the year 1256, to issue a severe edict against the fraudulence and avarice of legates:³ but men who had influence in the court of Rome, and were supported by powerful friends, could easily evade its force.

§ 5. From the ninth century onwards, no additions of any consequence had been made to the wealth and the patrimony of the church of Rome: but in this century, under *Innocent III.*, and afterwards under *Nicolas III.*, very large accessions of property were obtained, partly by force of arms, and partly by the munificence of emperors and kings. As soon as he was consecrated, *Innocent* brought under subjection to himself the prefect and senator⁴ of the

¹ Examples may be seen in Baluze's *Miscellanea*, vii. 437, 475, 480, &c.

² In place of all, the single and excellent historian, Matthew Paris, may be consulted, *Historia Major*, p. 313, 316, 549, and p. 637, where he says: "The legates, whoever they may be, and all papal nuncios, are wont to impoverish all the countries they enter, or in some way to throw them into disorder." See also Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*, iii. 659, &c.

³ It was published by Jo. Lami, *Delicæ Eruditor.* iii. 300.

⁴ [At that period one man possessed all the powers of the Roman senate, and acting in their place, bore the title of the *Senator. Tr.* — This officer was chief and representative of the Roman Commonalty. The citizens, divided into thirteen quarters, had chosen ten electors in each, and these had nominated a senate composed of sixty-six members, in which, or rather in a committee of eleven selected from it, resided the domestic control over the government of Rome. Clement III. obtained the power of nominating the ten electors in all the thirteen quarters, and gave the senators annual pen-

sions out of the papal treasury. Having thus become mere creatures of the pontiff, the Romans were easily persuaded to supersede the venal sixty-six, by a single senator, Benedict Carasomî, whom they elected in 1197. It was a judicious choice, but the object of it became unpopular, was besieged in the Capitol, and being taken prisoner, was long kept in custody. Innocent continued the practice of confiding the domestic rights of Rome to a single senator, and made him act no longer in the people's name, but in the pope's. The prefect was representative of the emperor, from whom he received the sword of office, and to whom he swore fealty. Innocent did not pretend to commission him by means of the accustomed sword, he publicly invested him with a mantle, presented him with a silver cup, and made him swear obedience to the pope. The Romans readily acquiesced in these innovations, because Innocent distributed a largess among them, and because they hated the German power, both as foreign and as acceptable among their own nobility. Hurter's *Innocent III.* Fr. transl. Paris, 1838, i. 112, *et seq.* S.]

city of Rome, who hitherto had sworn fealty to the emperor. He next recovered the marquisate of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, the county of Assisi, Montebello, and many other cities and fortresses; which, as he asserted, had been rent from the patrimony of St. Peter.¹ *Frederic II.*, also, to secure the favour of the pontiff, in his contest with *Otto IV.*, was very liberal to the Roman church, not only giving very valuable lands to *Richard*, the pontiff's brother,² but also permitting *Richard*, count of Fondi, in the year 1212, to bequeath his whole property to the church of Rome.³ He likewise confirmed the donation of *Matilda*. Afterwards, *Nicolas III.* would not crown *Rudolph I.*, until he had, in the year 1278, confirmed and acknowledged all the claims of the church, including many that were quite dubious: and the princes of the German Roman empire were required to do the same. Having obtained this [general] acknowledgment, *Nicolas* reduced to subjection many cities, villages, and towns of Italy, which had hitherto been subject to the emperors, and particularly the whole of the Romagna and Bologna. Thus, under these two pontiffs, on a full view of the subject, it appears, that the Roman church attained, by force, cunning, and management, to that extensive temporal dominion, which it possesses at the present day.⁴

§ 6. *Innocent III.*, who governed the Latin church⁵ till the year 1216, was learned, according to the conceptions of that age, and also laborious; but rough, cruel, avaricious, and arrogant.⁶ He adopted the principles of *Gregory VII.*, and claimed absolute dominion, not only over the church, but also over religion, and over the whole

¹ See Franc. Pagi, *Breviarium Romanor. Pontiff.* iii. 161, &c. Muratori, *Antiq. Italica*, t. i. p. 328, &c. [Innocent laid his chief stress upon the Countess Matilda's legacy. The Germans were in possession of countries which that obsequious disciple of Gregory VII. had left to the papacy, and they were so odious in Italy, that an able young pope, at a favourable time, easily persuaded his countrymen to dispossess them. S.]

² Muratori, *Antiq. Italica*, v. 652.

³ Odor. Raynald's *Continuation of Baronius' Annals*, ad ann. 1212, § 2.

⁴ See Raynald, l. c. ad ann. 1278, sec. 47, &c.

⁵ [From A.D. 1198. Tr.]

⁶ See Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 206, 230. [Innocent III. is the official designation of Lothaire de' Conti di Segni, born in 1160 or 1161, being elected pope at 37. His earlier education being completed in Rome, he studied afterwards in the universities of Paris and Bologna. During his residence in the former he went on a pilgrimage to Canterbury, where Becket's remains tenanted a shrine, already one of the most popular in Europe. His mind probably received a lasting impulse from this visit, his own object through life being that ecclesiastical

independence for which Becket shed his blood. This was, however, a popular object, clerical immunities really being of general importance in an age when royal and baronial power pressed heavily upon society. In his own country, Innocent's exertions were also popular, from their aim to drive the German power beyond the Alps. His eminence was not, therefore, the mere creature of an insolent, selfish, and fortunate ambition. The multitude was with him, because he curbed power without the Alps, and sought patriotic ends within them. At the same time, his whole policy served enormously to aggrandise the papacy, and hence he was not only execrated by a large party among his contemporaries, but he has also usually been branded as little else than an artful and unprincipled adept in the science of papal politics. Of late, M. Hurter, a protestant minister at Schaffhausen, has done Innocent more than justice. He has elaborately vindicated his character, and revealed the true reasons of his popularity, and consequent power. But he writes in a tone of florid and indiscriminate panegyric, making incidental concessions that candour does not require, and which are hardly consistent with the information or reasonable prepossessions of a protestant divine. S.]

world. He therefore created kings, both in Europe and Asia, according to his pleasure. In Asia he gave a king to the Armenians. In Europe he conferred royal honours, A.D. 1204, on *Primislaus*, duke of Bohemia: and in the same year by his legate placed a regal crown on *Johannicius*, duke of the Bulgarians and Wallachians. But he himself at Rome, saluted as king and crowned *Peter II.*, of Aragon, who had rendered his dominions tributary to the church.¹ Many other proofs like these of the supreme power that he claimed over all the world, while Europe stood amazed and silent, may easily be gathered out of his *Epistles*.

§ 7. Not content with these acts of sovereignty, he compelled emperors, and the greatest monarchs of Europe, to fear and respect the power of the Roman church. Near the commencement of the century, when *Philip*, duke of Suabia, and *Otto IV.*, the third son of *Henry* the Lion, contended for the empire of Germany, he at first favoured the side of *Otto*, and terrified *Philip* with his denunciations; and on the death of *Philip*, A.D. 1209, he placed the imperial diadem upon *Otto* at Rome. But as *Otto* would not comply in all things with his wishes, he changed his mind, and pronounced him unworthy of the throne; and in the year 1212, substituted in his place *Frederic II.*, his own pupil, son of *Henry VI.*, and king of the two Sicilies.² *Philip Augustus*, king of France, he excommunicated, for having dismissed his wife *Isemburgis*, daughter of the king of Denmark, and marrying another woman; nor did he cease to harass the king with anathemas, till he received back his former wife.³

§ 8. But no one suffered more disgracefully and severely from the arrogance of *Innocent*, than *John*, surnamed *Lackland* (*Sine Terra*, *Sans Terre*), the king of England and Ireland.⁴ He resolutely with-

¹ Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, vi. 116. Jo. de Ferreras, *Histoire d'Espagne*, iv. 8.

² This history is drawn out at large in the *Origines Guelphicæ*, t. iii. l. vii. p. 247, &c.

³ Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*. iii. 8, &c. Gabr. Daniel's *Hist. de la France*, iii. 475, &c. Gerh. du Bois, *Hist. Eccles. Paris*. ii. 204, 257, &c. [To this Danish princess, otherwise called Ingeburga, Philip appears to have taken a violent aversion at first sight. His marriage was, therefore, immediately followed by a separation, and this by a pretence that he had inadvertently married within the prohibited degrees. An assembly of his own prelates pronounced a divorce upon this ground, and Philip married again according to his taste. The injured Danish princess and her family appealed to Rome, and Innocent very properly took their part: but he pushed his favourable interference so far as to lay France under an interdict, or suspension of religious rites. The age being favourable to this exercise of papal power, Philip was driven

to dismiss his new wife, who shortly after died, and to recognise Ingeburga as lawful queen. He did not, however, cohabit with her, but still pleaded such a degree of relationship as rendered this impossible. Innocent remained equally inflexible, and this honourable perseverance brought the royal pair together, after a separation of twenty years. It is impossible to deny that the pope's conduct in this case was, upon the whole, creditable to himself and beneficial to society. Nor, probably, was his interference in German affairs grounded on any objectionable principle. M. Hurter says, that Innocent's object was to prevent the princes from being despoiled of their right of election (t. i. p. 135). But although the character of this great pope has suffered from misrepresentation, he took, undoubtedly, that exaggerated and pernicious view of his position which betrayed him into several very blameable excesses. S.]

⁴ [This is not exact. John never styled himself king of Ireland; nor did any one of his successors before Henry VIII.

stood the pontiff, who had designated *Stephen Langton* to be archbishop of Canterbury. The pontiff, therefore, first excommunicated him in the year 1208; and afterwards, in the year 1211, absolved the English and Irish from their oath of allegiance to the king; and finally, in the year 1212, divested him of his authority, and gave the kingdoms of England and Ireland to *Philip Augustus* the king of France. Terrified by these decrees, and dreading a war, *John* made his kingdom tributary to the pontiff in the year 1213.¹ This imprudence brought extreme disgrace and immense evils upon the king. Of the Lateran council, under *Innocent*, in the year 1215, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Former kings had merely called themselves Lords of Ireland. S.]

¹ These events are stated at large by *Matthew Paris*, *Hist. Major.* p. 189, &c. 192, 195, &c. See also *Boulay's Hist. Acad. Paris.* iii. 67. *Rapin Thoyras. Hist. d'Angleterre*, ii. 304, &c. [Upon *John's* surrender of his kingdom, it is needless to say anything. *Innocent's* conduct must chiefly be estimated by existing rights of election to the see of Canterbury. Now these had usually been exercised under certain limitations, by the convent attached to the cathedral there, a body far from fit, *Dr. Lingard* says, for that purpose, being composed of "men who, by their utter seclusion from the world, were the least calculated to appreciate the merits of the candidates, or to judge of the qualifications requisite for the office." (*Hist. Engl.* Lond. 1837, t. iii. p. 15.) He might have added, that these monks were a body of intruders, who did not completely supersede the secular canons, established originally at Canterbury, as in every other cathedral, until Norman *William* made *Lanfranc* archbishop. The papacy, therefore, had to thank itself for the unfit electors who came into the chapter-house when a new primate was to be chosen. But in addition to the capitular body of Canterbury, whether regular or secular, the suffragan bishops of the province claimed from ancient prescription, at least, a concurrent right of election; and this claim, though fiercely resisted by the monks, really controlled every election. It was abetted by the crown, and no nominee could obtain possession, unless the King gave licence to elect, indicating his man, and the prelate concurred. On *Abp. Hubert's* death, after four days' illness, in 1205, the junior monks of Canterbury elected in the night, *Reginald*, their sub-prior, and enthroned him archbishop before dawn. This was clearly illegal: neither royal licence nor episcopal concurrence being gained. Being a bold stroke, however, against prerogative, it was thought likely to succeed at Rome. Thither *Reginald*, with some

attendant monks, immediately proceeded, having first sworn to say nothing of his election until he came into the papal presence. But he had no sooner landed in Flanders than vanity proved an over-match for his oath, and he paraded himself as primate-elect of all England. His folly being known at Canterbury, the wiser monks brought the convent to look upon the election as invalid, and to request the usual permission from the crown to choose an archbishop. This was granted as a matter of course, with a recommendation for *John de Gray*, bishop of *Norwich*; who was duly chosen. On his part, first came to Rome an envoy from the suffragans of Canterbury; afterwards, six monks of the convent there, with the archdeacon of *Richmond*. *Innocent* now pronounced *Reginald's* election void, because uncanonical, *De Gray's*, because premature, the former not having been regularly annulled. In anticipation of some such decision, the Canterbury monks despatched to Rome had royal licence for electing there a new archbishop, having sworn to elect no other than *De Gray*. Of him, however, *Innocent* would not hear, designing the see for *Stephen Langton*, an Englishman of merit, long resident abroad, whom he had known at Paris, and whom he had lately made a cardinal. *De Gray* he seems to have represented as unfit for Canterbury, because his life had been spent in secular business. Still the monks, mindful of their oaths, displayed an unwillingness to choose any other, and one of them proved incapable of violating his engagements. The others chose *Langton*. It seems no easy matter to acquit *Innocent* of blame in this case, and the bad consequences of it were very extensive. He ought clearly to have respected the oaths of the Canterbury monks, and to have recognised *De Gray* as archbishop. Nothing was required for that prelate at all inconformable with established usage. *Matth. Paris*, ed. *Wats*, Lond. 1640, p. 212. 223. *Hurter's Innocent III.* ii. 246, 249. S.]

§ 9. *Honorius III.*, previously called *Centius Savelli*, who succeeded *Innocent*, A.D. 1216, and governed the Roman church more than ten years, did not perform so many deeds worthy of being recorded; yet he was very careful that the power of Rome should receive no diminution. Pursuing this course, he had a grievous falling out with the emperor *Frederic II.*, a magnanimous prince, whom he himself had crowned at Rome, in the year 1220. *Frederic*, imitating his grandfather, laboured to establish and enlarge the authority of the emperors in Italy, to depress the minor states and republics of Lombardy, and to diminish the immense wealth and power of the pontiffs and the bishops; and to accomplish these objects, he continually deferred the crusade, which he had promised with an oath. *Honorius*, on the other hand, continually urged *Frederic* to enter on his expedition to Palestine; yet he secretly encouraged, animated, and supported the cities and republics that resisted the emperor; and raised various impediments to his increasing power. Still, this hostility did not, at present, break out in open war.

§ 10. But under *Gregory IX.*, whose former name was *Hugolinus*, and who was elevated from the bishopric of Ostia to the pontificate, A.D. 1227, an old man, but still bold and resolute, the fire, which had been long burning in secret, burst into a flame. In the year 1227, the pontiff, without proceeding in due form of ecclesiastical law, and without regarding the emperor's excuse of ill health, excommunicated the emperor, who still deferred his expedition to Palestine. In the year 1228, the emperor sailed with his fleet to Palestine; but instead of waging war, as he was bound to do, he made a truce with *Saladin*, recovering Jerusalem. While he was absent the pontiff raised war against him in Apulia, and endeavoured to excite all Europe to oppose him. Therefore *Frederic* hastened back, in the year 1229, and after vanquishing his enemies, made his peace with the pontiff, in the year 1230. But this peace could not be durable, as *Frederic* would not submit to the control of the pontiff. Therefore, as the emperor continued to press heavily on the republics of Lombardy, which were friendly to the pontiff, and transferred Sardinia, which the pontiff claimed as part of the patrimony of the church, to his son *Entius*; and wished to withdraw Rome itself from the power of the pontiff; and did other things very offensive to *Gregory*; the pontiff, in the year 1239, again laid him under anathemas: and accused him to all the sovereigns of Europe, of many crimes and enormities, and particularly of speaking contemptuously of the Christian religion. The emperor, on the other hand, avenged the injuries that he received, both by written publications and by his military operations in Italy, in which he was for the most part successful; and thus he defended his reputation, and also brought the pontiff into perplexity and difficulty. To rescue himself, in some measure, *Gregory*, in the year 1240, summoned a general council to meet at Rome; intending to hurl the emperor from his throne, by the united suffrages of the assembled fathers. But *Frederic*, in the year 1241,

captured the Genoese fleet, which was carrying a great part of the fathers to the council at Rome, and seizing as well their treasures as themselves, he cast them into prison. Broken down by these calamities, and by others of no less magnitude, *Gregory* sank into the grave shortly after.¹

§ 11. The successor of *Gregory*, *Geoffrey* of Milan, who assumed the name of *Celestine IV.*, died before his consecration: and after a long interregnum, in the year 1243, *Sinibald*, a Genoese, descended from the counts Fieschi, succeeded under the pontifical name of *Innocent IV.*, a man inferior to none of his predecessors in arrogance and insolence of temper.² Between him and *Frederic* there were at first negotiations for peace; but the terms insisted on by the pontiff were deemed too hard by the emperor. Hence *Innocent*, feeling himself unsafe in any part of Italy, A.D. 1244, removed from Genoa to Lyons in France; and the next year assembled a council there, in the presence of which, but without its approbation (whatever the Roman writers may affirm to the contrary,³) he declared *Frederic* unworthy of the imperial throne. This most unrighteous decision of the pontiff had such influence upon the German princes, who were infected with the superstition of the times, that they elected, first, *Henry*, landgrave of Thuringia, and on his death *William*, count of Holland, to the imperial throne. *Frederic* continued the war vigorously and courageously in Italy, and with various success, until a dysentery terminated his life in Apulia, on the 13th of December, A.D. 1250. On the death of his foe, *Innocent* returned to Italy in the year 1251.⁴ From this time especially (though their origin was much earlier,) the two noted factions of *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*, of which the former sided with the pontiffs, and the latter with the emperors, most unhappily rent asunder and devastated all Italy.⁵

§ 12. *Alexander IV.*, whose name, as count of Segni and bishop of Ostia, was *Raynald*, became pontiff on the death of *Innocent*, A.D. 1254, and reigned six years and six months. Excepting some efforts to put down a grandson of *Frederic II.*, called *Conradin*, and to quiet the perpetual commotions of Italy, he busied himself more

¹ Besides the original writers, who are all collected by Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.*, and the authors of German and Italian history, of whom, however, few or none are impartial, the reader should consult, especially, Peter de Vineis, *Epistolar.* l. i. and Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*. Add also Raynaldi's *Annals*; Muratori's *Annales Italicae*, t. vii. and *Antiq. Italicae*, iv. 325, 517, &c. and others. But this whole history needs a fuller investigation.

² See Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, especially on A.D. 1254, p. 771.

³ This council is classed among the *general* councils; yet the French do not so regard it. [See Bossuet's *Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallici*, i. 311. Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles. Selecta Cap. sæcul. xiii. diss.*

v. art. iii. § 8. Du Pin's *Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, century xiii. c. i. and Walch's *Hist. der Kirchenversaml.* p. 739, &c. There were about 140 prelates in the council. *Frederic's* advocate appealed to a more general council. The pontiff maintained it to be general enough. Walch allows, that the council assented to the *excommunication* of the emperor, but not to his *deposition*, which was the mere sovereign act of the pontiff, and at which all present were astonished. *Tr.*]

⁴ See, in addition to the writers already mentioned, Nicol. de Curbio, *Vita Innocentii IV.* in Baluze's *Miscellanea*, vii. 353, &c.

⁵ Muratori's *Diss. de Guelphis et Gibellinis*; in his *Antiq. Ital. Mediæ Ævi*, iv. 606

in regulating the internal affairs of the church, than in national concerns. The Mendicant friars, Dominicans and Franciscans, are under especial obligations to him.¹ *Urban IV.*, before his election to the pontificate in 1261, was *James*, patriarch of Jerusalem, a man born of obscure parentage at Troyes. He distinguished himself more by instituting the *festival of Corpus Christi*, than by any other achievement. He indeed formed many projects; but he executed few of them, being prevented by death, in the year 1264, after a short reign of three years.² Not much longer was the reign of *Clement IV.*, a Frenchman, and bishop of Sabina, under the name of *Guido Fulcodi*, who was created pontiff in the year 1265. Yet he is better known on several accounts, but especially for conferring the kingdom of Naples on *Charles* of Anjou, brother to *Lewis IX.*, the king of France; who is well known to have beheaded *Conradin*, the only surviving grandson of *Frederic II.*, after conquering him in battle, and this, if not by the counsel, at least with the consent of the pontiff.³

§ 13. On the death of *Clement IV.*, there were vehement contests among the cardinals, respecting the election of a new pontiff; which continued till the third year, when, at last, A.D. 1271, *Thibald* of Piacenza, archdeacon of Liege, was chosen, and assumed the name of *Gregory X.*⁴ He had been called from Palestine, where he had resided; and having witnessed the depressed state of the Christians in the Holy Land, nothing more engaged his thoughts than sending them succour. Accordingly, as soon as he was consecrated, he appointed a council to be held at Lyons in France, and attended it in person, in the month of May, A.D. 1274. The principal subjects discussed were the re-establishment of the Christian dominion in the East, and the re-union of the Greek and Latin churches. This has commonly been reckoned the fourteenth *general* council, and is particularly noticeable for the new regulations it established for the election of Roman pontiffs, and the celebrated provision which is still in force, requiring the cardinal electors to be shut up in conclave.⁵ Neither did this pontiff, though of a milder disposition than many others, hesitate to repeat and inculcate that odious maxim of *Gregory VII.*, that the pontiff is supreme lord of the world, and especially of the Roman empire. For in the year 1271 he sent a menacing letter to the princes of Germany, admonishing them to elect an emperor, and without regarding the wishes or the claims of *Alphonso*, king of Castile; otherwise he would appoint a head of the empire himself. Accordingly, the princes assembled, and elected *Rudolph I.*, of the house of Hapsburg.

¹ [Two biographies of him are found in Muratori's *Script. Rerum Italicar.* t. iii. pt. i. p. 592, &c. *Schl.*]

² [His biography may be seen in Muratori, l. c. t. iii. pt. i. p. 593, and pt. ii. p. 405. *Schl.*]

³ [Two lives of him likewise, are in Muratori's l. c. pt. i. p. 594. *Schl.*]

⁴ The records of this election were published by Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, iv. 330, &c.

⁵ [Harduin's *Concilia*, vii. 666, &c. *Tr.*—See, for a description of a conclave, Wiseman's *Recollections of the Popes*, p. 216. *Ed.*]

§ 14. *Gregory X.* died in the year 1276, and his three immediate successors were all chosen, and died in the same year. *Innocent V.*, previously *Peter* of Tarantaise, was a Dominican monk, and bishop of Ostia. *Hadrian V.* was a Genoese, named *Ottobonus*, and cardinal of St. Hadrian. *John XXI.*, previously *Peter*, bishop of Tusculum, was a native of Portugal. The next pontiff, who came to the chair in 1277, reigned longer. He was *John Cajetan*, of the family of Ursini, a Roman, and cardinal of St. Nicolas, who assumed the title of *Nicolas III.* He, as has been already observed, greatly enlarged what is called the patrimony of St. Peter; and, as his actions show, had formed other great projects, which he would undoubtedly have accomplished, as he was a man of energy and enterprise, had he not prematurely died in the year 1280.

§ 15. His successor, *Martin IV.*, elected by the cardinals in 1281, was a French nobleman, *Simon de Brie*, a man of equal boldness and energy of character with *Nicolas*. For he excommunicated *Michael Palæologus*, the Greek emperor; because he had violated the compact of union with the Latins, which was settled at the council of Lyons; and *Peter* of Arragon he deprived of his kingdoms, and of all his property, because he had seized upon Sicily; and he bestowed them gratuitously on *Charles*, son to the king of France; and was projecting many other things, consonant to the views of the pontiffs, when he was suddenly overtaken by death, A.D. 1285. His plans were prosecuted by his successor, *James Savelli*, who was elected in 1285, and took the name of *Honorius IV.* But a distressing disease in his joints,¹ of which he died in 1287, prevented him from attempting anything further. *Nicolas IV.*, previously *Jerome d'Ascoli*, bishop of Palestrina, who attained to the pontifical chair in 1288, and died in 1292, was able to attend to the affairs both of the church and of the nations with more diligence and care. Hence he is represented in history, sometimes as the arbiter in the disputes of sovereign princes; sometimes as the strenuous asserter of the rights and prerogatives of the church; and sometimes as the assiduous promoter of missionary labours among the Tartars and other nations of the East. But nothing lay nearer his heart than the restoration of the dominion of Christians in Palestine, where their cause was nearly ruined. In this he laboured strenuously indeed, but in vain; and death intercepted all his projects.²

§ 16. After his death, the church was without a head till the third year, the cardinals disagreeing exceedingly among themselves. At length, on the 5th of July, 1294, they unanimously chose an aged man, greatly venerated for his sanctity, *Peter*, surnamed *de Murrone*, from a mountain in which he led a solitary and very austere mode of life, who assumed the pontifical name of *Cælestine V.* But as the austerity of his life tacitly censured the corrupt morals of the Roman court, and especially of the cardinals, and as he showed very plainly

¹ [Both in his hands and his feet. *Tr.*] in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.*

² [A biography of this pope may be seen t. iii. pt. i. p. 612. *Schl.*]

that he was more solicitous to advance the holiness of the church than its worldly grandeur, he was soon considered as unworthy of the office, which he had reluctantly assumed. Hence some of the cardinals, and especially *Benedict Cajetan*, very easily persuaded him to abdicate the chair, in the fourth month of his pontificate. He died, A.D. 1296, in the castle of Fumone, where his successor detained him a captive, lest he should make some disturbance. But afterwards, *Clement V.* enrolled him in the calendar of the saints. To him, that sect of Benedictine monks, who were called, after him, *Cælestines*, owed its origin; a sect still existing in Italy and France, though now nearly extinct, and differing from the other Benedictines by their more rigid rules of life.¹

§ 17. He was succeeded, A.D. 1294, by *Benedict* cardinal Cajetan, whose persuasions had chiefly led him to resign the pontificate, and who now assumed the name of *Boniface VIII.* This was a man formed to produce disturbance both in church and state, and eager for confirming and enlarging the power of the pontiffs, to the highest degree of rashness. From his first entrance on the office, he arrogated to himself sovereign power over all things sacred and secular; overawed kings and states by his fulminations; decided important controversies at his will; enlarged the code of canon law by new accessions, namely, by the *sixth book of Decretals*; made war among others, particularly on the noble family of *Colonna*, which had opposed his election; in a word, he seemed to be another *Gregory VII.* at the head of the church.² At the close of the century,³ he established the year of jubilee, which is still solemnised at Rome. The rest of his acts, and his miserable end, belong to the next century.⁴

§ 18. Although *Innocent III.*, in the Lateran council of 1215, had forbidden the introduction of any *new religions*, that is, new orders of monks;⁵ yet by *Innocent* himself, and by the subsequent pontiffs, many religious orders, before unknown, were not only tolerated, but also approved, and distinguished with various privileges and honours.

¹ See Hipp. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, vi. 180. [This pope wrote a history of his own life, which, with his other works, is in the *Biblioth. Max. Patrum Lugd.* xxv. 765. Other biographies of him are to be found in Muratori's *Script. Rerum Italicar.* t. iii. pt. i. p. 653, &c. His life is also written by Papebroch, *Acta Sanctor.* Maii, iv. 483. *Schl.*]

² A formal biography of him, written by Jo. Rubeus, a Benedictine monk, was published at Rome, 1651, 4to. under the title of *Bonifacius VIII. e familia Cajetanorum Principum Romanus Pontifex*. [Another, by Bernh. Guido, is in Muratori's *Script. Rerum Ital.* t. iii. pt. i. p. 641. The history of his contests with the king of France was written by Peter du Puy, entitled *Histoire du Différend de Philippe le Bel et de Boniface VIII.* Paris, 1655, fol. also by Adr. Baillet, *Histoire des Demelez du Pape Boni-*

face VIII. avec Philippe le Bel, Paris, 1718, 12mo. *Schl.* For a summary account of this quarrel, see Gifford's *Hist. of France*, i. 507, &c. *Tr.*]

³ [A.D. 1300. *Tr.*]

⁴ In this account of the pontiffs, I have followed, chiefly, Dan. Papebroch, Francis Pagi, and Muratori, in his *Annales Italie*; yet always consulting the original writers, whom Muratori has collected in his *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.*

⁵ [*Acta Concilii Laterani IV.*, canon 13. "Ne nimia religionum diversitas gravem in ecclesia Dei confusionem inducat, firmiter prohibemus ne quis de cætero novam religionem inveniat: sed quicunque voluerit ad religionem converti, unam de approbatis assumat. Similiter qui voluerit religiosam domum fundare de novo, regulam et institutionem accipiat de religionibus approbatis." Harduin's *Concilia*, vii. 31. *Tr.*]

Nor, considering the state of the church in this age, is it strange that this law of *Innocent* was tacitly abrogated. For, passing by other reasons, the church's enemies, particularly the heretics, were everywhere multiplying; the *secular clergy*, as they were called, were more attentive to their private interests than to those of the church, and lived luxuriously upon the revenues provided by their predecessors; the old orders of monks had nearly all abandoned their original strictness, and disgusted the people by their shameful vices, their sloth, and their licentiousness; and all advanced rather than retarded the progress of the *heretics*. The church, therefore, had occasion for new orders of servants, who should possess both the power and the disposition to conciliate the good-will of the people, as well to diminish the odium resting on the Roman church, by the sanctity of their deportment, as to search out and harass the heretics, by their sermons, their reasoning, and their arms.

§ 19. Some of the monastic orders that originated in this century are now extinct, while others remain still in a very flourishing state. Among those now extinct, were the *Humiliati*; who sprang up, indeed, long before the 13th century, but were first approved, and subjected to the rule of St. Benedict, by *Innocent III.* These were suppressed by *Pius V.*, on account of their extremely corrupt morals, A.D. 1571.¹ The *Jacobites*, mendicants; who were established by *Innocent III.*, but ceased to exist in this very century, subsequently, I think, to the council of Lyons.² The *Vallischolares*; who were collected not long after the commencement of the century, by the *Scholares*, that is, the four professors of theology at Paris, and hence were first called *Scholars*; but afterwards, from a certain valley in Champagne, to which they retired in the year 1234, their name was changed to *Vallischolares*.³ This society was first governed by the rule of *St. Augustine*; but it is now united with the *canons regular of St. Gèneviève*. The *fraternity of the blessed Virgin, mother of Christ*; which began to exist A.D. 1266, and was extinguished in the year 1274.⁴ The *knights of faith and charity*, established in France, to suppress public robberies, and approved by *Gregory IX.*⁵ The *Eremitic brethren of St. William*, duke of Aquitaine.⁶ I pass over the *Brethren in sackcloth, the Bethlehemites*, and several others. For scarcely any age was more fruitful than this in sects of the religious, living under various rules and regulations.⁷

§ 20. Among the new monastic sects, that still exist, were the *Servants of the ever-blessed Virgin*, a fraternity founded, in the year 1233, in Tuscany, by seven pious Florentines, at the head of whom

¹ Helyot's *Hist. des Ordres*, vi. 152, &c.

² Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 161.

³ Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*. iii. 15. *Acta Sanctor.* Februar. ii. 482.

⁴ Dion. Sammarth. *Gall. Christ.* i. 653, &c.

⁵ *Gallia Christiana*, t. i. Appen. p. 165. Martene's *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, ii. 23, &c.

⁶ Jo. Bolland, *de Ordine Eremitar. S. Gulielmi Comment.* in the *Acta Sanctor.* Febr. ii. 472, &c.

⁷ Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 815, ed. Wats. "Tot jam apparuerunt ordines in Anglia, ut ordinum confusio inordinata." The same thing occurred in other countries of Europe in this age.

was *Philip Benizi*. This sect adopted indeed the rule of *St. Augustine*; but it was consecrated to the memory of the holy widowhood of the blessed Virgin, and therefore wore a black habit,¹ and had other peculiarities. The holy wars of the Christians in Palestine, in which many Christians became captives among the Mahumedans, produced, near the close of the preceding century, the order of *Brethren of the holy Trinity*, which first acquired stability and permanence in this century. Its originators were *John de Matha* and *Felix de Valois*, two pious men who led a solitary life at *Cerfroy*, in the diocese of Meaux, where the principal house of the sect still exists. The members of this body were called *Brethren of the holy Trinity*, because all their churches are dedicated to the holy Trinity; also *Mathurini*, because their church in Paris has for its tutelar saint *St. Mathurin*; and likewise *Brethren of the redemption of captives*, because they are required to make the redemption of Christian captives from the Mahumedans a primary object, and to devote one-third part of their revenues to this purpose. Their rule of life formerly was austere; but by the indulgence of the pontiffs, it is now rendered easy to be kept.²

§ 21. But the sects now mentioned, and indeed all others, were far inferior in reputation, in privileges, in the number of members, and in other respects, to the *Mendicant Orders* (or those without any permanent revenues or possessions), which were first established in Europe during this century. Societies of this kind were urgently required by the church. For the wealthy orders, seduced by their opulence, from taking any care of religion, and from obsequiousness to the pontiffs, into idleness, voluptuousness, and vices of every kind, could be employed in no arduous enterprise; while the heretics were allowed to roam about securely, and to gather congregations of followers. Besides, all the parties opposed to the church looked upon voluntary poverty as the primary virtue of a servant of Jesus Christ; they required their own teachers to live in poverty, like the apostles; they reproached the church for its riches, and for the vices and profligacy of the clergy growing out of those riches; and by their commendation of poverty and contempt of riches, especially, they gained the attention and the good-will of the multitude. A class of people, therefore, was very much wanted, who, by the austerity of their manners, their contempt of riches, and the external sanctity of their rules of life, might resemble such teachers as the heretics

¹ Besides the common historians of the monastic orders, who are not always accurate, see Paul the Florentine's *Dialogus de Origine Ordinis Servorum*; in Jo. Lamy's *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, t. i. 1—48.

² Besides Helyot and the others, see Toussaint du Plessis, *Hist. de l'Eglise de Meaux*, i. 172, 566, &c. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*. ii. 523, &c. Ant. Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* i. 133, &c. In ancient writers, this sect is called the *Order of asses*, because

their rule requires the brethren to ride on asses, and forbids their using horses. See Charles du Fresne's Notes on Joinville's *Life of St. Lewis*, p. 81, &c. But by the allowance of the pontiffs, they may at the present day use horses, if they have occasion; and they do use them. A similar Order was instituted in Spain, A.D. 1228, by Paul Nolasco, and called the *Order of St. Mary for the ransoming of captives*. See the *Acta Sanctor.* Januarii, ii. 980, &c.

both commended and exhibited; and whom neither their worldly interests and pleasures, nor the fear of princes and nobles, could induce to neglect their duties to the church and to the pontiff. The first to discern this was *Innocent III.*, whose partialities for the orders professing poverty were most remarkable;¹ and the subsequent pontiffs, learning by experience the great utility of these orders, continued to cherish and encourage them. When this partiality of the pontiffs became notorious, so great a number of these bodies everywhere sprang up, that they became a heavy burden not only to the people, but likewise to the church herself.

§ 22. This serious evil *Gregory X.* endeavoured to obviate, in the general council of Lyons, A. D. 1272. For he prohibited all the orders that had originated since the council of *Innocent III.*, held at Rome, in 1215; and in particular, he reduced the *unbridled throng* (as he denominates them) of the *Mendicants* to four orders; namely, *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, *Carmelites*, and *Augustinian Eremites*.² The *Carmelites*, who were first established in Palestine, in the preceding century, were in this removed to Europe; and by *Honorius III.*, A. D. 1226, placed among the approved orders in the western church. The order of *Augustinians*, or *Eremites*, was formed by *Alexander IV.*, in the year 1256; for he required various societies of *Eremites*, of which some followed the regulations of *William the Eremite*, and others wished to be considered as following *Augustine*, and others called themselves by other names, to all unite in one fraternity, and live under the same rules, namely, those said to be prescribed by *Augustine*.³

§ 23. As these orders had liberty from the pontiffs to spread themselves everywhere, and to instruct the people and to teach the youth; and as they exhibited a far greater show of piety and sanctity than the older orders of monks, all Europe suddenly burst forth in admiration and reverence for them. Very many cities, as appears from the most credible documents, were divided for their sakes into four sections; of which, the first was assigned to the *Dominicans*, the second to the *Franciscans*, the third to the *Carmelites*, and the fourth to the *Augustinians*. The people frequented, almost exclusively, the churches of the *Mendicants*, asked but seldom for the sacraments, as they are called, or for burial, except among them: which naturally called forth grievous complaints from the ordinary priests who had the charge of the parishes. Indeed, the history of this and the

¹ [Innocent sent these Mendicant monks into all parts of the world, as heralds of the papal power; and to increase their respectability and influence, he exempted them from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and declared them to be responsible immediately and solely to the see of Rome. *Schl.*]

² *Concilium Lugdun. II.* A. D. 1274. Can. xxiii. (in *Harduin's Concilia*, vii. 715). "Importuna petentium inhiatio religionum (thus the monastic orders are described) multiplicationem extorsit, verum etiam ali-

quorum presumptuosa temeritas diversorum ordinum, præcipue Mendicantium—effrenatam quasi multitudinem adinvenit.—Hinc ordines post dictum concilium (Lateranense A. D. 1215) adinventos—perpetuæ prohibitioni subjicimus."

³ This ordinance is found in the *Bullarium Romanum*, i. 110, of the new edition. Besides the writers on all the monastic orders, and the historians of the Augustinian order in particular, see the *Acta Sanctorum*, Febr. ii. 472.

following centuries shows, that so great was the reputation and the influence of these *mendicant friars*, that they were employed in transactions of the highest magnitude, in negotiations for peace, in the ratification of treaties, in shaping the policy of courts, in arranging financial concerns, and in various other functions totally at variance with the monastic profession.

§ 24. But the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* acquired much greater glory and power, than the other two orders of mendicants. During three centuries they had the direction of nearly everything in church and state, held the highest offices, both ecclesiastical and civil, taught with almost absolute authority in all the schools and churches, and defended the authority and majesty of the Roman pontiffs, against kings, bishops, and heretics, with amazing zeal and success. What the *Jesuits* were, after the reformation by *Luther* began, the same were the Dominicans and Franciscans, from the thirteenth century to the times of *Luther*, the soul of the whole church and state, and the projectors and executors of all the enterprises of any moment.—*Dominic*, a Spaniard of Calahorra, and of the illustrious family of *Guzman*, a regular canon of Osma, a man of very ardent temperament, burning with hatred against the heretics, who then greatly disquieted the church, went with a few companions into France to engage in combat with them; where, with sermons, writings, arms, and the tremendous tribunal of the *Inquisition*, which owed its origin to him, he attacked most vigorously, and not without success, the Albigenses and other enemies of the church. Then going into Italy, he readily obtained, after such achievements, great favour with the pontiffs, *Innocent III.* and *Honorius III.*, and obtained leave to establish a new fraternity, to be especially opposed to heretics. At first, he and his associates adopted the rule of the canons, commonly called *St. Augustine's*, with the addition of a few precepts that were more severe; but he afterwards went over to the class of monks, and in a convention of the fraternity at Bologna, in the year 1220, he enjoined upon them poverty and contempt for all permanent revenues and possessions. Soon after the transaction at Bologna, he died, in the year 1221.¹ The members

¹ See Jac. Echard and Quetif's *Scriptores Ordinis Domin.* Paris, 1719, fol., i. 84, &c. *Acta Sanctor.* April. iii. 872, &c. Nicol. Jansenius, *Vita S. Dominici*, Antw. 1622, 8vo, and the long list of writers mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi*, ii. 137, &c. to which may be added several others, and especially Anton. Bremond's *Bullarium Ordinis Dominici*, published at Rome; but which has not fallen in my way. [Also the *Annales Ord. Prædicatorum*, Rom. 1756, fol. t. i. which volume is wholly devoted to the life of St. Dominic. *Schl.*—That St. Dominic was of the noble family of *Guzman* has been disputed; but it is agreed, that he was born at Calahorra, A.D. 1170, and was early sent to the high

school at Valencia, where he studied theology four years, and led an austere life. In 1199, the bishop of Osma made him a presbyter, and a canon of his cathedral. He soon after became sub-prior of that body. In 1206, the bishop took Dominic with him into the south of France, where they met the papal legate and others, then labouring with little effect to convert the Albigenses. The bishop of Osma told them, they did not take the right course; that they ought to go forth unadorned, and without purse or scrip, like the apostles. He and Dominic set them a pattern, which they followed, with better success. After visiting Rome, the bishop had leave from the pope to preach in France during two years. He did so, with Dominic

of the orders were at first called *Preaching friars*, because their attention was principally devoted to instructing mankind by preaching: but afterwards they were named, from their founder, *Dominicans*.¹

§ 25. *Francis*, the son of a merchant of Assisi in Umbria, a dissolute and reckless youth, upon recovering from a very threatening sickness, which he had brought upon himself by his licentious, vicious conduct, exhibited in his life and behaviour a kind of religious idiocy; and subsequently, in the year 1208, having accidentally heard in a church the words of the Saviour, Matt. x. 10,² he conceived that the essence of the Gospel, as taught by Jesus Christ, consisted in absolute penury of all things; and this, therefore, he prescribed for himself, and some others who followed him. He was unquestionably an honest and pious man, but grossly ignorant, and weakened in his intellect by the force of his disease. His new fraternity was viewed by *Innocent III.* as well suited to the exigencies of the church at that time, and was formally approved by *Honorius III.*, A.D. 1223, and had become very numerous, when its founder died, in the year 1226. To manifest his humility, *Francis* would not allow the members of his order to be called *Brethren* (*Fratres*), but only *Little Brethren* (*Fratriculi*); in Italian, *Fratricelli*; in Latin, *Fratres Minores* [*Minorites*]; which name they still retain.³

to assist him. Many others also laboured with him. After the return of the bishop to Spain, *Dominic* continued to preach to the heretics, sometimes with assistants, and sometimes almost alone. In 1208, a papal legate was murdered, and a crusade commenced. *Dominic* persevered, with great zeal and fortitude, preaching, and begging his bread from door to door. He gradually drew around him several persons of like spirit. In 1215, he attended the Lateran council, and obtained leave to establish a new order, yet adopting some one of the already approved rules. He adopted that of *St. Augustine*; founded monasteries of *Preaching Friars* in divers places; and was constituted General of the whole. He was very active and efficient till his death in 1221. His sixty houses, divided into eight provinces, now fell under the care of his successor and biographer, *Jordan*, a noted preacher of the Order, educated at Paris. He presided till 1237, and was succeeded by *Raymund de Pennafort*, till 1275; when *John of Wildeshausen* became the general. In 1277, the Order had 35 cloisters for men in Spain, 52 in France, 32 in Tuscany, 53 in Germany, 46 in Lombardy, 30 in Hungary, 36 in Poland, 28 in Denmark, 40 in England, besides some in other countries, and a large number of nunneries. The next year it counted 417 cloisters. See *Schroeckh's Kirchengesch.* xxvii. 382, &c. *Tr.*

¹ In ancient writers, they are sometimes called also *Major Friars* (*Fratres Majores*).

See Ant. Matthæus, *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, ii. 172. But this was rather a nickname, by which they were distinguished from the Franciscans, who called themselves *Minor Friars* (*Fratres Minores*). In France, and the neighbouring countries, they were called *Jacobins* or *Jacobites*; because the first domicile granted to them at Paris was, and is still sacred to *St. James* [*Rue de St. Jacques*]. In England, they were called *Black Friars*, from the colour of their habit; and the part of London where they first dwelt is still called by this name. *Tr.*

² "Provide neither gold nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves."

³ The life of *St. Francis* was written by *Bonaventura*, and has been often published. But of all the writers who give account of him, the most full is *Luke Wadding* [an Irish Franciscan, who died at Rome, A.D. 1657], in the first volume of his *Annales Minorum*, a work containing a very ample history of the Franciscan order, confirmed by innumerable documents, and published with considerable enlargement, by *Joseph Maria Fonseca* at *Ebora*, Rome, 1731, and onwards, in eighteen volumes, folio. The same Wadding published the *Opuscula Sti. Francisci*, Antw. 1623, 4to, and the *Bibliotheca Ordinis Minorum*, Rome, 1650, 4to. The other writers on this celebrated sect are mentioned by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Biblioth. Latina Medii Ævi*, ii. 573, &c. [*St. Francis*

§ 26. These two orders wonderfully supported the tottering fabric of the Roman church in various ways; as by searching out and extirpating *heretics*, by performing embassies for the advantage of the church, and by confirming the people in their loyalty to the pontiffs. Sensible of their good services and fidelity, the pontiffs employed them in all the more important offices and transactions, and likewise conferred on them the highest and most invidious privileges and

was born at Assisi, A.D. 1182, and at his baptism was named John. But his father, being a merchant, who did much business in the south of France, brought him into such familiar intercourse with Frenchmen, that he learned to speak their language fluently, and was thence called Franciscus. His father educated him for his own business, and early employed him in traffic. But he was negligent in business, profligate, and debauched; yet generous to the poor, and brave. He always acted on the impulse of feeling, and his imagination overpowered his judgment. After his sickness he resolved to be religious, and became as extravagant in this course as he was before in his worldly pleasures. Meeting one day a leper, he dismounted from his horse, kissed the sores of the sick man, and gave him alms; and this, to overcome the revolting feelings of his nature. He fancied that Christ appeared to him, and that he had visions and prophetic dreams. In a pilgrimage to Rome, he saw a multitude of beggars about the church of St. Peter, and exchanged clothes with one of the most shabby, and herded some days with the rest. Praying one day near the walls of a decayed church at Assisi, he heard a voice saying, 'Go, Francis, and repair my house, which you see is decayed.' He immediately went, and sold a large amount of cloth belonging to his father, and brought the avails to the priest of that church, who hesitated to receive it. His father was offended, and attempted to arrest him as a deranged person, in which light he was now generally viewed by his fellow-townsmen. In 1206, his father took all his property out of his hands, lest he should squander it; and he now clothed himself in skins, and lived like a beggar, travelling up and down the country, and exhorting all to be religious. Some regarded him as insane, and others as a saint. By begging, he raised money to repair not only the old church before mentioned, but likewise two others; one of which, near Assisi, was called the church Portiuncula, where he fixed his head-quarters, and at length established his new order of monks, about 1208. Absolute poverty, entire obedience, much fasting and prayer, with constant efforts to convert sinners, were the requisites for admission to this order.

In 1210, he had but eleven followers, when he obtained leave of the pope to continue his monastery. In 1211, he sent his monks all over Italy, to preach, and beg their bread. The order now increased rapidly, and was in high repute. Francis himself travelled, and preached, and had revelations, and wrought miracles. Once, while preaching, he could not be heard, for the chattering of numerous swallows: he turned to them, and said, 'My sisters, you have talked long enough, it is time now for me to speak: do you keep silence, while the word of God is preached.' They instantly obeyed. In 1212, he attempted to sail to the East, in order to preach to the Mahumedans; but the winds drove him back. In the year 1214, he went to Morocco, and preached awhile without effect, among the believers in Mahumed. In 1215, he attended the Lateran council, when Innocent III. publicly declared his approbation of the Franciscan society. In 1216, he held at Assisi the first general chapter of his order; the next year cardinal Ugolino, afterwards pope Gregory IX., became patron of the order: the year following, 1219, no less than five thousand are said to have attended the general chapter. He now sent his preachers abroad all over Europe. He himself, this year, went to Egypt, and preached to the sultan of that country. On his return, he found that his deputy-general, Elias, had relaxed somewhat the strictness of his rules; but he restored things to their former state. He would not allow splendour in his churches, nor the formation of libraries; and individuals must not own even a psalter or hymn book. In 1220, five Franciscan missionaries were put to death in Morocco, which contributed much to raise the fame of the order, and to enlarge it. In 1222, the pope gave the Franciscans a right to preach everywhere, and to hear confessions, and grant absolutions in all places. In 1224, St. Francis, after praying for greater conformity with Christ, had scars, or fungus-flesh, it is said, formed on his hands, and feet, and side, to represent the five wounds of Christ. During the two following years, he lived an invalid at Assisi, and at last died, the 14th of October, 1226. See Bonaventura, l. c. and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* xxvii. 405, &c. Tr.]

advantages.¹ Among these prerogatives, it was not the least, that in all places, and without licence from the bishops, they might preach publicly, be confessors to all who wished to employ them, and grant absolutions. They were also furnished with ample power to grant *indulgences*, by which the pontiffs aimed to furnish the Franciscans especially with the means of support.² But these favours, conferred in such profusion upon the Dominicans and Franciscans, while they weakened the ancient discipline, and infringed upon the rights of the first and second orders of the clergy, produced deadly hatred between the mendicant orders on the one hand, and the bishops and priests on the other, and caused violent struggles and commotions in every country of Europe, and even in the city of Rome itself.³ And although the pontiffs of this and the following centuries used various means to compose and terminate these commotions, yet they were never able to extinguish them, because the interests of the church required that its most faithful servants and satellites, the mendicant friars, should continue to be honoured and unharmed.⁴

§ 27. Among these contests of the mendicants with the bishops, the priests, the schools, and the other monastic orders, the most noted is that of the Dominicans with the university of Paris, which commenced in the year 1228, and was protracted with various success till A.D. 1259. The Dominicans claimed the privilege of having *two* theological chairs in that university. One of these the university took from them; and also passed a statute, that no religious order should be allowed *two* theological chairs in the university. The Dominicans pertinaciously insisted on having a second chair: and, as

¹ Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 634, says: Our lord the pope now made the Franciscans and Dominicans, contrary to their wishes, I suppose, and to the injury and scandal of their order, his publicans and his bedels.—Idem, p. 639. Our lord the pope has not ceased to amass treasures, making the Dominican and Franciscan monks, even against their inclinations, not *fishers of men*, but of *money*. See also p. 662, 664, and many other places. At the year 1236, p. 354, he says: The Franciscans and Dominicans were counsellors and envoys of princes, and even secretaries to our lord the pope; thus securing to themselves too much secular favour. At the year 1239, p. 465, he says: At that time the Dominicans and Franciscans were the counsellors and special envoys of kings; and, as formerly those clothed in soft raiment were in kings' houses, so at this time, those clothed in vile raiment were in the houses, the halls, and the palaces of princes.

² See Baluze, *Miscellanea*, iv. 490, vii. 392. It is notorious, that no sect of monks had more, or ampler *indulgences* for distribution than the Franciscans. Without them, these good friars, who were required to have no possessions and revenues, could not have lived and multiplied. As a substitute for

fixed revenues, therefore, this extensive sale of *indulgences* was granted them.

³ See Baluze, *Miscellanea*, vii. 441.

⁴ See Jo. Launoi, *Explicata Ecclesiæ Traditio circa canonem: Omnis utriusque sexus; Opp.* i. pt. i. p. 247, &c. Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiast.* par M. du Pin, i. 326. Jac. Lenfant, *Hist. du Concile de Pise*, i. 310, ii. 8. Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, i. 404, &c. The writers of this and the following centuries are full of these contests. [Ecclesiastical discipline was injured by the privileges granted to the mendicants, especially as, being dependent on the kindness of the people for their daily support, they endeavoured (as in after times the Jesuits did) to secure their good-will, by the indulgent manner of treating them in confession; and thus the parish churches became almost empty, while those of the mendicants were full of worshippers. They also received pay for saying masses, and for allowing the rich a burial in their inclosures. As the proceedings of the mendicants were supported by Gregory IX., they kept no terms with the bishops, nor with the civil authorities. They depreciated, in their writings, and in the schools, the power of the bishops, and exalted that of the pope. *Schl.*]

they would not be quiet, the university severed them from its connexion. Violent commotion ensued on both sides. The controversy was carried before the court of Rome, and *Alexander IV.*, in the year 1255, ordered the university, not only to restore the Dominicans to their former standing in that literary body, but also to allow them as many [professorial] chairs as they chose to occupy. The university boldly resisted; and a dubious contest ensued. But *Alexander IV.* terrified and oppressed the Parisian doctors, with so many severe edicts, mandates, and epistles (to the number, it is said, of forty), that, in the year 1259, they yielded, and, according to the will of the pontiff, conceded not only to the Dominicans, but also to the Franciscans, all that they desired.¹ Hence arose that inveterate dislike and alienation, not yet entirely done away, between the university of Paris and the mendicant orders, especially that of the Dominicans.

§ 28. In this famous dispute, no one pleaded the cause of the university more strenuously and spiritedly than *William* of St. Amour, a doctor of the Sorbonne, a man of genius and worthy of a better age. For in his other writings and sermons, but more especially in his book on the *Perils of the latter times*, he attacked with great severity all the mendicants collectively; maintaining that their mode of life was contrary to the precepts of Christ, and that it had been inconsiderately, and *through mistake (per errorem)*, as he expresses it, confirmed by the pontiffs and the church. This very celebrated book derived its title from the position of its author, that the predictions of Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 1, &c., concerning the perils of the latter times, was fulfilled in the mendicant friars; which he endeavours to demonstrate chiefly from their *Everlasting Gospel*, of which more will be said hereafter. Against this formidable adversary the ire of the *Dominicans* especially was kindled; and they did not cease to persecute him, till *Alexander IV.*, in the year 1256, ordered his book to be publicly burnt, and the author to quit France; that he might no more excite the Sorbonne to hostility against the mendicants. *William* obeyed the mandate of the pontiff, and retired to his native place in Franche Comté. But, under *Clement IV.*, he returned to Paris, explained his book in a larger work, and at last died there in the highest estimation.²

¹ See Cæs. Egasse de Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*, iii. 138, &c. 240, 244, 248, 266, &c. Jo. Cordesius (whose assumed name is Alitophilus), *Præfatio Histor. et Apologetica ad Opera Guil. de S. Amore*. Anton. Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas*, p. 134. Wadding's *Anales Minorum*, iii. 247, 366, &c. iv. 14, 52, 106, 263. Among the ancients, Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, A.D. 1228, and Nangis, *Chronicon*; in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, iii. 38, &c.

² The Parisian theologians to this time hold *William* and his book in high estimation, and warmly contend that he was not

enrolled among the *heretics*; while the Dominicans regard him as a *heretic* of the first rank. His works, so far as they could be found, were published by John Cordesius, at Constance (as the title-page expresses, but, in fact, at Paris), 1632, 4to, with a long and learned preface, in which the reputation and the orthodoxy of the author are vindicated and maintained. To elude the resentment and enmity of the mendicant orders, the editor assumed the fictitious name of John Alitophilus. But the fraternity obtained a decree from Lewis XIII., in the year 1633, suppressing the book. The edict is given

§ 29. This general odium against the mendicant orders, arising from the high privileges conferred on them by the pontiffs, was not a little increased by the immense pride and arrogance which they displayed on all occasions. For they pretended to be divinely excited and commissioned to explain and defend the religion of Christ; the priests of all other classes and orders they treated with contempt, declaring that it was only themselves who understood the true way of salvation; they extolled the efficacy of their *indulgences*; and they boasted immoderately of their familiar intercourse with God, with the Virgin *Mary*, and with all the glorified saints: and by such means they so deluded and captivated the uninformed and simple multitude, that they employed *them* only as their spiritual guides.¹ A prominent place among the instances of their crafty arrogance is due to the fable circulated by the Carmelites, respecting *Simon Stock*, a general of their order, who died near the beginning of the century. They pretended that the Virgin *Mary* appeared to him, and promised that no person should be eternally lost, who should die clothed in the short mantle, worn on their shoulders by the Carmelites, and called the *scapular*.² And this fiction, equally ridiculous and impious, has found advocates even among the pontiffs.³

§ 30. But these very orders, which seemed to be the principal supports of the Romish power, gave the pontiffs immense trouble, not long after the decease of *Dominic* and *Francis*; and the difficulties, though often dispelled for a time, continually recurred, and brought the church into great jeopardy. In the first place, these two most powerful orders contended with each other for precedence, and attacked and warred upon each other in their publications, and with invectives and criminations. Attempts were frequently made to stop these contentions; but the firebrand that kindled them could never be extinguished.⁴ In the next place, the Franciscan fraternity was early split into factions, which time did but strengthen and render inveterate; and these factions not only disturbed the peace of the church, but shook even the sovereign powers and majesty of the pontiffs themselves. Nor will it appear doubtful, to one who attentively considers the course of events in the Latin church from this period onward, that these mendicant orders, in part undesignedly, and in part knowingly and intentionally, gave mortal wounds to the

us, by the Dominican, Anton. Touron, in his *Vie de S. Thomas*, p. 164. Respecting William, his life and fortunes, see also Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, iii. 366. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*. iii. 266, &c. Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles. sæc. xiii. c. iii. art. vii. p. 95*. Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclès. de M. du Pin*, i. 345, &c. and others.

¹ See, among others, Matthew Paris, *Hist. Major*, in various places, and particularly, on A.D. 1246, p. 607, 630, &c.

² See the tract of Jo. Launoi, *de Viso Simonis Stockii*, in his *Opp. t. ii. pt. ii. p. 379*, &c.

Acta Sanctor. Maii, iii. ad diem xvi. Theoph. Raynaud, *Scapulare Marianum: Opp. vii. 614*, and others.

³ Even the modern pontiff Benedict XIV. [who died A.D. 1758] did not hesitate to give countenance to this fable, yet in his usual prudent and cautious manner; *de Festis B. Mariæ Virginis*, l. ii. c. vi. *Opp. x. 472*, ed. Rome.

⁴ See the *Alcoran des Cordeliers*, i. 256, 266, 278, &c. Luke Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, iii. 380, and the whole history of these times.

authority of the Roman church, and caused the people to wish for a reformation in the church.

§ 31. *St. Francis* prescribed absolute poverty to his friars. While all the previous monastic orders adopted the policy of denying to their members severally the right of private property, but allowed the collective bodies or fraternities to possess estates and revenues, from which all the individuals received support, *Francis* would not allow his followers, either individually or collectively, to be owners of any property.¹ But immediately after the death of their founder many of the friars-minors departed from this rigorous law; and their inclinations were gratified by *Gregory IX.*, who in the year 1231 published a more mild interpretation of this severe rule.² But others among them were greatly dissatisfied with this relaxation of their primitive austerity. These, being persons of a morose disposition, and prone to go to extremes, were by some called the *Zealous* (*zelatores*), or the *Spiritual*; and by others the *Cæsarians*, from one of their number named *Cæsarius*, who was their chief leader.³ A perplexing controversy having thus arisen, *Innocent IV.*, in the year 1245, decided according to the views of those who wished their rule to be relaxed, declaring that they might hold lands, houses, furniture, books, and other things, and might use them freely; but that the *right of property*, the *legal possession* or *ownership* of the whole, should belong to *St. Peter*, and to the church of Rome, without whose consent nothing should be sold, exchanged, or in any way transferred to others. This exposition of their rule, the *Spirituals* declared to be an unrighteous perversion of it; some of them, accordingly, retired into desert places, others were sent into exile by *Crescentius*, general of the order.⁴

§ 32. *John* of Parma, who was elected general of the whole order, A.D. 1247, changed the face of things among them. Being himself in sentiment with the *Spirituals*, he recalled the exiles, and required the brethren to conform to the letter of the law, as prescribed by *St. Francis*.⁵ But the recompense that he received for restoring the Franciscan community to its pristine state was, that in the year 1249 he was accused before the pontiff, *Alexander IV.*, and was compelled to resign his office. His companions, who refused to abandon their opinions, were thrown into prison; and he himself with difficulty escaped the same fate.⁶ His successor, the celebrated *Bonaventura*, who ranked high among the scholastic theologians, wished to take neutral ground, and made it his grand object to prevent an open rupture and separation between the two parties. Yet he could not

¹ The Rule of *St. Francis*, cap. vi. is this: "Fratres sibi nihil approprient, nec domum, nec locum, nec aliquam rem: sed sicut peregrini et advenæ in hoc sæculo, in paupertate et humilitate famulantes Domino, vadant pro elemosyna (i.e. *must beg*) confidenter. — Hæc est illa celsitudo altissimæ paupertatis, quæ vos carissimos meos fratres hæredes et reges regni cælorum instituit."

² His Bull is extant in *Emman. Roderic's Collectio Privilegiorum regularium Mendicantium et non Mendicantium*, i. 8.

³ *Wadding's Annales*, iii. 99, &c.

⁴ *Wadding*, iv. 128, and iii. 171, &c.

⁵ *Wadding's Annales*, iii. 171.

⁶ *Wadding's Annales*, iv. 4, &c.

prevent the laxer party from obtaining, in the year 1257, a solemn ratification from *Alexander IV.* of the interpretation put upon their rule by *Innocent IV.*¹ On the other hand, those who held to the views of the *Spirituals* were so successful, that, in an assembly of the order, A.D. 1260, they procured the abrogation of the interpretation of *Innocent*, and particularly so far as it differed from the previous interpretation of *Gregory IX.*²

§ 33. To this first contest respecting the real construction of their rule, another was added of no less magnitude. From the beginning of the century, there were circulated, in Italy and in other countries, various prophecies of the famous *Joachim*, abbot of Flora in Calabria, who was considered by the vulgar as a man divinely inspired, and equal to the ancient prophets. Most of these prophecies were included in a book which bore the title of *The Everlasting Gospel*, and also that of *The Book of Joachim.*³ This true, or fictitious, *Joachim*, among many other things foretold, in particular, the destruction of the Roman church, the defects and corruptions of which he severely lashes; and also the promulgation of a new and more perfect *Gospel*, by poor persons divinely commissioned, in *the age of the Holy Spirit*. For he taught, that two *imperfect ages* [or dispensations], that is, modes of worshipping God, had already passed; namely, those of *the Father* and of *the Son*; and that a third, more perfect, was at hand; namely, that of the *Holy Spirit*. These predictions, and whatever announcements were attributed to *Joachim*, were most eagerly embraced by the *Spirituals*, who were, for the most part, well-meaning, but delirious and fanatical persons, and who applied them to themselves, and to the rules of life prescribed by *St. Francis*:⁴ for they maintained, that *he* had taught men the true *Gospel*; and that he was that *angel* whom John, in the Apocalypse, xiv. 6, saw flying through the heavens.⁵

§ 34. At the time when these contentions were at their height,

¹ The decree is exhibited by Wadding, among other documents, *Annales*, iv. 446.

² Wadding's *Annales*, iv. 128. The miserable and distracted state of the order is lucidly depicted in an epistle of Bonaventura, which may be seen in Wadding, l. c. p. 58.

³ What Merlin is to the English, Malachy to the Irish, and Nostradamus to the French, the same is the abbot Joachim to the Italians: a man who foretells what is to come, who is divinely aided, and foresees the fate of empires and the revolutions in the church. Great numbers of his predictions were formerly in circulation, and are so still; nay, have had not a few who attempted to explain them. That Joachim predicted some things, and also spoke of a future reformation in the church, which he saw to be very necessary, I have no doubt. But most of the predictions, once believed to be his, undoubtedly originated from other authors. And among these, I place *The Ever-*

lasting Gospel, which was the production of an obscure and insipid writer, who published his dreams under the splendid name of Joachim, in order to give them currency. The title of this foolish book was borrowed from the Apocalypse, ch. xiv. 6. It consisted of three parts [or *libri*]; of which the first was entitled *Liber Concordiarum, vel Concordiæ Veritatis*; the second, *Apocalypsis Nova*; and the third, *Psalterium decem Chordarum*. This is remarked by Jac. Echard, *Scriptores Dominicani*, i. 202, from a MS. copy in the Sorbonne.

⁴ This, Wadding himself does not deny, though he is a staunch friend to the *Spirituals*; *Annales*, iv. 3—6. He also speaks favourably of the abbot Joachim.

⁵ See Baluze, *Miscellanea*, i. 221, 228, 235, 246. Echard, *Script. Dominicani*, i. 202. *Codex Inquis. Tholosanæ*, published by Limborch, p. 301, 302, 305, &c.

about the year 1250, *Gerhard*, one of the *Spirituals*, wrote a particular work in explanation of this *Everlasting Gospel*, ascribed to *Joachim*, which he entitled an *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*.¹ This treatise, among many other absurd and impious things, contained this most detestable asseveration: that the true and eternal Gospel of God was exhibited to mankind by *St. Francis*, who was the angel

¹ As both the ancients and the moderns have given inaccurate accounts of this infamous book, I will here subjoin some remarks, which may serve to correct their mistakes.

I. They nearly all confounded the *Everlasting Gospel* (or the *Gospel of the Holy Spirit*, which was another title of the book according to William of St. Amour, *de Periculis novissimorum temporum*, p. 38,) with the *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*, or, to the books of the abbot *Joachim*. Yet these two books were totally different. The *Everlasting Gospel* was attributed to the abbot *Joachim*, and consisted (as before observed) of three books. But the *Introduction* to this Gospel was the work of some Franciscan monk; and it explained the obscure predictions of this Gospel, and applied them to the Franciscans. Neither the university of Paris, nor Alexander IV., complained of the *Everlasting Gospel* itself; but the *Introduction* to it was complained of, and condemned, and burnt; as is manifest from the epistles of Alexander on the subject, published by Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. iii. 292. The book of the abbot *Joachim*, or the *Everlasting Gospel*, was, undoubtedly, as such worthless books generally are, made up of enigmas and ambiguous assertions; and it was therefore treated with contempt. But the interpretation of it, or the *Introduction* to it, was a very dangerous book.

II. As to the author of the *Introduction*, the ancient writers are not agreed. All make it the production of some one who belonged to an order of mendicants. But those who favour the Franciscans say, he must have been a Dominican; while those who defend the Dominican cause, throw back the accusation on the Franciscans. The majority, however, assert that John of Parma, general of the Franciscans, who belonged to the party of the *Spirituals*, and is known to have too much favoured the opinions of the abbot *Joachim*, was the author of the disgraceful production. See Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, iv. 9, who endeavours, though very unsatisfactorily, to exonerate him from the charge. See also the *Acta Sanctor. Martii*, iii. 157, &c.; for John of Parma obtained a place among the glorified saints that reign with Christ, notwithstanding that he is represented as preferring the Gospel of St.

Francis to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. James Echard, however, in his *Script. Dominicani*, i. 202, 203, has shown, from the MS. records of the legal process against the *Everlasting Gospel*, which are still preserved in the Sorbonne, that the author of the infamous book was a Franciscan friar, named Gerhard. This Gerhard was the intimate friend of John of Parma; and he not only maintained fiercely the cause of the *Spirituals*, but likewise he so heartily imbibed all the opinions ascribed to the abbot *Joachim*, that he chose to lie in prison eighteen years, rather than to abandon them. See Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, iv. 4, 7. And yet those Franciscans, who are called *Observants*, that is, such as pretend to follow the rules of their founder more strictly than the others, place this Gerhard among the saints of the highest order; and they tell us that he possessed both the gift of prophecy and the power of working miracles. See Wadding's *Annales*, iii. 213, 214.

III. Nearly all tax with the crime of producing this detestable book the whole body of mendicant friars, or at least the two orders of Dominicans and Franciscans; and they think both these orders were willing to advance their fame for piety, and their influence among mankind, by means of this work. But the fact was far otherwise. The crime is only chargeable on the Franciscans; as is evident from the remains of the book itself: yet not on all the Franciscans, as justice requires us to state, but only on that class of them who are called the *Spirituals*; indeed, it is perhaps not chargeable on all of these, but only on that portion of them who believed in the prophecies of the abbot *Joachim*.

After these remarks, it will be more easy to understand correctly what the following writers tell us concerning the *Everlasting Gospel*; namely, Jo. Andr. Schmid, in his *Dis.* on this subject, Helmst. 1700, 4to. Ja. Ussher, *de Successione Ecclesiarum Occidentis*, cap. ix. § 20, p. 337. Cæs. Egasse de Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. iii. 292, &c. Natalis Alexander, *Historia Eccles. sæc.* xiii. art. iv. p. 78; Wadding, *Ann. Minor.*, iv. 9, and many others. This book is not a monument of the pride and insolence of all the mendicant orders, as most writers have supposed, but of the impious folly of a part, and a very small part, of the Franciscan family.

mentioned in the Apocrypha, chap. xlv. ver. 6; that the Gospel of Christ would be abrogated in the year 1260, and the new and eternal Gospel take its place; and that the mendicants by whom the great change would be brought about were to be innocent bare-footed friars.¹ When this book was published at Paris, A.D. 1254, the theologians there, and all good men, burst out into the highest indignation against the mendicant monks, who were before sufficient cause on other accounts. For this reason, Alexander IV., though reluctant, in the year 1255, forbade the circulation of the book; yet in a manner so guarded and cautious, as to spare the reputation of the mendicant order as far as possible. But the university of Paris did not desist from complaints and accusations, till the book was publicly burnt.²

§ 35. The dissensions of the Franciscans, which were quieted by the prudence of Bonaventura, broke out again after his death. For that portion of the order, who desired greater liberty, wished to have the rule of the founder wholly abrogated, as being morally wrong, and requiring what is beyond the powers of human nature; but as the education of those attached to the primitive strictness, Nicolas III. resisted the measures of these innovators, and published, in 1279, the famous constitution, by which he not only confirmed the rule of St. Francis, but also interpreted it in the most particular manner.³ In this constitution he enjoined upon the friars, as their rule demanded, an *encorporation*, or *renunciation*, of all right of property or ownership; but allowed them the simple use of things necessary, the *rention*, *not the property*, and ordained, that the dominion of these necessities, houses, books, and other furniture, should belong, as Innocent IV. had decided, to the church of Rome. In the conclusion, he severely prohibited all private expostions of his law, lest it should afford new grounds of contention: reserving the right of interpreting it exclusively to the Roman pontiffs.⁴

§ 36. This constitution of Nicolas did not satisfy the *Zachins*, or the *Spirituels*, who were considerably numerous, particularly in Italy and France, and especially in the province of Narbonne. Those in Italy made no disturbance; but those in France, and particularly in Narbonne, being of a warmer and more ardent temperament, and

¹ See Gallandus de S. Amore, de *Periculis mendicantium*, Trigonius, p. 34, 35, who tells us that this book was first published in 1244; but that the opinions contained in it had circulated 50 years before, i.e. A.D. 1194. Quotes extracts from the book as given by several of the ancient writers. See Hume, *Customs of France*, in Bonnet's *Customs of France*, *Memoir*, A.D. 1766. The *Calculus Astronomicus*, in Aeneas, *Narrationes Astronomicæ*, N. A.D. 1516. Printed in: in Bonnet's *Customs*, pt. 1, 1216, and others. Yet among these extracts there is much discrepancy; which convinced, I suppose, from some writers quoting from the *Enchiridion*, *Gregorij de Chartres*, while others

quoted from four Cardinal's *Interdictiones* in 16, without determining whence the two words.

² See Bodley's *Hist. Acad. Paris*, p. 246, de *Cardinali Galland*, in *Maneris Astronomici*, fol. 20, 204.

³ Some contend that this constitution was promulgated by Nicolas IV., but they are answered by Wadding *Annalis Minores*, n. 71.

⁴ This celebrated constitution is inserted in the *Decretales Gregorij*, l. vi. *De regulis*, [l. v.] tit. xii. c. 3, p. 1028, ed. Böhmer; and is commonly designated by its first word, *Encor*.

led on by *Peter John Oliva*, openly testified their dissatisfaction, and again produced violent contentions.¹ This *Peter*, famed for his writings, his opinions, and his sufferings, was in high estimation for sanctity and learning, and therefore had numerous followers; and he really inculcated many things wisely and well. In particular he censured with great freedom the corruptions and defects of the Romish religion. This he did both in his other writings, and particularly in his *Postilla* or *Commentary* on the Apocalypse; in which he did not hesitate to affirm, that the church of Rome was that whore of Babylon whom *John* saw in vision. Yet he was at the same time most profoundly superstitious, and contaminated with a large part of those opinions which the *Spirituals* pretended to have learned from the abbot *Joachim*; and he had an impious veneration for his beloved *Francis*, who, he maintained, was *wholly conformed to Christ* (*totum Christo configuratum*).² In the great dispute respecting the sense of *Francis's* rule, he seemed to be of neither party; for he conceded to the brethren the *beggarly use of things necessary* (*pauperem rerum necessariarum usum*); and, when several times summoned before his superiors, he would not express dissatisfaction with the interpretation of *Nicolas III.* Yet he inclined much to the side of the more strict or the *Spirituals*, who would not allow even the order collectively to possess any property; and he contended, that such as held these views were to be esteemed and loved rather than persecuted.³ He is therefore regarded as the leader and head of all those among the Franciscans, who maintained these contests with the pontiffs respecting the *expropriation* required by *Francis*.⁴

§ 37. Relying on the influence of this man, whom the multitude accounted a prophet of God, and a most holy person, the *Spirituals* resolutely assailed the opposite party; but the prudence of the generals of the order, for a time, so held their passions in check, that neither party could overcome the other. Such prudence, however, was not in *Matthew Aquaspartanus*, who was made general of the order in the year 1287. He suffered the ancient discipline to fall completely, and even the appearance of poverty to become extinct.

¹ He is also called, in ancient writers, Peter of Beziers (Biterrensis), because he lived long, and was a teacher in the monastery of Beziers. Sometimes also he is called, from his native place, Peter of Serignan; for he was born in the castle of St. Mary at Serignan in France. I note these circumstances, because some have made three persons out of this man.

² See the *Littera Magistrorum de Postilla fratris P. Joh. Olivi*; in Baluze's *Miscellanea*, i. 213, and Wadding's *Annales*, v. 51.

³ His sentiments may be learned, best of all, from his last discourse, in Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*, iii. 535, and Wadding's *Annales*, v. 378.

⁴ See, concerning this celebrated man,

who died A.D. 1297, in addition to the common writers (Raynaldi, Nat. Alexander, Oudin, and others), Stephen Baluze's *Miscellanea*, i. 213, and his *Vite Pontiff. Avignon*, ii. 752, &c. Charles Plessis d'Argentre's *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Eccles. Erroribus*, i. 226, &c. Luke Wadding's *Annales*, v. 52, 108, 121, 140, 236, and especially p. 378, where he labours with all his might, though with little success, to excuse and justify the man. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*, iii. 535, &c. Jo. George Schelhorn's *Amœnitates Litter.* ix. 678, &c. *Hist. générale de Languedoc, par les Moines Bénédict.* iv. 91, 179, 182. His bones, together with his books, were burnt by order of the pontiff, in the year 1325. See Raynaldi's *Annales*, ad ann. 1325, § 20.

Hence there arose, first in the March of Ancona in Italy, and afterwards in France, and in other countries, great commotions among the *Spirituals*, both the more moderate and the more rigid; and *Matthew*, after labouring in vain to quell these commotions by imprisonments and penalties, at length, in the year 1289, resigned his office.¹ His successor, *Raymund Gaufridi*, endeavoured to restore peace by recalling the exiles, liberating the imprisoned, and sending a few of the more intractable into Armenia. But the evil had now become too inveterate to be easily cured. For the more lax censured the tenderness and kindness of the general towards the *Spirituals*; nor did they cease to persecute him, till, under *Boniface VIII.*, they obtained his dismissal. At the same time, the *Spirituals*, especially in France, seceded from the rest, and openly condemned the interpretation of their rule by *Nicolas III.* Hence, from the year 1290 onwards, the prospect was open sedition and schism.²

§ 38. Some of the Italian *Spirituals*, in the year 1294, asked permission of the pontiff, *Celestine V.*, to form themselves into a distinct community, which might live in that real poverty, absolutely void of all possessions and all property, which *St. Francis* had prescribed to his followers; and the indulgent pontiff, who was a great admirer of poverty, readily granted their request, and placed at the head of this new fraternity, friar *Liberatus*, a man of a most austere life.³ But as *Celestine* soon after resigned the pontificate, his successor, *Boniface VIII.*, who rescinded all the acts of *Celestine*, suppressed this new order, which had assumed the name of *Celestine Eremites of St. Francis*.⁴ The more lax Franciscans, therefore, now persecuted this class with great severity, and accused them, among other things, of Manichæism. Hence many of them emigrated, first to Achaia, and afterwards from thence to a small island, in order there to lead that miserable kind of life which they regarded as the most holy. But the fury of their brethren still pursued them in their exile. Those who remained in Italy, in spite of *Boniface VIII.*, continued to live according to their favourite rules; and they gathered associations of their order, first in the kingdom of Naples, and then in the March of Ancona, and in the Milanese territory. From Italy they at length spread themselves over the greatest part of Europe; and quite down to the reformation by *Luther* they were involved in the hottest warfare with the church of Rome, in which contest vast numbers of them perished miserably in the flames, victims to the zeal of the *Inquisitors*.⁵

¹ Wadding's *Annales*, v. 210, 211, 235.

² Wadding's *Annales*, v. 108, 121, 140, and especially 235, 236.

³ Wadding's *Annales*, v. 324, 338, &c.

⁴ Wadding's *Annales*, vi. 1, &c. *Bulla-rium Magnum*, continu. iii. iv. [ed. Luxem. 1741, t. ix.] p. 108.

⁵ In what I here state, and also in what I am about to state, on this subject, I can-

not name any writers whom I have followed. For this part of the church history of the middle ages has not been accurately and faithfully delineated; although it is well worthy of being placed in a clearer light, for it exhibits great examples; and these rebellious Franciscans, though superstitious, hold a distinguished rank among those who prepared the way for the reformation in Europe, and

§ 39. At this time, therefore, or near the close of this century, originated in Italy the *Fratricelli* and *Bizochi*, parties that, in Germany and France, were denominated *Beguards*; and which, first, *Boniface VIII.*¹ and afterwards other pontiffs, condemned, and wished to see persecuted by the *Inquisition*, and exterminated in every possible way. The *Fratricelli*, who also called themselves, in Latin, *Frates parvi* (Little Brethren), or *Fraterculi de paupere vita* (Little brothers of the poor life), were Franciscan monks, but detached from the great family of Franciscans, who wished to observe the regulations prescribed by their founder, *Francis*, more perfectly than the others, and therefore possessed no property, either individually or collectively, but obtained their necessary food from day to day by begging.² For they said that Jesus Christ and his apostles had neither individual nor common property; and that the Franciscans were ordered by their founder to imitate them. They likewise, after the example of *St. Francis*, wore tattered, shabby, and sordid garments: they declaimed against the corruptions of the Roman church, and the vices of the pontiffs and bishops: they predicted a reformation and purification of the church, and the restoration of the true Gospel of Jesus Christ by the genuine disciples of *St. Francis*: in short, they assented to nearly all the opinions which were circulated as coming from the

instilled into the people a hatred of the church of Rome. Raynaldi, Bzovius, and Spondanus, in their *Annals*, and Eymericus, in his *Directorium Inquisitorum*, Natalis Alexander, and others, all treat of these subjects, which are of greater importance than most persons are aware; but they do not treat them properly, fully, and distinctly. And as the Protestant historians all borrow from these, it is not strange that they also are defective. Wadding, though an indefatigable writer, yet, while handling these subjects, proceeds like one treading upon coals of fire concealed under ashes; he obscures, suppresses, dissembles, excuses, concedes, and doubts. For he was favourably disposed towards the more rigid Franciscans; yet he dared not openly say that they were injuriously treated by the pontiffs. He saw that the Roman church was shaken by these his friends, and that the majesty of the pontiffs was seriously injured and depressed by them; but he is extremely cautious not to let this appear too clearly to his readers. I could not, therefore, follow any writer throughout as my guide. But I have access to various testimonies of the ancient writers, and I also have in my hands not a few documents that were never published; namely, diplomas of the pontiffs and temporal sovereigns, Acts of the *Inquisition*, and others, from which everything I shall say may be fully substantiated. And if God shall spare my life, these documents may perhaps come before the public. [This has not taken place, and it is desirable that those who

have these documents in their possession should not withhold them from the world. *Schl.*]

¹ See Jo. Trithemius, *Annales Hirsaugienses*, ii. 74. Yet this writer is faulty in many particulars, and deserves no credit in what he says of the origin and the opinions of the *Fratricelli*. He everywhere confounds, indiscriminately, the sects of this period. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*. iii. 541, where may be seen the decree of Boniface VIII. against the *Bizochi* and *Beguards*, passed A.D. 1297. Jordan's *Chronicon*; in Muratori's *Antiquit. Italiae*, iv. 1020. Add also the common writers, though none of them is free from errors.

² The *Fratricelli* held many common principles with the *Spirituals*; yet they were diverse from them. The *Spirituals* did not renounce communion with the other Franciscans from whom they differed, and they were not disposed to form a new sect; but the *Fratricelli* would have nothing to do with the great family deriving its name from *St. Francis*; and they appointed for themselves a distinct head or leader. The *Spirituals* did not wholly prohibit the Franciscan family from holding property in common, provided they were not the legal owners of the property; but the *Fratricelli* would not allow their members, either separately or collectively, to hold any property; and they observed that absolute poverty which Francis had required both in his *Rule* and in his last *Testament*. Some other particulars are omitted.

abbot *Joachim*. They extolled *Cælestine V.* as the legal founder of their sect; but *Boniface*, and the succeeding pontiffs, who opposed the *Fratricelli*, they denied to be true pontiffs.¹

¹ The accounts given of the *Fratricelli* by both the ancients and the moderns, and even by those who exhibit most accuracy and research, are more confused and contradictory than can well be imagined. John Trithemius (*Annales Hirsauensis*. ii. 74) makes them to be the progeny of Tanchelinus; and he most unsuitably confounds them with the *Cathari* and other sects of those times. And most of the others who treat of the *Fratricelli* are no better informed than he. The Franciscans leave no stone unturned, in order to prove that the pestilent sect of the *Fratricelli* did not originate from their order. Of course they resolutely deny that the *Fratricelli* professed to follow the Franciscan rule; and they maintain that this name designated a confused rabble of various sorts of persons, of different religious views, which Hermann Pongilupus of Ferrara, in Italy, first collected together, near the close of the century. In place of all others may be consulted, on this subject, Luke Wadding, *Annales* vi. 279, &c., who is most copious in wiping this disgrace from his order. But the indefatigable man has accomplished nothing by all his efforts. For he himself concedes, and also proves, by unquestionable authorities, that the *Fratricelli* did profess, and did in practice follow, the rule of St. Francis. And yet he denies that they were Franciscans; meaning, however, only this, that they were not *such* Franciscans as those who were who lived in subordination to the general prefect of the order, and who admitted the exposition of the rule of St. Francis given by the pontiffs. He therefore proves only that the *Fratricelli* were Franciscans, who had withdrawn from the great family of the order, and who rejected the decrees of the pontiffs and the authority of the general prefect; which no one calls in question. This Hermann (or Armann, as he is constantly named in the records of the trials,) Pongilupus, whom Wadding, with many others, represents as being the parent of the *Fratricelli*, lived at Ferrara, in this century, and was highly esteemed for his sanctity; and after his death, in 1269, he was magnificently entombed in the principal church of Ferrara, and was long held by all for a distinguished saint, whose sanctity God had demonstrated by numerous miracles. But as the *Inquisitors of heretical pravity* had long been suspicious of him, because he led that austere course of life pursued by the class of the *Cathari* denominated the Comforted, after his death they made such

critical inquiries into his life, that after several years they detected his impieties. Hence, in 1300, by order of Boniface VIII., his bones were burnt, his tomb demolished, and an end put to the extravagant reverence of the people for Pongilupus. The records of this judicial process were first published by Lewis Ant. Muratori, in his *Antiquitates Italiae Medii Ævi*, v. 93-147. From these ample records it is most manifest that all those learned men are mistaken who represent Armann Pongilupus as the parent of the *Fratricelli*. He had no concern with them whatever: nay, he was dead some time before this sect arose. On the contrary, this celebrated man was one of the *Cathari*, or Paulicians, or Manichæans, and of that branch of them called Bagnolists, from the town Bagnols, in Languedoc. Some of the moderns have correctly understood this point, that the *Fratricelli* were a more rigid sort of Franciscans; but they have erred in supposing them to differ from the Beguards or Beguins in nothing but their name. See Phil. Limborch, *Historia Inquisitionis*, l. i. c. xix. p. 69, who shows himself not well acquainted with these affairs. Stephen Baluze, *Miscellanea*, i. 195, and in his *Vita Pontiff. Avenionens.* i. 509. Isaac de Beausobre, *Diss. sur les Adamites*; subjoined to his *History of the Hussite War*, p. 380. And even Wadding is not opposed to this opinion. See his *Annales Minor.* v. 376. But the *Fratricelli* certainly did differ, as I shall presently show, from the Beghards, not only in their opinions, but also in their practice and mode of life.

The principal cause of the numerous mistakes made in the history of the *Fratricelli*, undoubtedly was the ambiguity of the name. *Fratricellus* or *Fraterculus* (Little Brother) was a term of reproach among the Italians of that age, which they applied to any one that assumed the appearance of a monk, and in his dress, demeanour, and habits, made a considerable show of piety or holiness, yet did not belong to any of the approved monastic sects. See Jo. Villani, *Istorie Fiorentine*, l. viii. c. 84, p. 423. Imola on Dante; in Muratori's *Antiquitates Italiae*, i. 1121. As there were in those times many such persons strolling about the country, though differing much in their mode of life and opinions, this term was of course applied to persons of various descriptions and characters. Thus the *Cathari*, the Waldenses, the Apostoli, and many other sects who broached new doctrines, were commonly branded with this

§ 40. As the great Franciscan family had its associates and dependents, who observed the third rule prescribed by *St. Francis*, and who were usually called *Tertiarii*;¹ so also the sect of the *Fratricelli*, which wished to be thought the genuine fraternity of *St. Francis*, had numerous *Tertiarii* of its own. These were called, in Italy, *Bizochi* and *Bocasoti*; in France, *Beguini*; and in Germany, *Beghardi*, by which name *all the Tertiarii* were commonly designated.²

epithet;—and foreign writers, not aware of this fact, thought they discovered, sometimes in one sect, and sometimes in another, those noted *Fraterculi* who gave the pontiffs so much trouble. But this term *Fratricelli* or *Fraterculi*, when applied to those stricter Franciscans who aimed to observe the rule of their master perfectly, had not its vulgar import, and was not a term of reproach or a nickname, but an honourable appellation, which these devotees of the severest poverty coveted and preferred before all other names. *Fratricellus* is the same as *Fraterculus* or *Little Brother*; and this is equivalent to *Frater Minor*. And everybody knows that the Franciscans chose to be called *Fratres Minores*; as expressive of their humility and modesty. These well-meaning people, therefore, did not assume a new name; but only applied to themselves the ancient name of their order, in the form it took in the Italian language; for those who are, in Latin, called *Fratres Minores*, are in the Italian called *Fratricelli*. Of the many proofs which are at hand, I will subjoin one only; namely, a passage from William de Thoco, in his life of St. Thomas Aquinas, in the *Acta Sanctor. Martii*, i. 666, cap. ii. § 21. “Destruxit (sc. St. Thomas) et tertium pestiferum pravitatis errorem—cujus sectatores simul et inventores se nominant *Fraterculos de vita paupere*, ut etiam sub hoc humilitatis sophistico nomine simplicium corda seducant—contra quem errorem pestiferum Johannes Papa XXII. mirandam edidit decretalem.”

And this very decretal of John XXII. which Thoco calls *admirable*, to mention no other proofs, is sufficient to prove, that what I have here said of the *Fratricelli* is accordant with truth. It is extant in the *Extravagantes* of John XXII. [Tit. vii. cap. i. *Tr.*] in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* ii. 1112, ed. Böhmer. The pontiff says, “Nonnulli profanæ multitudinis viri, qui vulgariter *Fratricelli*, seu *Fratres de paupere vita*, *Bizochi* sive *Beguini* nuncupantur, in partibus Italiæ in insula Siciliæ—publicè mendicare solent.” These *Fratricelli* he then divides into *monks* and *Tertiarii*; or, what is the same, as I shall presently show, into the *Fratricelli* and the *Beguini*. Of the proper *Fratricelli*, he thus speaks: “Plurimi eorum regulam, seu ordinem *Fratrum Minorum*—se profiteri

ad literam conservare confingunt—præcedentes se a sanctæ memoriæ Cælestino Papa quinto, prædecessore nostro, hujus status seu vitæ privilegium habuisse. Quod tamen, etsi ostenderent, non valeret; cum Bonifacius Papa octavus ex certis causis rationabilibus omnia ab ipso Cælestino concessa—viribus penitus evacuaverit.” What could be more explicit and clear? The pontiff then proceeds to the other portion of these people, who were called *Bizochi*, or *Beguini*: “Nonnulli etiam ex ipsis asserentes se esse de tertio ordine beati Francisci Pœnitentium vocato, prædictum statum et ritum eorum sub velamine talis nominis satagunt palliare.”

¹ Besides his two rules, both very strict and austere, the one for the Friars Minors, and the other for the *Poor Sisters*, called *Clarissians*, from St. Clara [the first abbess among the Franciscans], St. Francis also prescribed a *third rule*, more easy to be observed, for such as wished to connect themselves in some sort with his order, and to enjoy the benefits of it, and yet were not disposed to forsake all worldly business, and to relinquish all their property. This rule required only certain pious observances, such as fasts, prayers, continence, a coarse and cheap dress, gravity of manners, &c., but did not prohibit private property, marriage, public offices, and worldly occupations. This *third rule* of St. Francis is treated of by all the writers on the Franciscan order; and especially by Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, ii. 7, &c., and by Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, vii. 214. Those who professed this *third rule* were called *Fratres de pœnitentia*; sometimes also, *Fratres de sacco*, on account of the meanness of their dress; but more commonly *Tertiarii*. This institution of St. Francis was copied by other orders of monks in the Roman church, as soon as they perceived its advantages. And hence, most of the orders, at the present day, have their *Tertiarii*.

² The *Tertiarii* connected with those rigid Franciscans who were distinguished by the title of *Fratricelli*, sprung up in the march of Ancona, and the neighbouring regions, in 1296 or 1297, and were called *Bizochi*; as we learn from the bull of Boniface VIII. against them, drawn up in 1297, which is published by Boulay, in his

These differed from the *Fratricelli*, not in their opinions, but only in their mode of life. The *Fratricelli* were real monks, living under

Hist. Acad. Paris. iii. 541. John XXII. has the same name for them in his bull, quoted in a preceding note. See also C. du Fresne, *Glossar. Latinit. Mediæ*, i. 1188, who observes that the name is derived from *Bizoch*, in French *Besace*, on account of the wallet or bag which these mendicants used to carry. [No: he says, *Some* have supposed it so derived; but *he* thinks they were called *Bizochi* and *Biechini*, from the gray colour of their garments; for from the Italian *bigio*, he says, is derived the French *bis*, gray, or ash-coloured. *Tr.*] The name *Bocasotus* or (as it is written in Baylay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iii. 510), *Vocasotus*, is undoubtedly of the same origin and import. It occurs in Jordanus; from whom an important passage will hereafter be quoted. The names *Beghardi* and *Beguini*, by which this sort of people were called in France and Italy, are very notorious in the church history of the middle ages. But what both the ancients and the modern state, concerning the persons who bore these names, is so vague and contradictory, that it is not strange we should find no part of the religious history of this period involved in more obscurity and uncertainty than that of the *Beghardi* and *Beguini*. I will therefore dispel this obscurity, as far as I am able, and expose the origin of these sects.

The words *Beghardus* or *Beggchardus* and *Begutta*, and also *Beghinus* and *Beghina*, differ only in orthography, and are all of the same import. The Germans and the Dutch say *Beghard* and *Begutte*: which are the forms most used in the ancient German language. But the French substituted the Latin instead of the German orthography, and pronounced *Beghinus* and *Beghina*, after the Roman manner. Thus, those who in Germany and Holland were called *Beghardi* and *Begutta*, were in France and Italy called *Beghini* and *Beguina*: yet the Latin form was gradually preferred before the German, even by the Germans and the Dutch; for which, very probable reasons might be assigned, if this were the proper place. [It probably arose from the fact, that such as wrote on the subject were priests and retained the orthography that was adopted in the papal bulls. *Schl.*] Concerning the derivation and the import of these names, there are many opinions, which it would be tedious to enumerate and to refute. I have done this in another place: for I have commenced and nearly completed an extensive and copious work, concerning the *Beghardi* and *Beghina*; in which I have carefully investigated the history of all the sects, to which these names

were applied, examining numerous monuments, a great part of which were never published; and I have detected very many mistakes of learned men, in this part of church history. In this place, therefore, disregarding the various conjectures and opinions of others, I will briefly state the true origin and signification of these terms. Beyond all controversy, they are derived from the old German word, *beggen* or *beggeren*, which we now pronounce in a softer manner, *begehren*. It signifies to *beg* for anything earnestly and heartily. The syllable *hard*, which is a frequent termination of German words, being subjoined to this, produces the name *Beggchard*, which denotes a person who begs often and importunately. And as none ask and importune more frequently and earnestly than the mendicants do, hence, in the language of the old Germans, a *Beghard* is a mendicant [or *beggar*], which word still exists in the language of the English. *Beghutta* is a female who gets her living by begging. Christianity being introduced into Germany, the word *beggen* or *beggeren* was applied to religion, and denoted that duty which is enjoined upon Christians, namely, to offer devout and fervent prayer to God. This word *beggen* therefore, as we may learn from the Gothic or Francic version of the IV. Gospels by Ulphilas [in which, *bidjan* is to pray; and *bidagwa* is a beggar. *Tr.*], signifies, to pray earnestly and devoutly to God. This application of the word coming into use, a man distinguished from others by praying much and fervently, was called a *Beghard*, or *one that prays*; and a woman constant in this duty, was called *Begutta*, a woman that prays. And as those who pray more than others, make a display of unusual piety, therefore all who wished to be accounted more religious than others, were usually denominated *Beghardi* and *Begutta*; that is, in modern phraseology, *Praying Brothers*, and *Praying Sisters*.

Whoever duly considers these statements, will successfully find his way amidst the many difficulties attending the history of the *Beghardi* and *Beghina*; and he will see whence arose such a multitude of *Beghardi* and *Beghina*, in Europe, from the thirteenth century onward; and why so many sects (more than thirty might be named) differing greatly in their sentiments, institutions, and practice, were all called by these names. In the first place, *Beghardus* (or *Beggert*, as it was commonly uttered) was the term among the Germans for an importunate beggar. Therefore, when they saw persons, under the pretence of piety

the rule of *St. Francis*; but the *Bizochi* or *Beguini* lived in the manner of other people, except in regard to dress, and a few observances prescribed for this class of persons by *St. Francis*; so that they were mere *laics* or *secular brethren*, as the ecclesiastical phrase is.¹

and devotion, addicting themselves to a life of poverty, and neglecting all manual labour, begging their daily bread, they called them all by the common name of *Beghardi*, or if females, *Beghutte*; without any regard to the sentiments or opinions by which they were distinguished from each other. Those called *Apostoli*, were beggars; the more rigid Franciscans were beggars; the *Brethren of the free spirit* (of whom we shall treat hereafter), were beggars: and others were beggars. Among these there was a vast difference; yet the Germans called them all *Beghardi*, on account of that mendicity into which they had thrown themselves: nor was this strange; for this their common characteristic was visible to all eyes; while their other traits of character were not so easily discerned.

But secondly, the term *Beghard*, in this century, also denoted a *man who prayed very much, and affected uncommon piety*. Thus it was equivalent to the modern term Pietist [among the Germans]. Therefore all those who forsook the ordinary mode of living, and were distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their manners, were designated by the common appellation of *Beghardi* or *Begutte*, or, among the French, *Beguini* and *Beguine*. This use of these terms was at first so extensive (as might be shown by many examples) that even the *monks* and *nuns* were called *Beghardi* and *Begutte*. But afterwards their application was more restricted; and they were appropriated to those who formed an intermediate class between the monks and common citizens, yet resembled the former in their habits and manners. The *Tertiarii*, therefore, of all the different orders, Dominicans, Franciscans, &c., were called *Beghardi*, as is abundantly attested: for, although they were only citizens, yet they were more strict in their devotional exercises than common citizens. The Brother Weavers, the Brethren of St. Alexius, the followers of Gerhard the Great, and many others, in short, all who exhibited an exterior of higher sanctity and piety, were *Beghardi* and *Begutte*, notwithstanding they obtained their support by labour, and troubled no one by their begging.

The terms *Beghardi* and *Begutte*, *Beguini*, and *Beguine*, if we regard them in their origin, were therefore honourable appellations; and they were used as such, in works of the highest respectability, in

that age; as for instance, in the Testament of St. Lewis, the king of France. But gradually these words, as often happens, changed their original import, and became terms of reproach and derision. For among those *mendicant* monks, and among those professing more than ordinary piety, there were found many whose piety was childish and superstitious, or who were crafty impostors, concealing crimes and villanies under a mask of piety, or who united with their piety corrupt doctrines which were contrary to the prevailing religion of the age. These characters caused the appellation *Beghard* or *Beguini* to become dishonourable, and to be used for one who is stupidly or anilely religious, or who imposes upon mankind by a show of piety and poverty, or who debases his piety by grievous errors in doctrine. The term Lollard underwent a similar change in its import, as will be shown hereafter.

¹ See the *Acta Inquisit. Tholosanæ*, published by Limborch, p. 298, 302, 310, 313, but especially p. 307, 329, 382, 389, &c. Of the other passages illustrative of the history of the *Fratricelli* and *Beguini*, I will subjoin one from Jordan's *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1294, in Muratori's *Antiquitates Ital. Medii Ævi*, iv. 1020, which will briefly confirm nearly all I have said:—'Petrus de Macerata et Petrus de Forosempronio, apostatæ fuerunt ordinis Minorum et hæretici. His petentibus eremitice vivere, ut regulam B. Francisci ad litteram servare possent. Quibus plures apostatæ adhæserunt, qui statum communitatis damnabant et declarationes regulæ, et vocabant se Fratres S. Francisci,' (he ought to have said, *Fratricellos* or *parvos fratres de paupere vita*), 'et Sæculares' (these were the *Tertiarii*, the friends and associates of the *Fratricelli*, but who continued to be *seculars*, and were excluded from the rank of Friars). 'Sæculares autem vocarunt *Bizocios*, vel *Fratricellos*, vel *Bocasotos*.' (Here Jordan errs, in saying that the *seculars* were called *Fratricellos*; for this name was appropriated to the real monks of St. Francis, and did not belong to the *Tertiarii*. His other statements are correct; and they show that these more rigid adherents to the rule of St. Francis were divided into two classes, namely, Friars and Seculars; and that the latter were called *Bizochi*). 'Ii dogmatizabant, quod nullus summus Pontifex regulam B. Francisci declarare potuit. Item, quod angelus abstulit a Nicolao tertio Papatus

These *Bizochi*, moreover, were divided into two classes, the *perfect* and the *imperfect*. The former lived by begging, did not marry, and had no fixed residence; while the latter had permanent places of abode, married, possessed property, and engaged in the various occupations of life, like other citizens.¹

§ 41. Totally different from these austere Franciscan *Beguini* and *Beguine* were the German and Belgic *Beguina*, who did not indeed originate in this century, but now first came into notice, and in a short time became immensely numerous.² Certain pious females, including both widows and maidens, in order to keep themselves pure from the corruptions of the age, formed themselves into associations, and lived in appropriate houses, amidst exercises of devotion, and regular manual labour, under a directress; yet reserving to themselves the right of marrying, and of withdrawing from the association at their pleasure. And as all females who made pretensions to more than ordinary piety, were called *Beguttæ* or *Beguine*, that is, *praying Ladies*, so these also received the same appellation.³ The first association of this description was formed at Nivelles, in Brabant, A.D. 1226; and so many others followed soon after, throughout France, Germany, and the Netherlands, that from the middle of the century onward, there was scarcely a city of any note which had not its *Beguina*, as they were called, or *Vineyards*, as such associations were sometimes deno-

auctoritatem.—Et quod ipsi soli sunt in via Dei et vera ecclesia,' &c.

¹ This distinction appears clearly, from comparing, among others, several passages in the *Acta Inquisit. Tholosanæ*. See p. 303, 310, 312, 313, 319, &c.

² There was much discussion in the Netherlands, in the seventeenth century, respecting the origin of these *Beghardi* and *Beguine*, of which I have given a full account, in a work not yet published, *de Beguinis*. During this discussion, the *Beghinæ* brought forward diplomas or written documents, of the most authentic and unexceptionable character, from which it appears that there were associations of *Beguine* in the Netherlands as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They were able indeed to produce but three such documents, the first dated A.D. 1065, the second A.D. 1129, and the third A.D. 1151. The whole were published at Vilvorde, by the *Beghinæ* then resident there. See Aubertus Miræus, *Opera diplomatico-historica*, t. ii. c. 26, p. 948; and t. iii. p. 628, ed. nova. Erycius Puteanus, *de Beghinarum apud Belgas Instituto et nomine suffragio*; which tract, with another of the same Puteanus on the same subject, is extant in Joseph Geldoph a Ryckel's *Vita S. Beggæ cum annotationibus*, p. 65, 227. Douay, 1631, 4to. Hence, while it must be admitted that those are in error who affirm that the class of females that are still called *Beguine* or *Beguttæ* first appeared in the

twelfth or thirteenth century; yet the very small number of documents and testimonies puts it beyond controversy, that the *Beguine* were a very obscure party, previously to the thirteenth century; it may be, that they possessed only that one *Beguina*, which was at Vilvorde, in Brabant.

³ All the *Beghardi* and *Beghinæ* still existing in the Netherlands, though existing under regulations very different from their original ones, eagerly maintain that they derived their name and their institution, in the seventh century, from St. Begga, duchess of Brabant, and daughter of Pipin, mayor of the palace in Austrasia, which lady they of course revere as their patroness, and regard as a kind of tutelary divinity. See Jos. Geld. a Ryckel, *Vita S. Beggæ cum annotat.* published at Douay and Louvain. This is a ponderous volume; but in other respects a slender work, and stuffed with anile fables. Those who are unfriendly to the *Beguini* and *Beguine* contend that they derived their origin from Lambert le Begue, a priest of Liege, in the twelfth century, and a very pious man. See Peter Coens (a learned canon of Antwerp) in his *Disquisitio Historica de origine Beghinarum et Beghinagiorum in Belgio*; Louvain, 1627, 12mo, than whom no one has more learnedly defended this opinion. Both these opinions have many and distinguished advocates, but none that are good authorities; and both of them may be easily confuted.

minated, borrowing a name from the book of Canticles.¹ All these female associations did not adopt the same regulations; but the greater part of them devoted the time that was not occupied in prayer and other religious exercises, to various kinds of labour, especially to *weaving*. Such of them as were really indigent, or disabled, or sick, sought relief in the kindness of the pious and benevolent.

§ 42. This female institution was soon after imitated in the Netherlands, by unmarried men, both widowers and bachelors; who associated and lived together in appropriate houses, praying and labouring unitedly, under a director or chief, yet reserving to themselves, in the same manner as the females, the liberty of returning at any time to their former mode of life, if they pleased.² These were called, according to the phraseology of the age, *Beghards*, corruptly pronounced *Bogards* by the Belgians; and by some, *Lollhards*; and in France, at first, *Bons Valets* (*boni valeti*), or *Bons Garçons* (*boni pueri*), and afterwards *Beguins*, and also, from the occupation of most of them, *Brother Weavers* (*Fratres textores*). The first association of these *Beghards*, it appears, was formed at Antwerp, in the year 1228; and it continues still in a flourishing state, though the fraternity have departed widely from their pristine mode of life. This association was followed by many others, in Germany, the Netherlands, and France; yet these associations of *Beghards* were not so numerous as those of the *Beghine*.³ The Roman pontiffs never formally approved, and confirmed with their sanction, these associations of male and female *Beghards*: yet they tolerated them; and often, at the request of principal men and women, protected them by their edicts and bulls against the violence and the plots of their enemies, of whom they had not a few. At the present day, most of the houses belonging to both the sexes of *Beghards*, are either destroyed, or converted to other uses: yet in the Belgic provinces, the houses of female *Beghards* are sufficiently numerous, while those for males are very few.⁴

¹ See Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, ad ann. 1243 and 1250, p. 540, 696. Thomas Cantimprænsis, in *Bonum Universale, de Apibus*, l. ii. c. 51, p. 478, ed. Colvener. Peter de Herenthal, in his unpublished Annals; an important extract from which is exhibited by Jos. Geld. a Ryckel, in his notes, *ad Vitam S. Beggæ*, § 196, p. 355, &c. The origin and establishment of the *Beguina*, founded in the Netherlands, during this and the following century, are detailed at great length by Aub. Miræus, in his *Opera historico-diplomatica*; by Jo. Baptist Gramaye, in his *Antiquitates Belgicæ*; by Anton. Sanderus, in his *Brabantia et Flandria illustrata*; and by other historians of the Belgian affairs.

² Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, ad ann. 1253, p. 539, 540.

³ See Ryckel's *Vita S. Beggæ*, p. 635.

Anton. Sander's *Flandria illustrata*, l. iii. c. xvi. p. 136. Jo. Bapt. Gramaye, in his *Antiq. Flandriæ*, and especially in *Gandavum*, p. 22. Aubert Miræus, *Opera diplomatico-histor.* t. iii. c. 168, p. 145, and in several other places. Hipp. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, vii. 248, who, however, makes many mistakes. Gerhard Antonius, the Pater Minister (as the head of the sect is called) of the *Beghards* of Antwerp, in his *Epistola ad Ryckium de Beghardorum origine et fatis*; in Ryckel's *Vita S. Beggæ*, p. 489; who studiously casts obscurity on not a few things, in order to exalt his sect.

⁴ [Some of these *Beguina*ges are still found in Belgium; being clusters of houses within a common enclosure, built round a church. Each house has the name of some saint, real or reputed, on the door, instead of its occupant's name. S.]

§ 43. It remains, that we briefly notice the names and merits of those among the Greeks and Latins, whose writings gained a lasting fame that others missed. Of the Greeks, who thus outstripped contemporaries, must be mentioned,¹ *Nicetas Acominatus*, to whom we are indebted for a history, and a *Thesaurus of the orthodox faith*:² *Germanus*, patriarch of Constantinople, of whose productions there are extant, among others, a tract against the Latins, and an Exposition of the Greek Liturgy:³ *Theodorus Lascaris*, who has left us several tracts on different topics in theology; and who also wrote against the Latins, as nearly all the Greek authors did, this being a subject to which they were prompted both by their genius and by their national attachments:⁴ *Nicephorus Blemmida*, one of those who endeavoured to produce harmony between the Greeks and Latins:⁵ *Arsenius*, whose Synopsis of the Greek ecclesiastical law is pretty well known:⁶ *George Acropolita*, known as the author of a history, and for many things done with various fortune:⁷ *John Beccus*, or *Veccus*, who brought himself into much trouble, by advocating the cause of the Latins with more warmth than the zeal of most Greeks for their church would tolerate;⁸ *George Metochita*,⁹ and *Constantine Meliteniota*,¹⁰ who expended much effort, without effect, to unite the

¹ Concerning them all, in addition to the writers *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, see Jo. Alb. Fabricius's *Bibliotheca Græca*.

² [See above, p. ii. c. i. note. *Tr.*]

³ [Germanus II. was a monk of the Propontis, created patriarch about 1222, deposed in 1240, restored, and died in 1254. His exposition of the liturgy, sadly interpolated, was published, Greek and Latin, in the *Auctuarium Duceanum*, t. ii.; and about twelve of his sermons and homilies, with seven of his epistles and decrees, have been published in different collections of ancient works, by Combefis, Gretser, Leo Allat., Cotelier, Leunclavius, &c. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Theodorus Lascaris was born at Nice, was much devoted to literature, became emperor, A.D. 1255, waged successful wars against the Bulgarians and others, for three years; then resigned, and retired to a monastery, where he died A.D. 1259, aged thirty-six. Very few of his tracts have been published. *Tr.*]

⁵ [See above, c. i. note. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Arsenius, surnamed Autorianus, was born at Constantinople, became a monk and an abbot at Nice; retired from office, and lived at Mount Athos; was made patriarch of Constantinople by Theodore Lascaris, A.D. 1255, and tutor to Lascaris' son, at his father's death, A.D. 1259; resigned the patriarchate soon after; resumed the office in 1261; opposed and excommunicated the emperor Michael, who had put out the eyes of Arsenius' royal pupil; was deposed and banished to Proconnesus, where he lived in exile many years. The time of his death

is not ascertained. His *Synopsis divinorum Canonum*, written while he was a monk, and arranged under one hundred and forty-one *Tituli*, is in Justell's *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* Greek and Latin, ii. 749. His Testament, or will, was published Gr. and Lat. by Cotelier, *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Gr.* ii. 168. *Tr.*]

⁷ [See above, c. i. note. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Veccus was *chartophylax* of the great church of Constantinople, and a man of genius and learning. He at first strenuously opposed the Latins. For this the emperor Michael imprisoned him, with others. By reading the writings of Nicephorus Blemmida, Veccus was converted into a friend and most zealous advocate of the Latins. Michael now made him patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 1274. On the death of Michael, A.D. 1283, fearing the rage of the people, he resigned his office; was the next year banished, and passed the remainder of his days in exile. His writings in defence of the Latins, and in apology for his conduct, are numerous, and were published, Gr. and Lat. by Leo Allatius, in *Græcia Orthodoxa*, tom. i. and ii. and elsewhere. *Tr.*]

⁹ [George Metochita was a deacon of the great church of Constantinople, and a friend and associate of John Veccus. With him he contended in behalf of the Latins, and suffered exile for this offence. He flourished A.D. 1276. His writings, all in defence of the Latins, were published by Leo Allatius, *Græcia Orthodoxa*, tom. ii. *Tr.*]

¹⁰ [Constantine Meliteniota was archdeacon of Constantinople, under John Veccus;

Greeks and Latins: *George Pachymeres*, famed for his Exposition of *Dionysius* the father of the mystics, and for a History of his own times,¹ and *George of Cyprus*, who acquired more fame by his invectives against the Latins, and his attack upon John Veccus, than by his other writings.²

§ 44. The Latin writers form a long list; from which we shall produce those only who are most frequently quoted. *Joachim*, abbot of Flora in Calabria, was perhaps a pious man, and not wholly ignorant of the truth, but he was a man of small parts, of weak judgment, and given up to fanatical conceits; whom, both in his lifetime and after his death, the ignorant multitude regarded as inspired of God. His predictions became far-famed, and have been often published.³ *Stephen Langton*, archbishop of Canterbury, expounded many of the books of Holy Scripture.⁴ Francis, founder of the

joined with him in defending the cause of the Latins; and passed through much the same sufferings. He died in exile, in Bithynia. His tract on a union of the Greek and Latin churches, and another on the procession of the Holy Spirit, are extant, Gr. and Lat. in Leo Allatius, *Græcia Orthodoxa*, tom. ii. Tr.]

¹ [See above, c. i. note. Tr.]

² [George of Cyprus, who assumed the name of Gregory, was born and educated in the Latin church in Cyprus. At the age of twenty, he went to Constantinople; changed his sentiments; became a monk, and one of the court clergy; was created patriarch A.D. 1284; opposed and persecuted Veccus; was obliged to resign in 1289; retired to a monastery, and died not long after. He wrote largely against the Latins, and in confutation of Veccus. His chief works are his *Tomus Orthodoxus*, or *Columna Orthodoxia*, and discourses against the blasphemies of Veccus, still remaining in manuscript.

Besides the Greek writers enumerated by Mosheim, the following are noticed by Cave, in his *Hist. Litt.* t. ii.

Nicolaus Hydruntinus, who flourished A.D. 1201, was the Greek interpreter in all the negotiations of cardinal Benedict, both at Constantinople and in Greece, for a reconciliation of the Greek and Latin churches. He wrote in Greek various tracts against the Latins, from which only some extracts have been published.

Nicetas Maronita, *chartophylax* of the great church of Constantinople, and then archbishop of Thessalonica, fl. A.D. 1201. He wished to effect a union of the Greek and Latin churches; and wrote six books on the procession of the Holy Spirit, to reconcile the two parties. Leo Allatius has published some extracts from the work; *adv. Hottinger*, cap. 19. His Answers to the questions

of Basil are extant, Greek and Latin, in the *Jus Gr. Rom.* l. v. p. 345.

Manuel Charitopulus, patriarch of Constantinople, about 1250, wrote some tracts on ecclesiastical or canon law; which Leunclavius published, Greek and Latin, in his *Jus Gr. Rom.* l. iii. p. 238, &c.

George Moschamper, *chartophylax* of the great church of Constantinople, who flourished about 1276. He was bitterly opposed to the Latins, and wrote several pieces against them, which were answered by John Veccus. Nothing of his has been published.

Simon, born in Crete, but of a Constantinopolitan family, is supposed by Cave to have flourished about 1276. A long epistle of his, addressed to John Nomophylax, *de Conciliis quæ processionem Spiritus Sancti a Filio definiverunt*, was published, Gr. and Lat. by Leo Allatius, *adv. Hottinger*, p. 324. He wrote two other tracts on the same subject, never published. Tr.]

³ Gregory di Lauro composed in Italian a copious life of Joachim, which was published at Naples, 1660, 4to. His prophecies were first printed at Venice, 1517, 4to, and often subsequently. [He was a Cistercian monk and abbot of different monasteries in Italy; the last of which, that at Flora, he founded himself. He flourished A.D. 1201, and died before 1215. He wrote *de Concordia veteris et novi Testamenti Libri* v., Commentaries on Jeremiah, Psalms, Isaiah, some portions of Nahum, Habakkuk, Zechariah, and Malachi, on the Apocalypse; also fifteen prophecies concerning the Roman pontiffs; and some other prophecies. All the above were printed at Venice, in different years, before 1600. Tr.]

⁴ [Stephen Langton was an Englishman, educated at Paris, where he became chancellor, and canon of Paris. Innocent III. invited him to Rome, and made him a

famous society denominated *Minorites* or *Franciscans*, wrote some pieces designed to enkindle devotional feelings in the soul, but with little power or genius.¹ *Alanus ab Insulis* was not the least among the dialecticians and acute reasoners of that age; he also paid attention to chemistry, and has said many things wisely and well.² *Jacobus de Vitriaco* obtained reputation by his Oriental history:³ as did *Jacobus de Voragine*, by his *Historia Lombardica*.⁴ Among those who cultivated metaphysical or philosophical theology in this age, the most distinguished were *Albertus Magnus*,⁵

cardinal. In 1206, the pope made him archbishop of Canterbury, against the will of the king, who refused him access to his see, till he was compelled to it by the pope in 1212. [In 1215 Langton took a leading part in obtaining Magna Charta]. He wrote Commentaries on a large part of the Bible, besides letters and sermons; nearly all of which remain in manuscript in the public libraries of England. *Tr.*—Although cardinal Langton was forced upon the see of Canterbury by Innocent III., justice to his memory demands that he should not be ranked among insignificant tools. He acted as primate with an independence worthy of his high station, taking part with the barons against the king, although the latter had countenance from the pope. In fact, he fully vindicated the discernment of Innocent's choice, and showed that his long residence on the continent had impaired none of the feelings which became an Englishman of commanding station and ability. He died in July 1228, at Slindon, in Sussex, whence his body was carried to Canterbury for interment. The Bible, it is said, was first divided into chapters by him. Such a statement at least shows him to have been notoriously mindful of his professional pursuits. He would not have gained the credit of thus facilitating reference to the sacred volume, unless he had been known as a student of it. *S.*]

¹ [See above, § 25, and note. His works, consisting of epistles, discourses, prayers, and monastic regulations, were collected and published by John de la Haye, Paris, 1651, fol. *Tr.*]

² There were several of the name of Alan in this century, who have been strangely confounded, both by the ancients and the moderns. See Jac. le Bœuf, *Mém. sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, i. 300, and *Diss. sur l'Hist. Eccles. et Civile de Paris*, ii. 293, &c. [This Alanus de Insulis, or Alain de l'Isle, was a native of Flanders; studied at Paris, was called the *Doctor Universalis*, on account of his extensive learning; and became a Cistercian monk. Cave supposes he flourished about 1215. His works, as collected and published by Charles du Visch, Antw. 1655, fol. consist of a com-

mentary on the Canticles, on the art of preaching, a penitential, on the parables, a collection of memorable sayings, a poem in eleven books on a perfectly good man, two books against the Waldenses, eleven sermons, and a few other tracts. Du Visch, in his *Biblioth. Scriptor. Cisterciens.* Colon. 1656, 4to, added Alain's commentary on the prophecies of Merlin, and his tract on the philosopher's stone. *Tr.*]

³ [Jacobus de Vitriaco, or James of Vitri, was born (at a place of that name) near Paris, educated in that city, became a priest in his native village, and a regular canon in the diocese of Namur. His zeal led him to Toulouse, where he preached against the Albigenses; thence he went to Palestine, and became bishop of Acco or Ptolemais. About 1220, the pope recalled him to Rome, made him cardinal bishop of Tusculum, and sent him as legate into France, to preach up a crusade. He returned to Rome, spent several years tranquilly, and died A.D. 1244. His eastern and western history is in three books: the first describes the country and nations of the east, and traces their history from the time of Mahumed to 1210; the second book gives the history of Europe during the author's own times; the third returns to the oriental nations, and brings down their history to 1218. The first and third books were printed at Douay, 1597, 8vo, and in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, t. ii. He also wrote a letter, describing the capture of Damietta, which is in Bongars, l. c. and an epistle to pope Honorius III., and sermons on the gospels and epistles for the year. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Dominici*, i. 454, and Jo. Bolland's *Pref. ad Acta Sanctor.* i. 9, [also c. i. § 5 of this century. *Tr.*]

⁵ On Albertus Magnus, see Jac. Echard's *Script. Dominici*, i. 162. [Albert the Great was born of noble parentage, at Lavingen in Suabia, A.D. 1205; was early sent to Passau for education, and became a Dominican friar in 1223. Strange stories are told of his obtuseness in early life, and of his subsequent miraculous facility in acquiring knowledge. He was a universal scholar; but particularly distinguished in

Thomas Aquinas,¹ and *Bonaventura*.² That these men possessed very inquisitive minds, acute and superior understandings, and uncommon penetration in regard to abstruse and difficult subjects, no candid person will deny; yet, notwithstanding, they admitted various things very far from satisfactory. Of others who prosecuted

mathematics, natural philosophy, metaphysics, and scholastic theology. He taught at Hildesheim, Regensburg, Cologne, and other places in Germany, and at Paris. In 1236, he was made vicar general of the Dominicans for two years; and afterwards provincial of the order for Germany. In 1249, he fixed himself at Cologne, and was president of the school there. In 1260, the pontiff obliged him to accept the bishopric of Ratisbon, or Regensburg; but he resigned it in 1263, and retired to his favourite literary retreat at Cologne. He died in 1280. His works, in 21 volumes, folio, were published by Peter Jammy, at Lyons, A.D. 1651. They comprise eight works on dialectics; twenty-eight on natural philosophy; commentaries on the Psalms, Lamentations, Baruch, Daniel, the twelve minor prophets, the four Gospels, and the Apocalypse; many sermons; a compendium of theology, in seven books; commentaries on Lombard's four books of Sentences; and various other pieces. *Tr.*]

¹ Concerning Thomas Aquinas, called the *Angel of the schools*, see the *Acta Sanctor. Martii*, i. 655, &c. and Ant. Touron's *Vie de St. Thomas*, Paris, 1737, 4to. [Thomas was of the family of the counts of Aquino, in the kingdom of Naples, and was born at Aquino, A.D. 1224. Educated in monasteries, where he displayed great precocity of genius, he became a Dominican friar at Naples, in 1241, contrary to the will of his parents. His mother was denied access to him by the friars, who sent Thomas from one place to another, to conceal him. At length, in his attempted removal to Paris, she and her other sons seized him. For two years they kept him a prisoner in their castle, and used every effort to persuade him to renounce a monastic life, without effect. In 1244, he escaped through a window, went to Naples, Rome, and Paris, and thence to Cologne, where he heard the lectures of Albert the Great. From Cologne he was called to Paris, to lecture on the Sentences. He and Bonaventura received their doctorates in theology at Paris on the same day, A.D. 1255. A few days after, he returned to Italy, and taught theology in the universities of Bologna, Rome, Fondi, Foggia, and Pisa. In the year 1263, he was appointed provincial Definitor (Visitor) of his order, for the province of Rome, and in that capacity attended the general convention of the order in London the same

year. He at last settled down at Naples, on a stipend from the king, as a permanent teacher there. He now refused the archbishopric of Naples, offered him by the pope. In 1274, the pope called him to the council of Lyons, to maintain the principles of the Roman church against the Greeks: but he died on his way thither, at Terracina, on the 7th of March, 1274, aged 50 years. His works, as printed at Rome, 1570, fill 18 volumes, folio, and in the edition of Paris, 1636-1641, 23 volumes, folio. They comprise comments on nearly all the works of Aristotle; and on the sentences of Lombard: a huge system of theology, entitled *Summa Theologiae in partes iii. divisa*; many miscellaneous pieces, commentaries on the Scripture, sermons, &c. *Tr.*]

² Concerning Bonaventura, the patron saint of Lyons in France, see Colonia's *Hist. Littér. de la ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 307. *Hist. de la vie et du culte de S. Bonaventura*, par un Religieux Cordelier, Lyons, 1747, 8vo. [John Bonaventura (called Eustachius and Eutychius in Greek) was born of honourable parentage, at Bagnarea, in Tuscany, A.D. 1221, and became a Franciscan in 1243. He studied and gave lectures on the Sentences at Paris, where he took his doctor's degree in 1255. The next year he was unanimously elected general of his order, an office which he held till his death, and filled with great advantage to the fraternity. He was called the *Seraphic Doctor*, and was a man esteemed and confided in by everyone. In 1272, the cardinals being unable to agree upon a new pontiff, submitted the election to Bonaventura, who nominated Theobald of Liege, or Gregory X. In 1274, Gregory created Bonaventura cardinal bishop of Albano, and called him to the general council of Lyons. He died at Lyons, while the council was in session, July 15th, 1274, aged 53. His funeral was attended by the pope, the emperor, and the whole council. Bonaventura was a scholar, a man of an acute mind, a good writer, and a very devout man. He united mystic with scholastic theology, and was a voluminous writer on practical religion. His works, as printed at Rome, 1558, in eight volumes, fol., comprise commentaries on the Scriptures; a full comment on the Sentences of Lombard; a great number of tracts, chiefly on ascetic and practical subjects; letters, sermons, &c. *Tr.*]

the same species of theology, a long list appears, in which are found men of subtlety and dexterity. That age held in reputation *William of Paris*, a man of acuteness;¹ *Alexander Hales*, the expounder of Aristotle;² *Robert Capito*;³ *Thomas Cantimpratensis*;⁴ *John Peckham*;⁵ *William Durand*;⁶ *Roger Bacon*;⁷

¹ See especially the *Gallia Christiana* of the Benedictines, vii. 95. [William of Paris, D.D. was born at Aurillac, in Auvergne (and thence called William Alvernus), became an eminent scholar and divine, and was bishop of Paris from 1228 till his death, March 30, 1249. His works were printed by Bart. Ferroneus, Orleans, 1674, in two volumes, fol. They consist chiefly of tracts on moral and practical subjects; yet there are several on dogmatic theology. He is not to be confounded with Matthew Paris, the historian; as he too often is in the references throughout the original of this work of Mosheim, through the mistake, no doubt, of the printer. *Tr.*]

² [Alexander Hales, or de Hales, was an Englishman, of Gloucestershire; but was early sent to Paris, where he spent most of his life in the study of scholastic theology and canon law, and in teaching them to others. He was called the *Irrefragable Doctor*. He was a Franciscan, flourished about A.D. 1230, and died at Paris, August 27, 1245. His works, as published separately, consist of commentaries upon the Scriptures; on certain books of Aristotle; and on the Sentences of Lombard; a system of Theology; and a few tracts. *Tr.*]

³ Concerning him, Ant. Wood has written largely, *Antiq. Oxon.* i. 81, 105. [Robert Grossthead, or Capito, was born at Stradbroke, in Suffolk, and educated at Oxford and Paris. Returning to England, he became archdeacon of Leicester, and then bishop of Lincoln, from 1235, till his death, October 9, 1253. He was a man of great learning, and of an independent mind. The physical sciences, law, divinity, and the original languages of the Bible, all engaged his attention. He resisted the domination of the pope, and laboured to reform the clergy. His writings consist of translations, comments on Aristotle, and Dionysius Areop., sermons, letters, and other tracts; most of which still remain in manuscript. For a full account of him, see Milner's *Church History*, cent. xiii. c. 7. *Tr.*—His letters are edited by Mr. Luard, London, 1861. *Ed.*]

⁴ [Thomas Cantimpratensis was born of noble parents, at Lewe, near Brussels, studied under Albert the Great at Cologne, became a regular canon at Cantimpre, or Champre, near Cambay, and afterwards a Dominican sub-prior at Louvain, and a bishop suffragan, and assistant to the bishop

of Cambray. He flourished A.D. 1255. His principal work is entitled *Bonum Universale, de Apibus*; in which he gives precepts for the conduct of all orders of men, deriving his illustrations from bees. He also wrote several lives of reputed saints. *Tr.*]

⁵ [John Peckham was born of low parentage, at Chichester in Sussex, England; studied at Oxford and Paris; became a Franciscan; taught with applause at Oxford, Paris, Lyons, and Rome. While at Rome, A.D. 1278, the pope created him archbishop of Canterbury. On his arrival in England, the pope demanded of him 4,000 marks of silver for the use of the holy see. Peckham had to pay it. He next had contention with the archbishop of York. He became vastly rich, founded a college, raised his relatives to affluence, and died in 1292. He wrote *Collectanea Bibliorum*, and 47 synodical decrees, which have been published; and a number of theological tracts, which remain in MS. *Tr.*]

⁶ [William Durand, LL.D. was born in Provence, of noble parents. He studied the civil and canon laws at Bologna, and took his doctorate there. He also taught law at Bologna and Modena; and became so famous as a pleader, that he was called *the father of practice*. He was auditor general of the Apostolic Palace, canon of Beauvais, and dean of Chartres. In 1274, he was the pope's proctor at the general council of Lyons. Nicolas III. made him governor of the papal dominions, with the title of rector and count of the patrimony. In this capacity, he commanded successfully in several battles. In 1286, he was made bishop of Mende in France. In 1296, the pope sent him as ambassador to the Saracens in the East; but he died at Nicosia, in Cyprus. He was a learned man, a profound jurist, and a respectable theologian. He wrote *Speculum Juris*, a large work divided into three parts; *Repertorium Juris*, extracted from the preceding; *Rationale divinarum Officiorum*, in eight books; also some law tracts. *Tr.*]

⁷ [See above, c. i. § 9, note. Roger Bacon was nobly born at Ilchester, Somersetshire, England, about 1206. He studied at Oxford and at Paris, where he took his degree. Languages, history, law, the physical sciences, and theology, were his pursuit. Returning to England, he taught at Oxford, became a Franciscan, devoted himself to the physical sciences, expended much

Richard Middleton; ¹ *Ægidius de Columna*; ² *Armand de Bello Visu*; ³ and others. But none of these attained to equal renown with the triumvirate above mentioned. *Hugo de S. Caro* was thought to have done much to advance sacred knowledge, by his *Concordance* to the Holy Scriptures. ⁴ *William of St. Amour* waged war upon the fraternities that sought renown for piety in mendicity, with boldness and resolution, but not successfully. ⁵ *Humbert de Romanis* endeavoured by his writings to guide the conduct and regulate the lives of the monks. ⁶ *William Perald* acquired very high reputation in that age, by his *Summa virtutum et vitiorum*. ⁷

time and money on experiments in optics, mechanics, and chemistry, was esteemed a magician, and confined many years as such to a monastery. He died about 1284, aged 78, and was buried at Oxford. His *Opus Majus*, addressed to pope Clement IV. contains an abstract, by his own hand, of all the works he had then published, and nearly supersedes the necessity of reading any of his other printed works. *Tr.*

¹ [Richard Middleton, or de Mediavilla, the *Doctor solidus et copiosus*, was an English Franciscan and theologian, who first studied philosophy, law, and theology at Oxford, and afterwards at Paris, where he obtained a high reputation. In 1282, he was one of the commissioners appointed by the provincial of his order to try the cause of Peter John Oliva; which trial has been censured. He returned to England, and taught with great applause at Oxford, and died about 1300. He wrote four books of questions on Lombard's Sentences; and *Quodlibeta theologica*, containing eighty questions in theology; both of which works have been published; also commentaries on the Gospels, and the epistles of Paul, and some tracts, which are not published. *Tr.*]

² [Ægidius de Columna, or Giles Colonna, the *Doctor fundatissimus*, was born at Rome, of the illustrious family of Colonna; studied at Rome and in other places; became an Augustinian eremite; was invited to Paris, to be tutor to prince Philip, son of Philip the Bold; and taught many years in the university of Paris. In 1292, he was made prior general of his order. In 1296, Boniface VIII. made him archbishop of Bourges. Whether he became a cardinal or not, has been disputed. He died A.D. 1316, aged 69. His writings are very numerous, though but partially published, and never collectively. They are on scholastic theology, dialectics, on the Sentences of Lombard, vindications of Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura, and numerous other tracts. *Tr.*]

³ [Armand de Bellevue, or de Bello Visu, was a Dominican, born at Bologna, and master of the sacred palace at Rome. He is supposed to have lived near the end of

this century. His works are a commentary on the Psalms, meditations, prayers, sermons, and an explanation of difficult terms in theology and philosophy. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Hugo of St. Cher, D.D. or de Sancto Caro, a Dominican, was born in Dauphiny, and studied at Paris; was papal ambassador to Constantinople under Gregory IX., became provincial of his order for France; was created a cardinal in 1245, after which he was repeatedly papal legate, especially to Germany. He died A.D. 1260. His works are, *Postillæ*, or a brief commentary on the whole Bible, Venice, 1600, in 8 volumes; sermons for the year; *Speculum sacerdotum et ecclesiarum*; and a Concordance to all the declinable words in the Latin Bible, to which Conrad of Halberstadt added the particles, about A.D. 1290, and which has been often printed. *Tr.*]

⁵ [William of St. Amour, or de S. Amore. He was a native of Burgundy, and one of the leading doctors at Paris, in the middle of this century. In the controversy between the university and the Dominicans, he stood in the front of the battle. The pope ordered him to be degraded and banished, in 1256. But supported by the university, he held his ground, and fought more eagerly. See above, § 28. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Humbert de Romanis, or of Romains, in Burgundy, became a Dominican friar while studying at Paris, A.D. 1225, was made general of the order in 1254, resigned the office 1263, and died in 1274. He wrote Instructions for monks, in six books; a commentary on the rule of St. Augustine; two hundred sermons on various subjects; lives of friars; on the three monastic vows; and on the erudition of preachers. Most of these are in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxv. *Tr.*]

⁷ See Colonia, *Hist. Litt. de la ville de Lyon*, ii. 322, &c. [William Perald, or Perald, i. e. de Petra Alta, was born in the diocese of Vienne, became a Dominican friar in 1219, and suffragan of Lyons in 1272. He died in 1275. His *Summa* (elementary treatise) *de virtutibus et vitiis*, has passed through numerous editions. This is his only work known; unless he is

Raymond Martini still lives in his *Pugio Fidei*, or his work against the Jews and Saracens.¹ *John of Paris* deserves an honourable place among the defenders of the truth and the right, because he contended for the power of temporal sovereigns against the machinations of the pontiffs, and because he openly professed his dissatisfaction with the prevailing doctrine respecting the Lord's Supper.²

the author of the sermons for the year, ascribed to William of Paris. *Tr.*]

¹ [Raymund Martini, or des Martins, a Catalonian, and a very celebrated Dominican friar, who flourished in Spain, A.D. 1278. At the suggestion of Raymond de Pennafort, general of his order, he composed his celebrated *Pugio Fidei* (Dagger of the Faith), in three parts, in which he confutes the Jews and Saracens out of their own writers. It is a learned work, was long the chief arsenal for other writers against the Jews and Mahumedans, and was printed with notes, by Voisin, Paris, 1651, fol., and Lips. 1687, fol. *Tr.*]

² His *Determinatio de S. Cena*, was published by Peter Allix, London, 1686, 8vo. See Echard's *Script. Dominicani*, i. 501, &c. Stephen Baluze, *Vita Pontiff. Avenion.* i. 4, 576, 577, &c.—[John of Paris was a Dominican friar, and a distinguished theologian of Paris, about A.D. 1290. When Boniface VIII. attacked Philip the Fair, king of France, John stood forth in defence of the king, in a tract *de Regia Potestate et Papali*. While he was preaching in the assemblies of his order, and giving theological lectures in the schools, with much applause, he advanced the idea, that possibly Christ's presence in the Eucharist was by impanation, or uniting himself to the elements, and not by a transmutation of their substance: the masters of Paris cried out against him. He was condemned of error, and forbidden to preach or to lecture; but he appealed to the pope, went to Rome, and died soon after his arrival, A.D. 1304. His tract *de Regia Potestate et Papali* is in Goldast's *Monarch. Imp.* ii. 107.

Besides those named by Mosheim, Cave notices the following Latin writers of this century.

Giraldus, called Silvester as a nickname, Cambrensis from his country, and Barry from his family. He was the son of William de Barri, and born at Manor Beer, near Pembroke in South Wales. His uncle David, bishop of St. David's, made him archdeacon of Brecon. He went to Paris for study, and there taught theology in the English college three years. On his return, he made some figure at the court of Henry II. In 1185, he attended the Prince John, commanding an expedition to Ireland, which offered the bishopric of Waterford, which he refused. He continued some time in

Ireland, to examine its geography and antiquities; then returned to Wales, where he composed his history. Afterwards, he accompanied Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, in preaching the crusade in Wales. In 1198, he was elected bishop of St. David's; and a controversy arising respecting that see, he went to Rome in 1200, and after many struggles was disappointed. He lived to be more than seventy years old, but the time of his death is unknown. His printed works are, a Topography of Ireland; the Conquest of Ireland by the English; Travels in Cambria (Wales), in two books; and a Description of Cambria: all extant in the *Scriptores X. Anglici Normanici*, Francf. 1602, fol. [His works are now being edited by Mr. Brewer. *Ed.*]

Gervasius, an English Benedictine of Canterbury, well acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon history. He flourished A.D. 1201, and wrote an account of the conflagration and repair of the cathedral of Canterbury; Sketches of the dissensions between the monks of Canterbury and the archbishop Baldwin; a Chronicle of English history, from A.D. 1112 to A.D. 1199; and Lives of the archbishops of Canterbury, from Augustine to Hubert, inclusive: all of which are in the *Scriptores X. Anglici*, Lond. 1652, fol.

William de Seligniac, made bishop of Auxerre, A.D. 1206, and afterwards bishop of Paris, till his death, 1223. He wrote a *Summa Theologica* (system of theology), printed at Paris, 1500.

Arnold of Hildesheim, and abbot of Lubeck, fl. 1209, and continued Helmold's *Chronicon*, from 1171 to 1209. He is considered as good authority in Slavic affairs, but not in others. His continuation is published, in some editions imperfect, with Helmold.

Absalom, a canon of St. Victor, Paris, and an abbot in the diocese of Treves, A.D. 1210, has left us fifty-one sermons on the festivals.

Robert de Monte, or Robert de Torinneio, abbot of St. Michael du Mont, in the diocese of Avranches, in Normandy. Some think he flourished A.D. 1210; but others make him to have died A.D. 1186. The continuation of the *Chronicon* of Sigebert Gemblacensis, from 1112 to 1210, or at least to 1182, is ascribed to him. He also wrote some historical and other tracts. All are

published by Lu. d'Achery, in *Append. ad Opp. Guiberti*, Paris, 1651, and in his *Spicilegium*.

Willibrand of Oldenburg, canon of Hildesheim, A.D. 1211. After visiting Palestine, he wrote an account of his travels in that country; published by Leo Allatius, *Symmict.* part i. p. 104.

Helinandus, a Frenchman, who after a dissolute life became a Cistercian monk, at Mons Frigidus, in the diocese of Beauvais. He flourished A.D. 1212, and died A.D. 1227. His great work, or Chronicle, from the Creation to 1204, in 48 books, with some sermons, martyrdoms of saints, &c. was published by Bert. Tissier, in his *Bibliotheca Cisterciensis*, and by Surius.

Alexander Neckam, born at St. Alban's, studied in England, visited the universities of France and Italy, returned to St. Alban's, removed to Exeter, became a canon regular of St. Augustine, and was abbot there from 1215 till his death, A.D. 1227. His works, which are chiefly commentaries on the Scriptures, were never published; but are preserved in manuscript.

Honorius III. pope, A.D. 1216–1227, famous for his zeal for crusades against the Saracens and the Albigenses, and for excommunicating the emperor Frederic II., has left us nineteen epistles; extant in the *Concilia*, Baluze's *Miscellanies*, and Wadling's *Annals*.

Antony of Padua, a Portuguese of Lisbon, who removed to Italy, lived at Padua, became a Franciscan theologian and preacher, was called to Rome and honoured by the pope and cardinals, and died A.D. 1231. He was a weak man, though a popular preacher. Many of his sermons, and mystic expositions of the Scripture, have been published.

Jordan, of Saxon origin, born in the diocese of Mentz, became a Dominican in 1220, provincial of Lombardy in 1222, and general in 1223. He died about 1236, leaving a tract on the origin of his order, and one or two devotional works.

Cæsarius, a German, who became a Cistercian monk at Heisterbach, in the diocese of Cologne, A.D. 1199, was made master of the novices there, and then prior of a monastery near Bonn. He flourished A.D. 1225; and wrote *de Miraculis et Visionibus sui temporis*, in twelve Books or Dialogues (full of fables); a life of St. Engelbert, bishop of Cologne, in three books; and a number of sermons, all of which have been published.

Gregory IX. pope, A.D. 1227–1241, famous for his conflicts with the emperor Frederic II. His works, consisting of numerous epistles and decrees, were collected, and published with notes, by Jac. Pamelius, Antw. 1572, fol.

John Alegrin, a French divine, dean of Amiens, chanter of Abbeville, archbishop of Besançon in 1225, and a cardinal A.D. 1227; after which he was sent into Spain, to preach a crusade against the Saracens. He died A.D. 1236. His commentary on the Canticles was printed, Paris, 1521, fol.

Raymund de Pennaforti, or de Rupeforti, a Catalonian of Barcelona, descended from the kings of Aragon and counts of Barcelona, born A.D. 1175, taught canon law at Bologna, became canon and archdeacon of Barcelona, a Dominican friar, chaplain and confessor to Gregory IX., general of his order, A.D. 1238–1240, resigned, and refused the archbishopric of Tarragona, and some other sees, and died A.D. 1275, aged one hundred years. He wrote *Summa de Casibus Penitentialibus, seu de Penitentia et Matrimonio*, in four books, printed with notes, Fribourg, 1603; and compiled, by order of Gregory IX., the part of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, called libri v. *Decretalium*, or the *Decretals* of Gregory.

Philip Grevius, chancellor of the university of Paris, about A.D. 1230; has left us 330 sermons on the Psalms of David, printed Paris, 1523, 8vo. Some other of his commentaries exist in manuscript.

Conrad, of Marburg, a distinguished Dominican friar and preacher, confessor to Elizabeth, margravine of Thuringia. He flourished A.D. 1230, and wrote the *Life and Miracles of Elizabeth*, his patroness: published by Leo Allatius, *Symmicta*, p. i. p. 269.

Petrus de Vineis, chancellor to the emperor Frederic II., and the defender of his rights against the pope. He made a public speech against the papal encroachments, in a diet at Pavia, A.D. 1239; and was the emperor's ambassador and advocate in the council of Lyons, A.D. 1245. His six Books of Epistles, relating to the affairs of the emperor Frederic, were first published, Basil, 1566, 8vo.

Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1234–1240. He was a great patron of learning, as his foundations at Oxford declare, and a zealous reformer of the discipline of the church and the morals of the clergy. He went to Rome to complain of the vices and corruptions in the church, spoke boldly there, incurred enmity and a heavy fine, returned discouraged, resigned his office, and went to France, where he died. In 1456, he was canonised as a saint. His *Speculum Ecclesiæ* is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* t. xxv. and his twelve ecclesiastical laws are in Linwood's *Provinciale Anglicum*.

Lucas, a Spaniard of Leon, who, after travelling in Italy, Greece, and Palestine, was in 1236 made bishop of Tuy, in Galicia, Spain. He wrote a confutation of

the errors of the Albigenses, in three books, printed in the *Biblioth. Patr.* t. xxv.; the life and miracles of St. Isidore, published by Mabillon and Bolland; and continued the *Chronicon* of Isidore to his own times, extant in Schott's *Hispania Illustrata*, t. iv.

Godefridus, a German monk in the convent of St. Pantaleon, at Cologne. He flourished A.D. 1237, and wrote *Annals*, from A.D. 1162 to A.D. 1237; published by Freher, *Scriptores Germanici*, t. i. p. 239.

Innocent IV. pope A.D. 1243-1254, a very ambitious and arrogant pontiff. He wrote commentaries on the five books of Decretals, and a very large number of epistles, which are extant in the *Concilia*, and in Wadding's *Annales* and *Regestum Pontificum*.

John de S. Geminiano, a Dominican monk, intimate with Thomas Aquinas, and an eminent theologian and preacher, who flourished about 1244. Gregory IX. sent him to preach up a crusade in Naples, against Frederic II. His *Summa de Exceplis et Rerum Similitudinibus* was often published, and particularly at Cologne, 1670, 4to. His funeral and Lent sermons have also been published.

Peter, the son of Cassiodorus, was an English knight, who flourished about A.D. 1250. His epistle to the English church, advising to shake off the tyrannical yoke of the Roman pontiff, is in the *Catalogus Testamenti Veritatis*, p. 365.

Theobald Stampensis, an English secular priest, who perhaps flourished A.D. 1250, by some placed much earlier, has left us five epistles; in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, t. iii.

David de Augusta, a Franciscan friar of Augsburg, A.D. 1250, wrote some directions for novices, &c.; extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.*, t. xxv.

John Semeca, a distinguished jurist, and provost of S. Stephen's, of Halberstadt, A.D. 1250. When Clement IV. demanded a tenth from the clergy in France and Germany, for a crusade to Palestine, A.D. 1265, John resisted openly, and accused the pontiff of avarice, for which he was deposed and excommunicated. He died A.D. 1267. His commentary on the *Decretum of Gratian* has been often printed with the text.

Gertrude, a German Benedictine nun at Rodadersdorf, abbess there in 1251, and afterwards removed to Helfta, where she died A.D. 1290. She wrote in German, *Exercitia Spiritualia*, which being translated into Latin, were published with the works of Mechtilda, a contemporary sister in the same nunnery.

Robert de Sorbona, or de Sorbonne, confessor, or at least chaplain, to St. Lewis, king of France; a canon, first at Soissons, and then at Paris. In the year 1252, he founded the divinity college, called the

Sorbonne, in the university of Paris. He died after 1271, leaving three devotional tracts, on conscience, on confession, and the journey to Paradise; extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.* t. xxv.

Reinerius Sachonus, of Placentia, a distinguished philosopher and theologian. He was first a leading man among the Waldenses, but abandoning them he became a Dominican friar, and inquisitor general. He flourished A.D. 1254, and died in 1259. He wrote *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis*, in ten chapters; extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.*, t. xxv., and with the notes of Gretser, Ingolst. 1614, 4to.

Alexander IV. pope, A.D. 1254-1261, has left us nearly three hundred epistles; three of which are in the Councils, and the rest in Wadding's *Annales* and *Regestum Pontificum*.

Albert, a Benedictine monk of Stade, in the archbishopric of Bremen; and A.D. 1232, abbot there till 1236, when he went to Rome, resigned his abbacy in 1240, became a Franciscan, and at length general of the latter order. He wrote a good Chronicle from the creation to 1256. It was printed Helmst. 1587, 4to, and Wittemb. 1608, 4to.

John Gualensis, or Wallis, an English Franciscan friar of Worcester, who taught philosophy and theology at Oxford and Paris; and was called the Arbor Vitæ, on account of his excellent doctrines. He flourished A.D. 1260, and died at Paris in a year not ascertained. His *Alphabetum Vitæ Religiosæ*; *Breviloquium de Philosophiæ dignitate et ejus abusu*; *Breviloquium de IV. Cardinalibus Virtutibus antiquor. philosophor. et principum*; *Compendiloquium de Vitis Illustr. Philosophorum*; and *Margarita Doctorum seu Summa de Regimine Vitæ humanæ*, were all published at Lyons, 1511, fol. Some other of his works, on canon law, have also been published.

Bonaventura Brocardus, of Strasburg, a Dominican friar, who went into the East, and resided long there, about the middle of the century. His description of places in the Holy Land was printed, Ingolst. 1604, 4to, Cologne, 1624, 8vo, and elsewhere, often.

Urban IV. was papal legate in Pomerania, Prussia, Livonia, and Germany; then patriarch of Jerusalem; and A.D. 1261-1264 pope. His paraphrase on the 50th Psalm is in the *Biblioth. Patr.*, two of his epistles are in the Councils, and twenty-four others in Wadding's *Annales* and *Regestum Pontif.*

Henry de Segusio, bishop of Embrun, before 1258, and cardinal bishop of Ostia, 1262, died 1271; so distinguished for knowledge of both civil and canon law that he was called *Fons et Splendor Juris*. He wrote *Summa utriusque Juris*, which often called *Aurca Summa Hostiensis*; also

an exposition of the six books of the Decretals; both have been printed.

Clement IV. pope, A. D. 1265–1268, has left us numerous epistles and bulls; extant in various collections of documents.

Gilbert, or Guibert, a Franciscan friar, and professor of theology in the university of Paris, A.D. 1270. Several of his tracts are extant.

Nicolaus Hanapus, a Dominican, pœnitentiary in the court of Rome, and then patriarch of Jerusalem, died at Ptolemais, A.D. 1288. His *Biblia Pauperum*, or Examples of Virtue and Vice, has been often printed.

Gregory X. pope, A. D. 1271–1276, has left us twenty-five epistles.

Robert Kilwarbius (Kilwarby), studied at Oxford and Paris, became a Franciscan, and archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1272, went to Rome in 1277, was made a cardinal, and died in 1280. He left a number of theological and scientific works, preserved in manuscript, but never published.

Innocent V. pope, A.D. 1276, during five months; left a *Compendium Theologiæ*, and a Commentary on the four books of Sentences.

John XXI. (or XIX.) pope, A. D. 1276–1288, has left several epistles, some treatises on logic, and one on the cure of diseases, which have been published.

Henry of Ghent, or Gandavensis, long a teacher of philosophy and theology in the Sorbonne, and called *doctor Solennis*. He died A.D. 1293, leaving a *Summa Theologiæ*; *Quodlibeta Theologica*, on the four books of Sentences; *de Viris Illustribus*, or an account of ecclesiastical authors; besides several other works never printed.

Udalric or Ulric, a German of Strasburg, pupil of Albert the Great, a Dominican and theologian of Paris, died prematurely, about 1280, leaving a *Compendium of theology*, and other works not printed.

Mechtildis, a German lady of high family, and a Benedictine nun of Helfta. She flourished A.D. 1280, and died before 1290. Her Revelation, or five books of spiritual grace, composed in German, and translated into Latin, were published, with other works of a similar character, Paris, 1513, and Cologne, 1536.

Guido Baiifus, a native of Reggio, and a citizen and archdeacon of Bologna, an eminent jurist, flourished A.D. 1283. He wrote three books of Commentaries, entitled the *Rosarium*, on the five books of the Decretals; published, Venice, 1580.

Nicolas IV., pope, A. D. 1288–1292, left numerous epistles, many of which are published by Bzovius and Wadding; besides commentaries on the Scriptures, and theological treatises and sermons, never published.

Theodoric de Apoldia, a native of Erfurth, and a Dominican friar, who flourished A.D.

1289. He wrote the life of Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew king of Hungary, and widow of Lewis, landgrave of Thuringia, in eight books; published by Canisius, *Lectioes Antig.* pt. ii. p. 147; also the life of St. Dominic, in eight books; published by Surius.

Augustinus Triumphus, of Ancona, an Augustinian eremite friar, who spent several years at the university of Paris, but more at Venice, and at last fixed his residence at Naples, where he died A.D. 1298, aged 85. He wrote *Summa de Potestate Ecclesiastica*; published, Rome, 1479, 4to, and 1582, fol.; several devotional pieces, a book of extracts from St. Augustine; besides several theological works, extensive commentaries on the Scriptures, and many sermons, never published.

William Major, a Frenchman, pœnitentiary of Angers, and bishop of the same, A.D. 1290–1314. He wrote the history of his episcopate, up to the year before his death; published by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* t. x.

Guido, of noble birth in Burgundy, studied theology and canon law nine years at Paris and Orleans, and after filling several other offices, was abbot of St. Germain of Auxerre, from A.D. 1277 to 1309, when he resigned his office, and lived a retired life till his death in 1313. He wrote the history of the abbots of his monastery, from A.D. 1189 to 1277, published by Labbé, *Biblioth. Nov.* MSS. t. i.

Henry (according to some, Amandus) Suso, of noble birth in Swabia, a distinguished Dominican theologian, and lecturer at Constance, who flourished A.D. 1290, and died about the close of the century. He wrote various tracts, epistles, and sermons, in German, which Laur. Surius translated into Latin, and published, Cologne, 1688, 8vo.

Boniface VIII. pope, A.D. 1294–1303, has left numerous epistles and bulls, published by Bzovius and Wadding; besides the *Liber Sextus Decretalium*, which is a part of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*.

Engelbert, a Benedictine, distinguished as early as 1273, and abbot of Admont in Styria from 1297. He wrote an heroic poem, or panegyric, on the coronation of Rudolph of Hapsburg; and a tract on the rise, progress, and fall of the Roman empire; the last is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* t. xxv. and the first is in all the collections of German historians.

Thomas Wikes, or Wiccius, an English regular canon of St. Augustine, in the monastery of Osenev, near Oxford, who flourished about A.D. 1299. He wrote a Chronicle of England, from William the Conqueror, A.D. 1066, to the year 1304, which was published among the *Scriptores Hist. Anglicanæ*, t. ii. Oxf., 1687, fol. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. The general state of religion — § 2. New articles of faith introduced by Innocent — § 3. The sect of Flagellants — § 4. Exegetical theology — § 5. Dogmatic theology — § 6. The greater part pursued *positive* theology — § 7. A few Sententiarii — § 8. The opposers of the dialecticians — § 9. The mystics — § 10. Moral theology — § 11. Its character — § 12. Polemic theology — § 13. Controversies between the Greeks and the Latins — § 14. Dispute concerning Christ's presence in the Eucharist.

§ 1. THE inveterate defects of the prevailing religion, though very great and fundamental, were yet increased by considerable accessions. The Greeks and Orientals were gradually diverted more and more from the principles of truth and rectitude, by their hatred of the Latins, by their immoderate veneration for the fathers and the former ages, by the calamities of the times, and by the heedlessness and stupidity of their prelates. Among the Latins, besides the sovereign pontiffs, who, it appears, would tolerate nothing that was even remotely injurious to their majesty and authority, the scholastic doctors, among whom the Dominican and Franciscan monks stood foremost, and were the most subtle, by philosophizing, disputing, dividing, and distinguishing, exceedingly obscured the simple and beautiful religion of Christ. The most pernicious among them — for all were not equal offenders — were those who led the mass of people to believe, that men can perform more than God requires of them, and that all religion consists in the external homage of the lips, and in certain bodily gestures.

§ 2. In the *fourth*, and a very full council of the Lateran, A.D. 1215, *Innocent III.*, a most imperious pontiff, without asking the opinion of any one, published seventy decrees: in which, besides other enactments, calculated to increase the power of the pontiffs and to give importance to the clergy, he widened the religious system, by adding to it some new doctrines, or as they are called, *articles of faith*. For whereas there had hitherto been different opinions respecting the *manner* in which Christ's body and blood are present in the Eucharist, and no public decision had defined what must be held and taught on this point, *Innocent* pronounced *that* opinion to be the only true one, which is now universal in the Roman church; and he consecrated to it the hitherto unknown term *Transubstantiation*.¹ He

¹ See, among many others, Edm. Albertin, *De Eucharistia*, l. iii. p. 972. [The decree of Innocent is in Harduin's *Concilia*, vii. 16, 17. 'Una vero est fidelium universalis ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur. In qua idem ipse Sacerdos et Sacrificium Jesus Christus: cujus corpus et sanguis in

sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, *transubstantiatis*, pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem, potestate divina, ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus de suo quod accepit ipse de nostro. Et hoc utique sacramentum nemo potest conficere, nisi sacerdos, qui fuerit

also required it to be held as an article of faith, that every one is bound, by a positive divine ordinance, to enumerate and confess his sins to a priest; which indeed had before been the opinion of some doctors, but it was not the public belief of the church; for up to this time, although the confession of sins was held to be a duty, yet every one had been at liberty, according to his pleasure, either to confess them mentally to God alone, or orally to a priest also.¹ The reception of both these dogmas, as of divine authority, in consequence of the injunction of *Innocent*, produced many regulations and decisions, wholly unknown in the Scriptures or in the early ages of the church, and calculated to foster superstition rather than piety.

§ 3. Nothing perhaps will show more clearly the unsoundness of the religion of the age generally, and its discordance with the Bible, than the history of the societies of *Flagellants*; which first originated in Italy, in the year 1263, and afterwards spread over a large part of Europe. A great multitude of persons, of all ranks and ages, and both sexes, ran about the streets of cities and country towns, with whips in their hands, lashing miserably their naked bodies; and they expected, by this voluntary punishment, by their frightful countenances and their distracted cries, to procure the divine compassion for themselves and others.² This method of appeasing the Supreme Being was perfectly accordant with the nature of religion as it existed in that age. Nor did these *Flagellants* do anything that had not been learned from the monks, and particularly from the mendicant orders. And hence they were at first highly revered, and extolled for their sanctity, and not only by the populace, but also by their rulers and governors. But when the turbulent and extravagant, and those contaminated with ridiculous opinions, joined themselves to the primitive more decent and moral *Flagellants*, the emperors and the pontiffs issued decrees to put a stop to this religious frenzy.

§ 4. The expounders of the sacred volume, in this century, differed not at all from those who assumed that office in the previous times. Most of them declare themselves bent upon drawing out the internal juice and marrow of the sacred books, that is, to elicit their recondite or secret sense; and they do it so clumsily, for the most part, that a discerning man can hardly help growing rather sick in reading their commentaries. Let any who wish to try how far their patience will hold out, read, if they please, the lucubrations of *Hugo* of St. Cher, *Stephen Langton* and *Anthony* of Padua, on various parts of

rite ordinatus secundum claves ecclesiæ, quas ipse concessit apostolis et eorum successoribus Jesus Christus.' *Tr.*]

¹ See Jo. Dallæus, *de Confessione Auriculari*; and many others. [This decree of *Innocent* is in *Harduin*, l. c. p. 36, art. xxi. It is in this form: 'Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno, proprio sacerdoti; et injunctam sibi pœnitentiam studeat

pro viribus adimplere, &c. alioquin et vivens ab ingressu ecclesiæ arceatur, et moriens Christiana careat sepultura.' *Tr.*]

² Christ. Schötgen, *Hist. Flagellantium*. Jac. Boileau, *Hist. de Flagellans*, ix. p. 253. A drawing descriptive of this penance of the *Flagellant* is given by Edm. Martene. *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, ii. 105. Compare *Muratori's Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, vi. 469, &c.

the Bible. None pursued this course more diligently, or rather more foolishly, than the *mystic* doctors; of whom not one is so obtuse but he can see clearly, in the sacred writers, all the principles of his mystic theology. Nor were their adversaries, the *scholastics*, entirely averse from this method of interpretation; though they were at more pains to collect the opinions of the ancient interpreters, than to devise new ones; as the example of *Alexander Hales*, *William Alvernus*, and *Thomas* himself,¹ will show. They likewise call in occasionally the aid of dialectics. To assist the expounders of the sacred books, *Hugo* of St. Cher composed his index of the words in these books, or his *Concordance* to them.² The Dominicans, by direction of *Jordan*, the general of their order, set forth a new edition of the Latin version of the Scriptures, carefully corrected by the older copies.³ The Greeks attempted nothing in this department which is worthy of notice. But among the Syrians, *Gregory Abulpharajus* very learnedly explained a large part of the Bible.⁴

§ 5. It would be tedious to enumerate all those who treated systematically, either theoretical or practical theology: for all that possessed a tolerable share of discernment and ability to write, applied themselves to this branch of theology: and especially all those who taught in the schools; among whom the Dominicans and the Franciscans held the first rank. Nor is it necessary to recite the names of these doctors, or to specify all their lucubrations; for whoever has made himself acquainted with *Albertus Magnus*, or with *Thomas Aquinas*, his disciple, has knowledge of them all. The first place among these writers on systematic theology belongs to *Thomas Aquinas*, who was commonly called the *Angel of the schools*, or the *Angelic Doctor*. For as soon as his *Summa*, or system of theology, both dogmatical and practical, began to circulate, all eagerly caught hold of the work, and made it, in connexion with *Lombard*, the Master of the Sentences, the basis of instruction and the source of correct knowledge. Some indeed have denied that this celebrated work was the production of *Thomas*:⁵ but their reasons are by no means solid and satisfactory.⁶

§ 6. The greatest part of these doctors followed *Aristotle* as their model; and applied his principles, both dialectical and philosophical, to the investigation and explication of Christian doctrines. In explaining metaphysically the more abstruse doctrines, they followed the opinions of the *Realists*. For this sect had far more followers, in this century, than the *Nominalists*; which may be attributed to the vast influence of *Albertus* and *Thomas*, who stood at the head of the *Realists* at this time. But although these *most lucid, irrefragable*,

¹ [Aquinas. *Tr.*]

² See Jac. Echard's *Script. Ord. Prædic.* i. 194.

³ R. Simon, *Critique de la Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclés.* par M. du Pin, i. 341.

⁴ J. S. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vat.* ii. 277.

⁵ See Jo. Launoï, *Traditio Ecclesiæ Romanæ circa Simonium*, p. 290.

⁶ See Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles. sæcul. xiii.* p. 391. Jac. Echard and Quetif's *Script. Ord. Prædic. sæc. xiii. t. i.* 293, &c. Ant. Touron's *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 604.

seraphic, and *angelic* doctors, as they were called, may have viewed themselves as sagacious and powerful defenders of revealed religion, yet they very often poured darkness rather than light upon their subjects. For, not to mention their intolerable and often ridiculous phraseology, or their disgusting barbarism of style, and to pass by their senseless eagerness for prying into subjects inscrutable to man, they failed in the very points in which true philosophers ought least of all to be found defective. For their definitions are obscure and inaccurate, and their divisions are unsuitable and illogical. And these faults, which necessarily produce confusion of thought and obscurity in reasoning, are chargeable on the great *Thomas* himself.

§ 7. This propensity to examine religious subjects by the powers of reason and human sagacity, greatly lessened the number of those who were accustomed, in the manner of the ancients, to demonstrate religious truths by the Scriptures and by the authority of the fathers, without employing philosophy, and who were therefore called *biblical divines*. Certain pious men indeed,¹ and even the Roman pontiffs,² seriously admonished the theologians, and more especially those of Paris, to avoid the subtleties of philosophy, and to teach the doctrines of salvation according to the Scriptures, with simplicity and purity: but their admonitions were fruitless. For so great was the enthusiasm for metaphysics, dialectics, and philosophy, that no arguments or exhortations could control it. The scholastic doctors did not indeed wholly disregard the *Scriptures* and *tradition*; but what they adduced from either source showed plainly that neither had been carefully consulted by them.³ At length they gave up all such care to others, reserving to themselves nothing more than skill in disputing and philosophizing. Of this thing not the least obvious reason may be detected in the circumstances of the parties themselves. For most of these doctors were of the Dominican or Franciscan bodies. Now these communities, from holding no property, wanted even libraries, and were moreover required to lead an unsettled life. Of course, therefore, such of them as wished to make a figure as writers, were under a necessity to rely wholly upon their own ingenuity.

§ 8. The followers of the old divines deemed it the more necessary to resist strenuously these new dialectical theologians, in proportion as they instilled corrupt and dangerous sentiments into the youth in their schools. For they not only explained the mysteries of religion according to the principles of their dialectics, subjecting them to the empire of reason, but they also brought forward doctrines that were

¹ See Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*, iii. 9, 129, 180. Anton. Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* i. 91, 92, 94.

² See especially a sharp and memorable epistle of Gregory IX. to the Parisian masters; in Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*, iii. 129, which concludes with these words: 'Mandamus et districte præcipimus, quatenus sine fermento mundanæ scientiæ doceatis theo-

logicam puritatem, non adulterantes verbum Dei philosophorum figmentis—sed contenti terminis a patribus institutis mentes auditorum vestrorum fructu cælesti eloquii saginetis, ut hauriant de fontibus Salvatoris.'

³ Peter Faydit's *Altération du Dogme Théologique par la philos. d'Aristote*, p. 289. Rich. Simon's *Critique de la Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclés. par M. du Pin*, i. 170, 187.

absolutely impious, and manifestly hostile to religion, doctrines relating to God, to matter, the world, the origin of all things, and the nature of the human soul; and if any one taxed them with the fact, it was their custom to answer, that these doctrines were *philosophically true*, and consonant with right reason; but that they readily admitted them to be *theologically false*. And hence, throughout this century, in all the universities, and particularly at Paris and Oxford, you might see the ancient and biblical divines opposing the decisions, the opinions, and the treatises of the dialectic theologians, and both publicly and privately accusing them of corrupting the religion of the Scriptures.¹ Even *St. Thomas* was judged by the Parisians to be unsound, or to deviate on many points from the simple truth.² He escaped, indeed, though involved in various contests, without harm: but others who had less weight of character, were required publicly to confess their errors while alive or were severely censured after their deaths.

§ 9. Still more dangerous to the scholastic divines were the *mystics*, and all those who maintained that piety was the only thing to be regarded, and that men should wholly give up disputations on religious questions; for these opinions were acceptable to the people, and had great influence over them. Hence accusations and antipathies from such quarters, the dialecticians thought, were not so much to be repelled by force, as to be conciliated by prudent measures. They therefore extolled mystic theology with lavish praises; and even explained its principles in various treatises, combining it with the theology taught in the schools, notwithstanding a total difference of character between the two systems. The works written upon this principle by *Bonaventura*, *Albert the Great*, *Robert Capito* [or Grossetête], and *Thomas Aquinas* are well known. Nor did they blush to publish comments on *Dionysius* himself, the coryphæus of the mystics, whom perhaps they at the same time viewed with secret contempt.³

§ 10. Therefore, in this century, both the scholastics and the mystics wrote treatises on the duties of a Christian life, and the way in which the soul is to be purified from its corruptions; but, as may

¹ See Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 541. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*. iii. in many places, but especially p. 397, 430, 433, 472, &c.

² See Jo. Launoï, *Historia Gymnas. Navarrensi*, pt. iii. l. iii. c. cxvi. in his *Opp.* t. iv. pt. i. p. 485. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*. iv. 204. Peter Zornius, *Opuscula Sacra*, i. p. 445. Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, ii. 266, &c. Jac. Echard's *Script. Ord. Prædicator.* i. 435, &c.

³ [Whether Mosheim has here stated the real motives of these men in extolling and expounding the principles of the mystics, those must judge who are familiar with their writings. Metaphysical theology, and mystical, will be found often associated in the minds of the devout in every age. And in

that age, the mystics gave at least as good evidence of deep-toned piety, or of intimate communion with God, as any others; and such men as Bonaventura may easily be supposed to have felt not a little sympathy with them in their devout contemplations. Who does not know how much the writings of Thomas à Kempis (a mystic of the fourteenth century) have been admired, even by Protestants, quite to the present times? Besides, those more devout scholastics give too much evidence of sincerity and integrity to admit, without strong proof, that they would, deliberately and systematically, commend and write books in defence of a religious system which, in their hearts, they viewed with contempt. *Tr.*]

readily be supposed, their treatises are very different in character. What the *mystics* taught and recommended as being a life of piety, may be learned from the annotations of *George Pachymeres* on *Dionysius*, written in Greek, and from the *Spiritual Institutes*, or Compendium of mystic theology, by *Humbert de Romanis*. The primary object of the *scholastics* was to explain the nature of virtues and vices; as is manifest from the numerous *Summas*¹ of the virtues and vices that appeared in this age. The virtues they divided into the *moral* (which are precisely those that *Aristotle* recommended to his disciples), and the *theological*, of which they reckon three, faith, hope, and charity, under countenance from St. Paul's words (1 Corinth. xiii. 13). In explaining both, they spend more time on questions and controversies, than in giving direct and lucid instruction. In this department, the pre-eminence is due to *Thomas*, who devotes the entire second part of his *Summa* to moral or practical theology, and on whom innumerable others wrote commentaries.

§ 11. But great care is necessary in reading the writers on moral theology of this and the following centuries. For, though they use the same terms that the inspired writers and ourselves also do, yet they assign to them very different imports. The justice, charity, sanctity, and faith of most of the doctors of this age, are not identical with the virtues which Christ and his apostles designate by these terms. According to our Saviour's judgment, he is a holy and pious man, who devotes his entire soul to God and to his law: but the writers of these times denominate *him* a holy and pious man, who divests himself of his possessions and worldly goods, in order to enrich the priests, and to build churches and monasteries, and who does not deny or neglect to do anything which the pontiffs would have men believe or do. And it is lawful and right, if we may believe these writers, to treat with all possible severity, and even to massacre, a *heretic*; that is, one who will not be submissive to the will of the Roman pontiff. The *justice*, therefore, which was inculcated in that age, was a very different thing from that which the Scriptures enjoin.

§ 12. Among the Greeks, *Nicetas Acominatus*, in his *Treasury of the Orthodox Faith*, attacked all the sects, but it was in the manner of the Greeks, that is, by the testimonies and the authority of the fathers and ecclesiastical councils, rather than by the declarations of Holy Scripture and by sound arguments. Among the Latins, *Raymund* of Pennafort, a Spaniard, attempted to confute the Jews and Saracens, not in the manner practised previously, by penalties and the sword, but by arguments.² This led many others, who were no contemptible disputants, and who were acquainted with the Hebrew and Arabic languages, to assail these nations in a similar manner; among whom, *Raymund Martini*, the author of the *Pugio Fidei*, stands indisputably pre-eminent.³ *Thomas* also contended for the truth of

¹ [Or systems. *Tr.*]

² Jac. Echard and Quetif's *Script. Ord. Prædicator.* i. sæc. xiii. p. 106, &c.

³ Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, ii. 2077, art. *Martini*. Paul Colomesius, *Hispania Orientalis*, p. 209.

Christianity, in his *Summa contra gentes*; which is no contemptible performance.¹ And *Alanus ab Insulis* [*Alain de l'Isle*] did the same, in his work *Against the Jews and the Pagans*. Those who engaged in other controversies, were far inferior in merit to these, and aimed rather to render their adversaries odious, than to make them love the truth.

§ 13. The principal controversy of this century was that which had produced separation between the Greek and Latin churches; and in discussing and endeavouring to settle which, nearly the whole century was consumed in unsuccessful efforts. *Gregory IX.* employed the Franciscan monks, especially after the year 1232, in negotiations for peace with the Greeks: but their efforts were unavailing.² Afterwards, in the year 1247, *Innocent IV.* sent *John* of Parma, with other Franciscans, to negotiate with the Greeks: and on the other side, the Greek patriarch came in person to Rome, and was created legate of the apostolic see.³ But still, several causes prevented an adjustment of all difficulties. Under *Urban IV.* the business was managed more successfully. For *Michael Palæologus*, as soon as he had expelled the Latins out of Constantinople, in order to establish his empire and secure the friendship of the Roman pontiff, sent ambassadors to Rome, declaring his readiness to conclude a peace. But *Urban* died before the difficult negotiations were brought to a conclusion.⁴ Under *Gregory X.*, after various discussions in the second council of Lyons, A. D. 1274, *John Veccus*, the patriarch of Constantinople, and some other Greek bishops agreeing to it, the Greeks publicly consented to the terms of compromise prescribed by the pontiff.⁵ But on a change in the state of public affairs, the fear of a war from the Latins being at an end, *Andronicus*, the son of Michael, in the council of Constantinople, held in the palace of Blachernæ, A. D. 1284,

¹ Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Delectus Argumentorum et Scriptorum pro Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, p. 270.

² The records of the transaction are extant in Luke Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, ii. 279, 296, &c., and in Jac. Echard's *Script. Ord. Prædicator.* i. 103, 911, &c. See also Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 386, &c. [The union was prevented by the well-known principles of the Roman court, which had all one aim, namely, to subject the whole world to themselves, or to make all nations tributary to the see of Rome, and thus to enrich themselves at the expense of others. At least, the Greek patriarch Germanus, in his letter to the cardinals, in the above-cited passage of Matthew Paris, says, 'Destroy the cause of the ancient hostility between the Latins and the Greeks—we have commenced the negotiation for peace, and have written to the pope: let God purge your hearts of all high thoughts, that exalt themselves against a fraternal union. The severing of our union proceeds from the tyranny of your oppression, and the exac-

tions of the Roman church; which, from being a mother, has become a step-mother, and is like a rapacious bird, that drives away her own young; which tramples upon the lowly, in proportion as they are the more prostrate. Therefore, let Roman avarice, inveterate as it is, be subdued; and let us proceed to an examination of the truth.—You, eager solely for earthly possessions, collect together silver and gold from every quarter; and yet you say that you are the disciples of him who said, *Silver and gold have I none.* You make kingdoms tributary to you; you increase your revenues by navigations; your deeds contradict the profession of your lips.' *Schl.*]

³ See Stephen Baluze, *Miscellanea*, vii. 370, 388, 393, 397, 497, 498. Wadding's *Annales Minor.* iii. and iv. p. 37, &c.

⁴ Wadding's *Annales Minor.* iv. 181, 201, 223, 269, 303.

⁵ See Wadding's *Annal. Minor.* iv. 343, 371, v. 9, 29, 62. Colonia, *Hist. Littér. de la ville de Lyon*, ii. 284.

annulled this disgraceful compromise, and sent its author *Veccus* into exile.¹ After this, the rancour and the disputes became more violent than ever.

§ 14. We pass over the private and minor controversies that arose here and there. The only one that remains, and that deserves notice, is the discussions in France, and in other countries during this century, respecting the Lord's Supper. Notwithstanding that *Innocent III.*, in the Lateran council of 1215, had placed *transubstantiation* among the public doctrines of the Latin church, yet many had doubts of the validity of this decree; and they maintained, that other opinions were not improbable. Those who approved the Berengarian sentiment, that the bread and wine were only symbols of the body and blood of Christ, dared not publicly avow and defend their opinions.² Yet there were many who deemed it sufficient to maintain what is called the *real* presence; though they might explain the *mode* of that presence differently from *Innocent*.³ Pre-eminent among these was *John* surnamed *Pungens-Asinum*,⁴ a subtle doctor of Paris, who near the close of the century avowed at Paris his preference of *consubstantiation* before *transubstantiation*; and yet was not condemned by the doctors there, for advancing such an opinion.⁵

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Increase of rites — § 2. Eucharistic rites — § 3. Year of Jubilee.

§ 1. IT would be endless to enumerate all the additions which the pontiffs made publicly, and the priests and monks privately, to the exterior of religion, in order to render it more splendid and imposing. We shall, therefore, despatch the extensive subject in a few words. Those who directed public worship conceived that the religion generally

¹ Leo Allatius, *de Perpetua Consensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* l. ii. c. 15, 16, p. 727, &c. Fred. Spanheim, *de Perpetua Dissensione Græcorum et Latinorum*, in his *Opp.* ii. 488, &c. and elsewhere.

² Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iii. 373.

³ Peter Allix, *Præfatio ad F. Johannis Determinat. de Sacramento Altaris*, Lond. 1686, 8vo.

⁴ [The Ass-goader. *Tr.*]

⁵ His book was published by Peter Allix [Lond. 1686, 8vo.] See Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* i. 576. D'Achery, *Spicileg. Veter. Scriptor.* iii. 58. Jac. Echard's *Script. Dominiciani*, i. 561. [According to Du Pin, *Auteurs Ecclésiast.* sæc. xiv. ch. v. John of

Paris, surnamed *Pungens Asinum*, lived in the fore part of the thirteenth century, and was a different person from that John of Paris, who opposed the papal doctrine of *transubstantiation*. Neither did this latter John escape censure from the divines of Paris, for in 1305 they silenced him, and forbade his either preaching or lecturing, on pain of excommunication. He appealed to the pope, then at Bourdeaux, who appointed commissioners to try the case; but before the day of trial, John died, on the 15th Jan. 1306. Similar to this are the statements of Dr. Cave (*Hist. Litt.*) and Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Med. et Infimæ Latinitatis*, l. ix. p. 322. *Tr.*]

embraced in those times, was not so much to be presented to the understanding as to the eyes and the senses of mankind, in order to render it more striking and impressive. Hence at stated times, and particularly on the festivals, they were accustomed to exhibit the divine works and beneficent acts, and all the more striking facts in sacred history, by signs and emblems, or rather by mimic representations.¹ These spectacles, partly comic and partly tragic, though they might gratify the senses, and produce some slight emotions in the soul, were still rather prejudicial than advantageous to the cause of religion; and they afforded matter for ridicule to the more discerning.

§ 2. No one will think it strange, that after the establishment of the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, the consecrated bread of the Eucharist should have received divine honours. This having become an established custom, the various ceremonies by which that bread was honoured, followed of course. Hence those splendid caskets, in which God, in the form of bread, might reside as in his house, and be carried from place to place: hence, lamps and other decorations were added to these reputed domiciles of a present deity: hence, this bread was carried in splendid processions along the streets to the sick; and other rites of the like character were introduced. This superstition reached its zenith, when the festival of *Corpus Christi*, as it is called, was instituted. One *Juliana*, a nun who lived at Liege, in the Netherlands, gave out that she had been divinely instructed, that it was the pleasure of God, that an annual festival should be kept in honour of the holy supper, or, rather, of the body of *Christ* present in the holy supper. Few persons gave credit to her vision.² But *Robert*, the bishop of Liege, in the year 1246, ordered this new festal day, though very many were opposed to it, to be celebrated throughout his district. After the death of *Juliana*, her friend *Eve*, another woman of Liege, ceased not from prosecuting the business; till at length *Urban IV.*, in the year 1264, imposed that festival upon the whole church. Yet this pontiff died shortly after signing this decree; so that this festival was not universally observed by the Latin churches, until *Clement V.*, in the council of Vienne, A.D. 1311, confirmed the edict of *Urban*.³ And this festival contributed to establish the people in the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, more than the decree of the Lateran council under *Innocent III.*

§ 3. At the close of the century, *Boniface VIII.* added to the public

¹ This extravagance in getting up religious shows originated, I suspect, with the mendicant orders.

² [This fanatical woman declared, that as often as she addressed herself to God, or to the saints in prayer, she saw the full moon with a small defect or breach in it; and that, having long studied to find out the signification of this strange appearance, she was inwardly informed by the Spirit, that the moon signified the church, and that the defect or breach was the want of an annual

festival in honour of the holy sacrament.] *Macl.*

³ See Barthol. Eisen's *Origo prima Festi Corporis Christi ex viso Sanctæ virginis Julianæ divinitus oblato*, Liege, 1619, 8vo. Jo. Dallæus, *de Cultus Religiosi Objecto*, p. 287, &c. *Acta Sanctor.* Aprilis, i. 437, &c. and 903; and (one who should have been named first) Benedict XIV., the Roman pontiff, *de Festis Christi et Mariæ*, l. i. c. xiii. in his *Opp.* x. 360.

ceremonies of the church, the *year of jubilee*; which is still celebrated at Rome, with great pomp and splendid preparations. In the year 1299, there arose among the people at Rome a rumour that all such as should the next year visit the temple of St. Peter, would obtain the pardon of all their sins; and that this privilege was annexed to every hundredth year. *Boniface* ordered inquiry to be made into the truth of this opinion; and he learned, from many witnesses of good credit, that, according to very ancient ecclesiastical law and usage, all those who devoutly visited St. Peter's church, in the course of the years that terminate centuries, merited thereby indulgences for a hundred years. The pontiff, therefore, in an epistle sent throughout Christendom, decided, that in every centennial year, all that should confess and lament for their sins, and devoutly visit the temples of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, would receive plenary abolition of their sins.¹ The successors of *Boniface* adorned this institution with many new rites; and after finding by experience, that it brought both honour and gain to the church of Rome, they limited it to shorter periods, so that, at the present time, every twenty-fifth year is a jubilee.²

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1. The Nestorians and Jacobites — § 2. Conflicts of the pontiffs with heretics little known — § 3. Commencement of the Inquisition in Languedoc, in France — §§ 4, 5. Its form — § 6. Its prerogatives. General odium against it — § 7. Severer measures against the heretics, especially the Albigenses — § 8. The count of Toulouse in vain opposes the pontiff — § 9. The brethren and sisters of the free spirit — § 10. Their mystic theology — § 11. Some of them held better sentiments, and others worse — § 12. Amalric — § 13. Joachim. Wilhelmina — § 14. The sect called Apostles — § 15. The grievous fault of Joachim.

§ 1. THE Greeks mention the rise of no new sects in this century. The oriental communities of Jacobites and Nestorians, who spurn the Latin laws no less firmly than the Greeks, were solicited repeatedly

¹ Such is the statement of Jac. Cajetan, nephew of Boniface VIII., and cardinal of St. George, in his *Relatio de Centesimo seu Jubileo Anno*; which is in all the *Bibliothecas* of the Fathers, and particularly in the *Biblioth. max. Patrum*, xxv. 267. Nor is there any reason why we should suppose that he misrepresents facts, or that Boniface acted craftily and avariciously in this matter.

² The writers on the jubilee are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliograph. Antiquar.* p. 316, &c.; to his list others may be added, and among them, especially, Charles

Chais, a recent author, whose *Lettres Historiques et Dogmatiques sur les Jubilés et les Indulgences*, were published at the Hague, 1751, 3 vols. 8vo. [He was a minister of the French church at the Hague. The first volume of the Letters is devoted to the history of the Roman jubilees, traces their origin to the avarice of Boniface VIII. A.D. 1300, points out their resemblance to the Roman secular games, and gives a particular account of each jubilee, from their origin in 1300, to 1750. The second and third volumes are devoted to the subject of Indulgences. *Tr.*]

by pontifical legates of the orders of *St. Francis* and *St. Dominic*, to put themselves under the dominion of the Roman pontiffs. *Innocent IV.* endeavoured to unite both bodies under himself in the year 1246. And *Nicolas IV.* offered terms of reconciliation to the Nestorians, and particularly to those inhabiting northern Asia, in the year 1278.¹ And some of the bishops of both those sects seemed not averse from the proposed terms. But after a short time, from various causes, all hopes of such a reconciliation vanished.

§ 2. During the whole of this century, the Roman pontiffs were engaged in fierce and bloody conflicts with *heretics*; that is, with such as taught differently from the teaching prescribed by the church of Rome, and brought under discussion the power and prerogatives of the pontiffs. For the sects of the *Cathari*, the *Waldenses*, the *Petrobrusians*, and many others, spread over all Europe, and especially over Italy, France, Germany,² and Spain, collected congregations, and threatened great danger to the Romish domination. New sects were added to the old ones, differing indeed widely in their opinions, but

¹ Odor. Raynald, *Annales Eccles.* t. xiii. ad ann. 1247, § 32, &c. and t. xv. ad ann. 1303, § 22, and 1304, § 23. Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 372.

² [In Germany they were called Stedingers, from a district in ancient Friesland, where they were most numerous, and Halleian heretics, from a town in Swabia where they resided. The Stedingers were accused of magic and of Manichæism, but seem rather to have been Waldensians than Manichæans. Their chief difference was, that they refused to pay tithes to the bishops, particularly to the bishops of Bremen and Minden, and, in general, resolved to be free from the oppressive slavery of the clergy. These poor people, in 1234, were nearly exterminated by an army of 40,000 crusaders. See Ritter's *Diss. de pago Steding et Stedingis Hereticis*; and Harzheim's *Concilia German.* iii. 551, &c. The Halleian heretics may be best understood from the account of Albrecht of Stade, in his *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1248. He thus describes them: 'Strange and miserable heretics began to multiply in the church of God; who striking the bells, and calling the barons and freeholders together, at Hallæ in Swabia, thus preached in public: that the pope was a heretic; and all the bishops and prelates, simoniacs and heretics; and also the inferior prelates and the priests; because, being defiled with vices and mortal sins, they had no authority to bind and loose; and that they all seduced the people: that priests guilty of mortal sins, could not administer the sacrament: that *no man living, neither the pope, nor the bishops, could interdict the worship of God; and that those who prohibited it, were heretics and seducers*; that the Dominicans and Franciscans corrupted the church, by preaching falsehood;

and that *all those monks*, and likewise the Cistercians, led sinful and unrighteous lives: that there was no one who declared the truth, and who observed good faith in action, except themselves and their associates;—that hitherto your preachers have buried the truth, and have preached falsehood, while we do the contrary. The indulgence (pardon) which we offer to you, is not fictitious and fabricated by the apostolic (the pope) nor by the bishops, but comes solely from God and from our order. We dare not make mention of the pope, because he leads so wicked a life, and is a man of so bad example.—Pray ye for the emperor Frederic and for Conrad—the pope has not the power of binding, nor of loosing, because he does not lead an apostolical life.'—See also John Gottfr. Bernhold's *Diss. de Conrado IV., imperatore, Hallensium hereticorum aliquando defensore*; Altdorf. 1758.—Among the Inquisitors in Germany, Conrad of Marburg rendered himself particularly famous. He was a Dominican, and confessor of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, whose biography he composed; and with much simplicity he united all the qualities requisite for so bloody and inhuman an office as that of an inquisitor. This abominable man, burning with hatred for heretics, raved against high and low, allowed no one a legal trial, but imprisoned the innocent, till they would themselves confess guilt, of which they were unconscious. See Albrecht's *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1233. The German archbishops counselled him to use greater moderation; but the delirious man continued his mad career, preaching a crusade against the heretics, till at last he was put to death by some noblemen, near Marburg. See Harzheim's *Concilia German.* iii. 543, &c. *Schl.*]

all agreeing in this, that the prevailing religion was false, and that the Roman pontiffs most unjustly arrogated to themselves dominion over Christians and their religious worship. And not a few of the noblemen listened, with favourable and even eager attention, to the doctrines maintained by these classes of persons out of the Scriptures, against the power, the wealth, and the vices of the pontiffs and of the whole clerical order. Hence new and extraordinary arms were requisite to overcome and subdue an opposition so numerous and so powerful.

§ 3. Nowhere was there a greater number of heretics of every description, than in Languedoc and the adjacent regions. For several persons, and especially *Raymund VI.* count of Toulouse,¹ afforded them protection; and the bishops in those provinces were so negligent and remiss in their proceedings against heretics, that they could found and augment their congregations without fear. On being apprised of these facts, *Innocent III.* sent extraordinary legates into these provinces, near the beginning of the century, to correct the faults committed by the bishops, and to extirpate the heretics by all possible means. These legates were *Raynier*, a Cistercian monk, and *Peter de Castronovo*, or *Castelnau*,² archdeacon of Maguelonne, and afterwards, likewise, a Cistercian monk. To these were subsequently added others; the most noted of whom was *Dominic*, a Spaniard, the well-known founder of the order of preaching friars, who, returning from Rome in the year 1206, connected himself with these papal legates, and, as well by sermons as in other ways, very strenuously assailed the heretics. Those men acting by authority from the pontiff, and without consulting the bishops, or asking their aid, hunted after *heretics*; and such of them as they could not convert by arguments, they caused to be subjected to capital punishments. In the language of common parlance, they were called *Inquisitors*; and from them, that terrible tribunal for heretics, called the *Inquisition*, took its rise.

§ 4. As this new class of functionaries, the *Inquisitors*, performed effectually the duties assigned them, and purged the provinces in which they laboured of numerous heretics, similar papal legates were stationed in nearly all the cities whose inhabitants were suspected, notwithstanding opposition from the people, who often either expelled or massacred the *Inquisitors*. The council of Toulouse, in which *Romanus*, cardinal of St. Angelo, presided as pontifical legate, A. D. 1229, proceeded still further; for it ordered the establishment of a

¹ [Son of Raymund V., by Constance, sister to Lewis VII., king of France. He was born Oct. 27, 1156, and succeeded his father, Jan. 6, 1194. He seems to have imbibed very early that antipathy to the Roman church which was general in his extensive territories, but he did not publicly embrace any doctrine, branded as heretical, at the outset of his reign. He very soon, however, showed himself without any monastic prepossessions, by an attack

upon one abbey, and by imprisoning the abbot of another. For these acts he was excommunicated by Celestine III. But Innocent III. absolved him. Hurter's *Innocent III.* iii. 55. S.]

² Very many of the Romish writers denominate this Peter the first Inquisitor; but in what sense he was so, will appear from what we are about to say. See, concerning him, the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Martii, p. 411, &c.

board of *Inquisitors* in each city, composed of one priest and three laymen.¹ But Gregory IX. altered the institution in the year 1233, and conferred on the preaching friars or Dominicans, the Inquisition for heresy in France; and by a formal bull freed the bishops from that duty.² And upon this, the bishop of Tournay, as papal legate, stationed *Peter Cellani* and *William Arnald*, as the first *Inquisitors of heretical pravity*, at Toulouse; and soon after, he created similar inquisitors in all the cities where the Dominicans had convents.³ From this period we are to date the commencement of the dreadful tribunal of the *Inquisition*; which, in this and the following centuries, subdued such hosts of heretics, either by forcing them back into the church, or by committing them to the temporal authorities to be burned. For the Dominicans erected, first at *Toulouse*, and then at *Carcassonne* and other places, permanent courts, before which were arraigned not only *heretics*, and those *suspected of heresy*, but likewise all that were accused of *magic, soothsaying, Judaism, sorcery*, and similar offences. And these courts were afterwards extended to other countries of Europe, though not everywhere with equal facility and success.⁴

¹ See Jo. Harduin's *Concilia*, vii. 175.

² Bernh. Guido's MS. Chronicle of the Roman pontiffs, in Jac. Echard's *Script. Prædicator*. i. 88. P. Percin's *Hist. Inquisitionis Tolosane*, subjoined to his *Hist. Conventus Frat. Prædicator*. Tolosæ, 1693, 8vo, and *Hist. Générale de Languedoc*, iii. 394, 395.

³ Echard and Percin, *locis cit.*

⁴ The account here given of the origin and early history of the Inquisition differs very much from what is stated in numberless books; yet it is supported by the most unexceptionable testimonies, which cannot here be adduced. Learned men tell us that St. Dominic invented the court of the Inquisition, and first instituted it at Toulouse; that he was himself the first inquisitor that was ever appointed; that the year is uncertain; yet that it is beyond dispute that Innocent III., in the Lateran council A. D. 1215, approved and confirmed this tribunal. See Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii*, &c. p. 569. Phil. Limborch, *Hist. Inquisit.* l. i. c. x. p. 39, &c., and other writers, who are mentioned by Fabricius. I believe, that those who make such statements, have their authorities for them; but those authorities are unquestionably not of the first order. Most of the modern writers follow Limborch, whose *History of the Inquisition* is an excellent work on the subject, and, indeed, may be considered the principal work. Limborch is to be commended for his diligence and his fidelity. But he was very indifferently acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the middle ages; nor did he derive his materials from the original

sources, but from second-hand writers; and he therefore fell into not a few mistakes. At least, what he tells us respecting the origin of the Inquisition, is not true. Nor are the accounts of others much better. In particular, not one of the positions stated above is true. Many of the Dominicans, who to this day preside in the courts of the Inquisition, and highly extol its sanctity, yet deny that St. Dominic invented the Inquisition, or that he was the first inquisitor; nay, that he was an inquisitor at all: and they also deny that the tribunal of the Inquisition was instituted during the lifetime of St. Dominic. Nor are they rash in making these assertions. Yet the dispute, whether St. Dominic was an inquisitor, or not, is a contest about a term, rather than about a fact; for it turns wholly on the different acceptations of the term *Inquisitor*. At first, an *Inquisitor* was a person sent forth, under the authority of the Roman pontiff, to subdue and extirpate heretics, but without any judicial powers. But the term afterwards changed its meaning, and was used to denote a *judge*, appointed by the Roman pontiff to try the causes of heretics and of those suspected of heresy, to pronounce sentence upon them, and to deliver over the pertinacious to the civil magistrates. In this latter sense, Dominic, most certainly, was not an inquisitor; nor were there any such judges appointed by the pontiffs before the time of Gregory IX. But, that Dominic was an inquisitor, in the former sense of the term, admits of no doubt.

§ 5. The method of proceeding in the courts of the *Inquisition* was at first simple, and not materially different from that in the ordinary courts.¹ But gradually, the Dominicans, guided by experience, rendered it far more complex; and so shaped their proceedings, that the mode of trying *heretical* causes (if the phrase be allowable) became altogether different from that usually practised in judicial proceedings. For these good friars, being wholly unskilled in forensic affairs, and acquainted with no other tribunal than that in which the Roman church is called the *penitentiary tribunal*, regulated these new courts of the *Inquisition*, as far as possible, according to the plan of those religious proceedings. And hence arose that strange system of jurisprudence, bearing in many respects the most striking features of injustice and wrong. Whoever duly considers this history of their origin, will be able to account for many things that seem unsuitable, absurd, and contrary to justice, in the mode of proceeding against offenders in the courts of the *Inquisition*.²

¹ The documents published by the Benedictines, in their *Hist. Générale de Langue-doc*, iii. 371, &c. show what was the first and simple method of proceeding in the *Inquisition*.

² [A more definite account of the peculiar characteristics of the tribunal of the *Inquisition* [as it existed in the subsequent centuries, *Tr.*] will not here be out of place. The persons arraigned before this tribunal, besides those mentioned in the text, were the abettors, encouragers, and protectors of heretics, the blasphemers, and such as resisted the officers of the *Inquisition*, or interrupted them in the discharge of their duties. A person became suspected of heresy, if he said anything that might offend others; if he misused the sacraments or other sacred things; if he treated the images with disrespect; if he possessed, read, or gave to others to read, books prohibited by the *Inquisition*; if he said mass, or heard confessions, without being in orders; if he attended, even for once, the preaching of heretics; if he did not appear before the *Inquisition*, as soon as he was cited; if he showed any kindness to a heretic, or aided him in making his escape. Abettors of heresy were those who harboured heretics, or did not give them up; those who spoke to arrested heretics, without permission, or even trafficked with heretics. When the *Inquisition* discovered a transgressor of their laws, either by common report, or by their spies, or by an informer, he was cited three times to appear before them; and if he did not appear, he was forthwith condemned. It was safest to appear on the first citation; because the longer a man delayed, the more guilty he would be; and the *Inquisition* had their spies, and a thousand concealed ways for getting an absconding heretic into their

power. When a supposed heretic was once in the hands of the *Inquisition*, no one dared to inquire after him, or write to him, or intercede for him. When everything belonging to the person seized was in their hands, then the process began; and it was protracted in the most tedious manner. After many days, or perhaps months, which the accused dragged out in a loathsome dungeon, the keeper of the prison asked him, as it were accidentally, if he wished to have a hearing. When he appeared before his judges, they inquired, just as if they knew nothing about him, who he was, and what he wanted. If he wished to be informed what offence he had committed, he was admonished to confess his faults himself. If he confessed nothing, time was given him for reflexion, and he was remanded to prison. If after a long time allowed him, he still confessed nothing, he must swear to answer truly to all the questions put to him. If he would not swear, he was condemned without further process. If he swore to give answer, he was questioned in regard to his whole life, without making known to him his offence. He was, however, promised a pardon if he would truly confess his offences; an artifice this, by which his judges often learned more than they knew before against him. At last the charges against him were presented to him in writing, and counsel also was assigned him, who however only advised him to confess fully his faults. The accuser and informer against him were not made known to him, but the real charges against him were put into his hands. He was allowed time for his defence; but his accuser, and the witnesses against him, he could know only by conjecture. Sometimes he was so fortunate as to discover who they were; but rarely were

§ 6. That this tribunal, devised for subduing heretics, might awaken more terror, the pontiffs prevailed on the emperors and sovereigns of Europe, especially on *Frederic II.* and *Lewis IX.*, or *Saint Lewis*, king of France, to enact severe laws against heretics; requiring the magistrates both to punish with death, and particularly with burning at the stake, all such as should be adjudged obstinate heretics by the *Inquisitors*; and also to afford their special protection and support to the courts of the Inquisition. The laws which *Frederic II.*, in particular, enacted from time to time on this subject are well known; and nothing could be more efficient, both to support the *Inquisition* against all its enemies, and to exterminate such as might be odious to the *Inquisitors*, however high and honourable their characters.¹ And yet these atrocious laws could not prevent the inquisitorial judges, who were generally inhuman, insolent, superstitious, jealous, and indiscreet, from being driven ignominiously out of many places by the populace, and from being murdered in others. Such was the fate of several, and among them of *Conrad* of Marburg, who was appointed by *Gregory IX.* the first inquisitor of Germany.²

they presented before him, and confronted with him. If his answers did not satisfy the judges, or if the allegations against him were not adequately proved, resort was had to torture; a transaction which well-nigh exceeded the sufferings endured by the first Christians when persecuted by the pagans. The torture was, by the rope, by water, and by fire. The rope was passed under the arms, which were tied behind the back of the accused. By this rope he was drawn up into the air by a pulley, and there left to swing for a time, and then suddenly let fall to within half a foot of the ground; by the shock of which fall, all his joints were dislocated. If he still confessed nothing, the torture by water was tried. After making him drink a great quantity of water, he was laid upon a hollow bench: across the middle of this bench a stick of timber passed, which kept the body of the offender suspended, and caused him most intense pain in the back-bone. The most cruel torture was that by fire: in which his feet, being smeared with grease, &c. were directed towards a hot fire, and the soles of them left to burn, till he would confess. Each of these tortures was continued as long as, in the judgment of the physician of the Inquisition, the man was able to endure them. He might now confess what he would, but still the torture would be repeated, first to discover the object and motives of the acknowledged offence, and then to make him expose his accomplices. If, when tortured, he confessed nothing, many snares were laid to elicit from him unconsciously his offence. The conclusion was, that the accused, when he seemed to have satisfied

the judges, was condemned, according to the measure of his offence, to death, or to perpetual imprisonment, or to the galleys, or to be scourged; and he was delivered over to the civil authorities, who were entreated to spare his life, as the church never thirsted for blood; but yet they would experience persecution if they did not carry the decisions of the court into execution. The inquisitorial judges do not deny that by such proceedings many innocent persons unavoidably perish, along with the guilty; but better, say they, that a hundred innocent persons, who are good catholics, should be cut off and go to Paradise, than to let one heretic escape, who might poison many souls, and plunge them in endless perdition. See Cramer's *Bossuet's History*, v. 468-477.—*Von Ein.*]

¹ The laws of *Frederic* are exhibited in the epistles of *Peter de Vineis*, in *Limboreh's Hist. Inquisit.* p. 48, and by *Bzovius*, *Raynald*, and many others. The law of *St. Lewis* was by the French jurists called *Cu-pientes*, because it began with this word; and that it was enacted in 1229, is shown by the Benedictine monks in their *Hist. Générale de Languedoc*, iii. 378, 575. It may be found in *William Catel's Hist. des Comtes de Tholose*, p. 340, &c., and in many other works. It is not a whit milder than the Laws of *Frederic II.* For a great part of the sanctity of this sincere *Lewis* consisted in his flaming zeal against heretics, who, in his opinion, were not to be vanquished by reasoning and sound arguments, but to be forthwith exterminated. See *Du Fresne's* notes on *Joinville's Life of St. Lewis*, p. 11, 39.

² The life of this noted and ferocious man

§ 7. As the labours of the inquisitors did not at once produce all the results which *Innocent III.* anticipated, in the year 1207, he exhorted *Philip Augustus*, king of France, and his nobles, to make war upon the heretics, promising them ample *indulgences* as their reward.¹ And this exhortation, he repeated, in a much stronger and more urgent manner, the following year, A.D. 1208, when his legate and inquisitor, *Peter de Castronovo*, was murdered by the patrons of the heretics.² Soon after, the Cistercian monks, in his name, *preached a crusade* (or the cross according to the language of that age), *against the heretics throughout France*; and *Raymund VI.*, the count of Toulouse, in whose territories *Peter* had been murdered, being now excommunicated, *took the cross* himself, in order to obtain release from that punishment. In the year 1209, a very large army of crusaders commenced their holy war against the heretics, that bore the general name of *Albigenses*:³ and continued the war in the most

has been compiled by Jo. Herm. Schminck, from documents both manuscript and printed, and is most worthy of being printed. In the meantime, for an account of him, see Luke Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* ii. 151, 355, &c. and Jac. Echard's *Script. Dominici*, i. 487, &c.

¹ See the Epistles of Innocent III. lib. x. ep. 49. [*On connaît le jugement généralement porté sur cette démarche du pape; mais ce qui est moins connu, c'est que le tolérant Bêze écrivit à Genève un écrit: De hæreticis a magistratu civili puniendis, et que Calvin, son maître, établit dans son ouvrage contre Servet, cette thèse: Jure gladii coerendos esse hæreticos.*] Nachon, *Lettre sur la tolérance de Genève*, p. 123, apud Hurter, *Innocent III.* iii. 76. This is fair enough, and it is also no more than justice to Innocent's memory to state, that he was tolerant towards the Jews, even claiming a sort of respect for them, as living witnesses of the truth of Christianity. (*Ibid.* i. 274.) Still, he must be holden largely responsible for the enormous guilt of the Albigensian crusade. S.]

² Epistles of Innocent III. l. ix. ep. 26, 27, 28, 29. *Acta Sanctorum*, Martii, i. 411, &c. [*Count Raymund*, when he signed the peace with his enemies, had engaged to exterminate the heretics from his states; but Peter de Castelnau very soon judged that he did not proceed in the work with adequate zeal. He went to seek him, reproached him to his face with his indulgence, which he termed baseness, treated him as perjured, as a favourer of heretics, and a tyrant, and again excommunicated him. This violent scene appears to have taken place at St. Gilles, where count Raymund had given a meeting to the two legates.

³ 1208. This lord, exceedingly provoked, threatened to make Castelnau pay for his insolence with his life. The two legates,

disregarding this threat, quitted the court of Raymund without a reconciliation, and came to sleep on the night of the 14th of January, 1208, in a little inn by the side of the Rhone, which river they intended to pass on the next day. One of the count's gentlemen happened to meet them there, or perhaps had followed them. On the morning of the 15th, after mass, this gentleman entered into a dispute with Peter de Castelnau, respecting heresy and its punishment. The legate had never spared the most insulting epithets to the advocates of tolerance; the gentleman, already irritated by the quarrel with his lord, and now feeling himself personally offended, drew his poignard, struck the legate in the side, and killed him.' Sismondi's *History of the Crusades against the Albigenses*, English transl. London, 1826, p. 20. S.]

³ The name Albigenses had a twofold application, the one more extended, the other more limited. In the broader sense, all the heretics of every sort, who at that time resided in Languedoc (*Gallia Narbonensis*), were called Albigenses. Peter Sarnensis, a writer of that age, in the dedication of his History of the Albigenses to Innocent III. (first published by Nicol. Camusat, Troyes, 1615, 8vo), says expressly, '*Tolosani, et aliarum civitatum et castorum hæretici, et defensores eorum generaliter, Albigenses vocantur.*' Afterwards, cap. ii. p. 3, he divides these Albigenses into various sects; and in p. 8 says that the Waldenses were the best among them: '*Mali erant Valdenses, sed comparatione aliorum hæreticorum, longe minus perversi.*' And thus, in general, all the French heretics were called Albigenses; not, however, from the city of Albi (*Albigia*), but from the fact, that the greatest part of Languedoc was, in that age, called Albigesium; as is clearly shown by the Benedictine monks, in their

cruel manner, during several years, with various success. The director of the war was one *Arnald*, a Cistercian abbot and the pontiff's legate: the commander-in-chief of the forces was *Simon*, count of Montfort.¹ *Raymund VI.*, the count of Toulouse, who at first fought against the heretics, became himself involved in the war, in the year 1211.² For *Simon* coveted his territories, and engaged in the war, not so much to advance religion and put down heresy, as to promote his own interests and to enlarge his dominions. *Simon* obtained his object; for, after numerous battles, sieges, and a great many deeds of valour, but of extreme cruelty,³ he received at the hands of

Hist. Générale de Languedoc, iii. 552, note xiii. [With this, Fuessli agrees, *Kirchen- und-Ketzerhistorie der mittlem Zeit*, vol. i. p. 320. *Schl.*]—In the more limited sense, the Albigenes were those who, in Italy, were sometimes called *Cathari*, *Publicani*, or *Pauliciani*, and *Bulgari*, and who approximated to the Manichæans in their sentiments. This appears from various documents; but most clearly from the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosane*, published by Limborch, in which the Albigenes are carefully distinguished from the other sects.

¹ [Simon was lord of Montfort, not far from Paris, and earl of Leicester; and the unrighteous liberality of the pope in the council of the Lateran, A.D. 1215, made him duke of Narbonne, count of Toulouse, and viscount of Beziers and Carcassonne, territories which were, in part, fiefs of the empire, and, in part, fiefs of the kings of France, and which the pope had no right thus to dispose of without the consent of the liege-lords. In Simon, fanaticism appears to have been closely united with selfishness. He supposed he was doing God service while persecuting the heretics with fire and sword; and he was so zealous in performing the external duties of religion, that he often neglected his official duties for the sake of them. While besieging Toulouse, as he was attending mass, word was brought him that the enemy had made a sally, and that his army was in imminent danger. He replied, that he could not come till he had seen his Saviour. Another message arrived, that if he did not come, his whole army would be thrown into disorder; and he replied again, that he would not leave the altar till he had seen his Creator, even if he must be slain there for it. When the mass was ended, he went away to oppose the enemy, but was killed by a stone. See Peter of Vaux Cerny, c. 86. *Schl.*]

² [The papal legate criminated Raymund, for not treating the murderers of Peter de Castelnau with due severity, and prescribed hard conditions for his reconciliation with the church. He must promise to be subject to the legate in everything, and

especially in all matters relating to religion, and must give up to the legate seven fortresses for his security. He must also do public ecclesiastical penance, and suffer himself to be scourged with rods by the legate. And in proof of his sincerity, he must assume the cross, and take the field against his own friends and vassals. But when he saw that Simon and the legate advanced against his territories, and aimed to get the castles of the heretics there into their hands, he separated himself from the crusading army in 1210, and sought for aid from France, England, Germany, and Rome, in vain. His near friend and relative, indeed, Peter, king of Arragon, took up arms in his behalf, against Simon of Montfort; but he unfortunately was slain in the first battle; and Raymund was obliged to witness the misfortunes of his own country, while he remained in Arragon an inactive spectator. At length, many lords and districts of country revolted from Simon, and recalled their legitimate sovereign, who threw himself into the city of Toulouse, and was there besieged by Simon. Raymund appears to have been a warlike and energetic prince, and one who had no partiality for prelates. To the Cistercians also he was no friend; and he used to say, they could not possibly be good men, because they were so voluptuous. On the contrary, he had very high regard for the heretics that inhabited his territories; and he protected them, partly as subjects, and partly as his personal friends. *Schl.*]

³ [The cruelties that were practised under the command of Simon are indescribable. It must be admitted, however, that the heretics sometimes returned like for like. At the capture of Minerbe, Simon found one hundred and forty Manichæans, all of whom were burnt at the stake, because they would not abjure their religion. At Beziers 6,000 persons were slain; and at Toulouse, 20,000; and at Carcassonne the priests shouted for joy at the burning of so many miserable beings, whose only crime was, that they did not believe what the church believed. Still more shocking is the account given by Peter

Innocent III., in the Lateran council of 1215, not only the county of Toulouse, but also the many other territories that he had subdued, as his reward for so nobly supporting the cause of God and the church. He was slain, however, in the siege of Toulouse, A.D. 1218. His antagonist, *Raymund*, died in the year 1222.

§ 8. After the death of the two generals, this lamentable war was prosecuted vigorously, with various success, by their sons, *Raymund VII.*, count of Toulouse, and *Amalric* of Montfort. When the former of these, *Raymund*, seemed to get the advantage of the other, the Roman pontiff, *Honorius III.*, persuaded *Lewis VIII.*, the king of France, by great promises and favours, to march in person, at the head of a powerful army, against the enemies of the church. He dying soon after, his successor, *Lewis IX.*, called *Saint Lewis*, vigorously prosecuted the work begun by his father. *Raymund*, therefore, being pressed on every side, made peace, in the year 1229, on the hardest terms; for he ceded the greatest part of his territories to the king, besides some cessions to the Roman church. After this peace, it was all over with the heretics; for the tribunal of the Inquisition was established at Toulouse, and besides *Saint Lewis*, *Raymund* himself, formerly a patron of the heretics, became their unrelenting persecutor. He did indeed renew the war, afterwards, against both the king and the *Inquisitors*, who abused their power beyond measure; but it was attended with little or no success. At last, exhausted and broken down by a series of afflictions and troubles, he died, without issue, in the year 1249, being the last of the once very powerful counts of Toulouse. This crusade, of which religion was in part the cause, and in part only the pretext, was of course exceedingly advantageous both to the kings of France and to the Roman pontiffs.¹

§ 9. All this severity of the pontiffs against the *heretics*, and the

of Vaux Cerney, cap. 34, that the crusaders captured a castle called Brom, in which were found one hundred persons; and that the papal general, Simon, ordered all their noses to be amputated, and their eyes to be put out, except a single eye of one individual, who might serve as a guide to the rest, who were sent to Cabrières to terrify others. It is true, the monk informs us of similar cruelties by the other party. *Schl.*]

¹ Many writers, both ancient and modern, have given us histories of this crusade, against the counts of Toulouse and their associates who favoured the heretics, and against the heretics themselves. But, among them, I have not found one that was free from partiality. The protestant writers, among whom Jac. Basnage (in his *Hist. de l'Eglise*, and in his *Hist. des Eglises Réformées*) stands pre-eminent, all favour too much the Raymunds and the Albigenses. On the contrary, the Roman Catholic writers, of whom the most recent

are Benoist, a Dominican monk, (*Hist. des Albigeois, des Vaudois, et des Barbets*, Paris, 1691, 2 vols. 12mo.) Jo. Bapt. Langlois, a Jesuit, (*Hist. des Croisades contre les Albigeois*, Rouen, 1703, 12mo.) Jo. Jac. Percin, (*Monumenta Conventus Tolosani Ordinis Frat. Predicator. in quibus Historia hujus conventus distribuitur, et refertur totius Albigensium facti narratio*, Toulouse, 1693, fol.) these all are very unjust to the Raymunds and the Albigenses; and they cover over and conceal the horrid deeds of Simon de Montfort, and the ambitious designs of the kings of France to extend their power. The most full and most accurate history of these wars against the heretics, is that of the Benedictine monks, Claude le Vie and Joseph Vaissette, two very learned men, in that excellent work, *Hist. Générale de Languedoc*, Paris, 1730, &c. fol. nearly the whole of t. iii. Their only fault is that they sometimes omit what they ought not.

numerous safeguards erected against the enemies of the church, could not prevent new and most pernicious sects from starting up. Passing by the more obscure and short-lived among them, one not the least considerable was, that of the *Brethren and Sisters of the free Spirit*; which at this time secretly spread itself over Italy, France, and Germany; and by a great show of piety, drew after it many persons of both sexes. Few decisions of councils against these people, in this century, can be found; but in the next century, the councils in every part of Germany, and in other countries, published decrees against them; and numbers of them, being seized by the *Inquisitors*, were cruelly committed to the flames. These people found a name for themselves from the words of Paul (Rom. viii. 2, 14), and they maintained, that the true sons of God were brought into the most perfect freedom from the law.¹ The Germans and Belgians called them *Beghardi* and *Beghardæ* or *Begutte*, which were the common designations of all such as pretended to uncommon piety. Some called them, by way of contempt, *Bicorni*, that is, *Idiots*. In France, they were called *Beghini* and *Beghinæ*; and by the populace (I know not why), they were called *Turlupins*.² Clothed in a singular manner, they ran about the cities and the country, begging their bread with loud vociferations: for they maintained, that labour prevented the elevation of the soul to God, or religious contemplation. They were accompanied by women, with whom they lived in the greatest familiarity; and for this reason, the Germans called them *Schwestriones*;³ as appears from the enactments of councils. They distributed books containing the principles inculcated by them, held assemblies by night in retired places, and dissuaded the people from attending the public worship in the churches.

§ 10. These *brethren*, who boasted of being free from the law, and of having attained to the *freedom of the spirit*, professed a rigid and austere species of *mystic theology*, based upon philosophical principles, that were not far removed from the impiety of those called *panteists*. For they held, that all things emanated from God, and would revert back into him; that rational souls were parts of the supreme Being; and that the whole universe was God; that a man, by turning his thoughts inward, and withdrawing his attention from all sensible

¹ These statements are derived from documents of the most credible character, many of them not yet published; from the decrees of councils in France and Germany, the bulls of the popes, the decisions of the Inquisition, and others, of all which a great many have fallen into my hands. I have also extracts from certain books of these people; and particularly, from a book on the *nine spiritual rocks*, which they highly recommended as being full of divine sentences. As these documents cannot here be exhibited, I will merely refer the reader to a long edict against them, by Henry I., archbishop of Cologne, in the *Statuta Coloniensia*, p. 58, ed. Colon. 1554,

4to. In perfect harmony with this are the decrees of Mentz, Aschaffenburg, Treves, Paderborn, Beziers, and others.

² Concerning the Turlupins, many have written much; but none accurately. See Isaac de Beausobre (*Diss. sur les Adamites*, pt. ii. p. 384, &c.), who has committed numerous errors, as he usually does on such subjects. The origin of the name I know not; but I am able to prove, from substantial documents, that the Turlupins, who were burned at Paris and in other parts of France, were no other than the *Brethren of the free Spirit*, whom the pontiffs and councils condemned.

³ [Sisterers. Tr.]

objects, may become united in an inexplicable manner with the Parent and first cause of all things, and be one with him; that persons thus immersed in the vortex of the Deity, by long contemplation, attained to perfect freedom, and became divested not only of all their lusts, but likewise of the instincts of nature. From these and similar principles, they inferred, that a person thus raised up to God, and absorbed as it were in the Divine nature, was himself God; and such a *son of God*, as Christ was: and, therefore, was raised above all laws, human and divine. And they maintained, of course, that all external worship of God, prayer, fasting, baptism, the sacred supper, &c., were mere elements for children, which a man no longer needed, when converted into God himself, and detached from this visible universe.¹

§ 11. Among these people, there were some upright and conscientious persons, who did not extend that *liberty of the spirit*, which they said was possessed by persons united to God, beyond an exemption from external worship and from ecclesiastical law. They made religion to consist exclusively in internal worship, despising that which is external; and they maintained, that a perfect man ought to look

¹ I will here subjoin some positions extracted from their more private books:—I. *Every good man is the only-begotten son of God, whom the father hath begotten from eternity.* For all that the sacred Scriptures teach respecting a distinction of three persons in the Divine nature, they maintained, was not to be understood literally, but to be explained in conformity with their recondite system of doctrines. II. *All created objects are nothing: I do not say that they are small and trivial; but that they are nothing.* III. *There is something in the human mind, that is not created, nor creatable; and that is, rationality.* IV. *God is neither good, nor better, nor the best; whoever calls God good, talks as foolishly as the man who calls a thing black, while he knows it to be white.* V. *God still begets his only-begotten son, and begets the same son that he begat from eternity. For every operation of God is uniform and one; and he therefore engenders his son without any division.* VI. *What the Scripture says of Christ, is true of every godly man. And what is predicable of the Divine nature, is also predicable of every godly man.* To these we shall add the following, taken not from their own books, but from the long rescript of John, bishop of Strasburg, against the *Brethren of the free Spirit*, or the *Bechardi*, A. D. 1317, on the sabbath before the assumption of the Virgin Mary. VII. *God is, formally, whatever exists.* VIII. *Every perfect man is Christ by nature.* IX. *A perfect man is free totally; nor is he required to obey the precepts which God gave to the church.* X. *Many things*

in the Gospel are poetic, and not [literally] true; and men ought to believe the conceptions which proceed from their souls when united to God, rather than the Gospel.

The first six of these propositions, in the language of the old Germans, and the others in Latin, are as follows:—I. *Der gute Mensch ist der ingeburne Sune Gates, den der Vatter ewedelycken geburen hat.* II. *Ich sprecke nüt, dass alle Kreaturen syn etwas kleines, oder das sie etwas sind, sondern dass sie sind om [nihil].* III. *Es ist etwas in der Seelen, das nüt geschaffen ist und ungeschreffelick: Und das ist die Vernünftigkeit.* IV. *Gat ist noch gut, noch besser, noch allerbest, und ick thu also unrecht, wenne ick Gat gut heisse, recht ase ob ick oder er etwas wiz weiss und ich es schwarz heisse.* V. *Der Vatter gebiret nock sinen Sun und denselben Sun. Want was Gat wireket, das ist ein, durch das so gebirt er auch sinen Sun an allem Unterscheid.* VI. *Was die heilige Schrift gesprichet von Christo, das wird alles vor war geseit von einem jiglichem gottlickem Menschen. Was eigen ist der gottlickem Naturen, das ist alles eigen einem jiglichen gottlickem Menschen.* VII. *Deus est formaliter omne quod est.* VIII. *Quilibet homo perfectus, est Christus per naturam.* IX. *Homo perfectus est liber in totum, nec tenetur ad servandum præcepta ecclesiæ data a Deo.* X. *Multa sunt poetica in Evangelio, quæ non sunt vera; et homines credere magis debent conceptibus ex anima sua Deo juncta profectis, quam Evangelio.*

with contempt on the rules of monastic discipline, and the other institutions which were regarded as sacred. Of this character were those who, in the middle of this century, persuaded many monks and nuns in Suabia, *to live without any rule; saying, that in this way, they could serve God better, in the liberty of the spirit.*¹ Not a few persons of this description, being apprehended by the *Inquisitors*, expired cheerfully and calmly in the flames.—But there were others of a worse character among them; and whose piety was as foolish as it was dangerous. These maintained, that by persevering contemplation, all the instincts of nature might be eradicated, and excluded from the godlike soul, and a kind of holy or divine stupor be brought over the mind. Persons of these sentiments, throwing off all clothing, held their secret assemblies in a state of nudity; and in the same state, slept upon the same bed with the spiritual sisters and other women. For modesty and shame, they said, indicated a mind not yet sufficiently detached from the sentient and libidinous soul, nor brought back to the source from which it originated, that is, the Divine nature; and those who still experience the carnal emotions of nature, or are excited and inflamed by the aspect or touch of bodies of a different sex, or who are unable to repress and subdue the occasional emotions of concupiscence, are still far, very far, from God.²—There were also among these people some who abused their doctrines to justify all iniquity; and who did not fear to teach, that a godlike man, or one who is closely united to God, cannot sin, do what he may. This senseless, impious dogma, all did not explain in the same way. Some held, that the motions and actions of the body had no connexion with a soul, which was translated into the Divine nature itself, and blended with it. But others blasphemously argued, that emotions and desires arising in the soul, after its union with God, were the acts and operations of God himself; and therefore, though apparently criminal and contrary to the law, they really were holy and good, because God is above all law.³ Lastly, these *Beghards*,

¹ See Martin Crusius, *Annales Suevici*, pt. iii. lib. ii. cap. 14, ad ann. 1216, p. 99, old ed. He extracts from Felix Faber, a writer of that age.

² Those who study to vindicate and defend the character of the heretics, and who think that all such as seceded from the Roman church in the middle ages were holy persons, conjecture that the things here stated are falsehoods, invented by the *Inquisitors*, for the purpose of defaming pious men; but they are strictly true. This we may infer from the fact, that the *Inquisitors* themselves admit, that the *Beghards*, though divested of all sense of shame, yet in general did not offend against chastity and modesty. This firmness of mind, and unsusceptibility of emotion, the *Inquisitors* attribute to the power of the devil. For they believed, with the simple Jo. Nieder (*Formicarium*, lib. iii. cap. v. p. 346), that

the devil can render men cold, or extinguish the natural emotions; and that he so operated upon his friends, as to render them utterly insensible, so that they might appear to common people more exalted and holy. 'Credo,' (says Nieder, who was a Dominican, and an Inquisitor,) 'quosdam ex eis dæmonis opere affectos fuisse, ne moverentur ad naturales actus incontinentiæ. Facillimum enim est dæmonibus infrigidare.'

³ That I may not seem chargeable with misrepresentation, I will cite the very words of a private book of the *Brethren of the free Spirit*, entitled *de Novem Rupibus*. 'Ueber das so würket und geberet der göttliche Mensch eben das, das Gat würket und geberet. Denn in Gate würket er und hat geschaffen Himmel und Erden. Und ist ein Geberer des ewigen Wortes. Und Gott enckunde nutz nicht ohne diesen Menschen gethun. Der göttliche Mensch soll

as they were called, were sometimes joined by unprincipled and flagitious persons, intent upon lulling the suspicions of simple and honest minds by a simulated piety, and thus removing obstacles to the gratification of their own lusts.¹

§ 12. Of the sect now described, undoubtedly was *Amaruri* of Béne, the Parisian dialectician and theologian; whose bones were dug up and publicly burnt, in the year 1209, notwithstanding that he had abjured his errors while alive, by command of *Innocent III.*, and many of whose followers endured at the stake the penalties of their unsound faith.² For though the barbarous writers of that age

also sinen willen einformig machen mit Gates willen, dass er alles das soll wellen, was Gat will. Will Gat in etlicker Weise das ick gesundet habe, also soll ick nit wellen, dass ick nit gesundet habe. Und das is gewarig ruwe. Und wenn das der Mensch tusend Todsunde gethan hette, und über das der Mensch wel besetzt oder geordnet were, er en solte nit wellen, dass er derselben Sunde nit gethan hette: aber er solte e wellen tusend Tode liden e er yme nie de keine Todsunde wolte tun.' This passage, rendered verbatim, is thus: 'Moreover, the godlike man operates and begets, the same that God operates and begets. For in God he worked, and created heaven and earth. He is also the generator of the eternal Word. Nor can God do any thing, without this man. The godlike man should, therefore, make his will conformable to God's will: so that he should will all that God wills. If, therefore, God wills, that I should sin, I ought by no means to will, that I may not have sinned. This is true contrition. And if a man have committed a thousand mortal sins, and the man is well regulated and united to God, he ought not to wish that he had not done those sins; and he ought to prefer suffering a thousand deaths, rather than to have omitted one of those mortal sins.' Here is that sentiment, with which the Inquisitors often tax this sect: *that the sin of a man, who is united to God, is not sin; because God works all in him.* In the next century, Henry Suso, a celebrated writer among the mystics, and a Dominican monk, composed likewise a book *de Novem Rupibus*; which is extant among his works, published by Laurence Surius. But this book of Suso is altogether different from that which was in so much estimation among the Beghards. The latter was much more ancient, and was in circulation among the *Brethren of the free Spirit* in Germany, before Suso was born. There has fallen into my hands an old manuscript book of the fifteenth century, composed in Alsace, containing various revelations and visions of that age. I find there a piece entitled *Declaratio Religiosi cujusdam, super revelatione Cartusiano cuidam de Ecclesiæ per gladium Re-*

formatione, Leodiæ, anno 1453, facta: near the beginning of which, there is the following passage relating to the book of the Beghards, *on the Nine Rocks*: 'Homo quidam devotissimus licet laicus, librum *de novem rupibus* conscripsit a Deo compulsus, ubi multa ad præsens pertinentia continentur de ecclesiæ renovatione et prævia gravi persecutione.' According to the doctrine of this sect, the *nine rocks* were so many steps, by which the man that desires to rise to God must be elevated to a union with him.

¹ By whom, where, and when, this celebrated sect was first instituted, is uncertain. I have before me *Octoginta novem Sententiæ Bechardorum, quos vulgus Schwes-trones, ipsi vero se de secta liberi spiritus et voluntariæ paupertatis vocant, cum confutatione*; written by an Inquisitor at Worms, at the close of this century. The 79th of these sayings (*sententiæ*) is this: *To say that the truth is in Rhetia, is to fall into the heresy of Donatus, who said that God was in Africa, and not elsewhere.* From these words, it appears that Rhetia was the chief seat of the church of the *Brethren of the free Spirit*: and that from this province they passed into Germany. Yet probably Rhetia was not the place where this sect originated: I apprehend, rather, that being expelled from Italy, it took refuge in Rhetia; so that it was Italy which gave birth to this, as well as to many other parties which seceded from the church. And there is extant, in Odor. Raynald's *Annales Eccles. t. xv. ad ann. 1311, § 66, p. 90*, a long Epistle of the sovereign pontiff, Clement V., addressed to Ranerius de Casulis, bishop of Cremona, exhorting him to suppress and eradicate the sect of the *free spirit*, resident in certain parts of Italy, and particularly in the province of Spoleto, and the regions adjacent.

² This did not escape the notice of those enemies of the *Brethren of the free Spirit*, or *Bechards*, the Inquisitors. Hence the sixty-eighth of the eighty-nine MS. sayings of the *Bechards, with their confutation*, is this: *To say that all creatures are God, is the heresy of Alexander (that Epicurean,*

give different and confused statements of his opinions, and attribute some sentiments to him, which he never held; yet thus much it is certain that he taught; namely, that all things are *one*, that is, *God*; that not only the forms of things, but also their matter, proceeded from God; and all would revert back into God: and hence he derived that mistaken piety or religious system of these mystics; maintained, that a man may become changed into the Divine nature, if he will; and proved that all external worship was vain and useless. His disciples were men of very distinguished piety and austerity; and many of them endured the flames with the greatest fortitude. One of his most distinguished followers was *David* of Dinant, a Parisian doctor, who was accustomed to state the fundamental doctrine of his master in this manner: *God is the original matter of all things*. He composed a work called *Quaternarii*, and some other books, in a popular style, and well calculated to captivate the common people; and saved his life by a timely flight.¹ The bishops, assembled in council at Paris, A.D. 1209, supposed that the philosophy of *Aristotle* gave rise to this impiety; and they, therefore, prohibited the reading and expounding of his metaphysical and other works.²

§ 13. If what some tell us be true (which, however, I question), this *Amauri*, and his followers, gave credit to those predictions, which were circulated as coming from *Joachim*, abbot of Flora, in Calabria, respecting an approaching reformation and purification of the church by the sword; an impending age of the Holy Spirit, to succeed the ages of the Father and the Son; and similar things, with which the Franciscan *Spirituals* were carried away. This, however, is certain, that some others did suffer themselves to be led, by these predictions, to found new sects, and to declare war against the reigning church. *Wilhelmina*, an infatuated and delirious Bohemian woman, who lived in the territory of Milan, took occasion from these predictions concerning an age of the Holy Spirit, for foolishly persuading first herself, and then many others, that the Holy Spirit had assumed human nature, in her person, for the sake of saving a large part of mankind: for Christ, she said, had procured salvation, by his blood, for all real Christians: and the Holy Spirit, by her, would save the Jews, the Saracens, and false Christians: and for this end, all the things that befel Christ, when incarnate, the same things must also befall her, or, rather, the Holy Spirit, *incarnate in her*. This foolish woman died at Milan, in the year 1281, with the highest reputation for sanctity; and after her death she was honoured, as well by her followers, who were considerably numerous, as by the

whom Plutarch mentions in his *Symposium*), who said, 'materiam primam et Deum et hominem, hoc est, mentes esse in substantia:' which afterwards one David of Dinant followed, who, in our times, fled from France on account of this heresy, and would have been duly punished, if he had been caught.

¹ See the *Hæreses pro quibus sacerdotes Parisiis* (A.D. 1209) *igne consumpti sunt*;

in Edm. Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, iv. 163, &c. Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles. Sæcul. xiii. c. iii. art. ii. p. 76*, &c. Gerh. du Bois, *Hist. Eccles. Paris. ii. 244*, &c. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris. iii. 24, 48, 53*. Jac. Thomasius, *De Exustione Mundi Stoica*, p. 199, &c.

² Jo. Launoi, *De Varia Aristotelis Fortuna in Acad. Paris. p. 127*, &c.

ignorant populace, both publicly and privately, with the highest veneration. But in the year 1300, the *Inquisitors* detected her sect, destroyed her splendid tomb, and committed her bones, and with them the leaders of the party, of both sexes, to the flames.¹

§ 14. On similar predictions, the *sect of the Apostles* was grounded; a sect which made little change in the received religion, but aimed to revive the apostolical mode of life. Its founder, *Gerhard Sagarellus*, of Parma, ordered his followers to travel up and down the world, in the manner of the Apostles, clad in white, with heads bare, beards and hair long, and attended by women, whom they called sisters; to possess no property at all, but to live upon the voluntary gifts of the pious; and publicly, to exhort the people to repent, but in their private meetings, to announce the impending downfall of the utterly deformed Roman church, and the rise of a new, purer, and holier church, according to the prophecies of the abbot *Joachim*. This *Gerhard* being burned at the stake, at Parma, A.D. 1300, his successor, *Dulcinus*, of Novara, a bold and energetic character, and familiar with the Scriptures, preached much more spiritedly, that the Roman pontiff, *Boniface VIII.*, and all the flagitious priests and monks, would shortly be slain by the emperor *Frederic III.*, son to Peter, the king of Arragon; and that a new and most holy pontiff would be placed over the church. For in many of the predictions ascribed to the abbot *Joachim*, it was announced, that an emperor, called *Frederic III.*, would complete what the emperor *Frederic II.* had left unfinished. With this *Dulcinus*, who was both the general and the prophet of the *Apostoli*, and who had collected an armed force, *Raynerius*, bishop of Vercelli, waged fierce war in behalf of the pontiff, for more than two years; and at length, after several battles, *Dulcinus* was taken alive, and was executed with exquisite tortures, at Vercelli, A.D. 1307, together with *Margaretha*, the sister whom he had chosen according to the practice of his sect. After the horrid death of *Dulcinus*, the sect long existed in France, Germany, and other countries; nor could it be wholly extirpated, till the times of *Boniface IX.*, in the beginning of the fifteenth century.²

¹ The Milanese historians, Bernhard Corio, and others, give an account of this woman. But their statements differ widely from those of Lud. Ant. Muratori (*Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, v. 91, &c.), derived from the record of the judicial proceedings. He also informs us that a learned man, named Puricelli, composed a history of Wilhelmina and her sect, which still exists in manuscript. [She pretended to be the daughter of Constantia, queen of Primislaus, king of Bohemia; and that her birth was announced to her mother by the angel Raphael, just as the birth of Christ was to Mary by the angel Gabriel. Her most noted followers were one Andrew, and a nun named Mayfreda. As Christ appointed Peter his vicegerent, and the head of his church, on earth: so she appointed May-

freda her vicegerent, and placed her on a footing of equality with the popes. She promised her followers to appear to them before the day of judgment. See Muratori, l. c. *Tv.*]

² I have composed, in the German language, a particular history of this famous sect, so imperfectly known in our age, in three books, which was published at Helmstadt, 1746, 4to. I could now add some things to that history. That the sect continued to exist, in Germany and other countries, down to the times of Boniface IX., we are informed by Herm. Coerner, in his *Chronicle*; published in Geo. Eecaard's *Corpus Historicum Medii Ævi*, ii. 906. And the fact may be corroborated by many proofs. In the year 1402, an apostle, named William, was burned at Lubeck. * See

§ 15. This *Joachim*, abbot of Flora, whose prophecies induced so many respectable people to menace the Roman church with a *reformation by the sword*, as the phrase was, and the pontiffs with great disasters, and to proclaim open war against them, was himself brought under suspicion of heresy, not indeed on account of these predictions, but on account of a new explication of the doctrine of three persons in the Godhead. He had, in a special treatise, opposed *Peter Lombard*, the master of the Sentences, because the latter distinguished the Divine essence from the three persons in the Godhead; for *Joachim* supposed that this distinction introduced a fourth subject into the divine Trinity, namely, this *essence*. But his ignorance of dialectics led him, in this discussion, to use less caution than the subject demanded. For he denied that there was in the sacred Trinity, a something, or an *essence*, which was common to the three persons: from which position it seemed to follow, that the union of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, is not a simple or natural union, but merely a moral union, like that of several persons all having the same views and opinions. As this sentiment appeared to many to approach very near to the doctrine of *Arius*, *Innocent*, in the Lateran council of 1215, condemned, not indeed the man, but his opinion. *Joachim*, however, even to the present day, has many patrons and advocates, especially among those Franciscans who are called *Observants*; of whom, some maintain that his book was altered by his enemies; and others, that his views were misunderstood.¹

Coerner, l. c. p. 1185. The Germans, who called all that affected uncommon piety, and sought a reputation for sanctity by begging, Beghards, gave this appellation also to the *Apostoli*.

¹ See Dan. Papebroch's *Disquis. Histor. de Florensi Ordine, Prophetiis, Doctrina B.*

Joachimi; in the *Acta Sanctor. Maii*, vi. 486, &c. where is a life of Joachim, written by Jac. Syllanæus, a Greek; and some other documents. Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles. Sæc. xiii. Diss. ii. p. 331*, &c. Lu. Wadding's *Ann. Minorum*, iv. 6, &c.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Crusades attempted in vain—§ 2. State of the Christians in China and Tartary—
§ 3. The Lithuanians converted. The Jews compelled by persecution to become Christians—§ 4. Project for the expulsion of the Saracens from Spain.

§ 1. SOME of the Latin kings, being admonished by the Roman pontiffs, thought repeatedly of renewing the war against the Turks and Saracens, and of rescuing Syria from their hands. In particular, the pontiffs who resided at Avignon, in France, omitted no motive which they thought would induce the kings of France and England to engage in such a military enterprise. But, from various causes, their expectations were always disappointed. *Clement V.* urged this holy war, with great energy, in the years 1307 and 1308, and appropriated to it a vast sum of money.¹ *John XXII.*, in the year 1319, fitted out a fleet of ten ships, for transporting an army to Palestine;² and in order to raise the money necessary for so great an enterprise, he commissioned, in the years 1322 and 1323, certain nuncios to offer great *indulgences* to the liberal everywhere, who should contribute to it. But the emperor *Lewis* of Bavaria, and others, complained, that he merely brought forward a sacred war to cloak his own avarice and ambition.³ Nor does his character shield him from such a charge. Under *Benedict XII.*, in the year 1330, *Philip* of Valois, king of France, collected a large army for this holy expedition, as it was called;⁴ but when he was about to embark, impending dangers from

¹ Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* i. 14, 594, t. ii. 55, 57, 374, 391, &c. Ant. Matthæus, *Analecta Vet. Ævi*, ii. 577.

² Baluze, *Vitæ Pontificum Avenionensium*,

i. 125, ii. 515.

³ Baluze, l. c. i. 175, 786. Matthæus, *Analect. Vet. Ævi*, ii. 595, 598.

⁴ Baluze, l. c. i. 200.

his neighbour, the king of England, induced him to abandon the enterprise. In the year 1345, *Clement VI.*, at the request of the Venetians, persuaded a vast multitude, by his *indulgences*, to embark for Smyrna, over whom *Guido*, Dauphin of Vienne, was appointed commander-in-chief. But in a short time, their want of provisions obliged them all, and their commander also, to return to Europe.¹ Again, in the year 1363, at the solicitation of *Urban V.*, a great army was collected, to sail for Palestine, of which John, king of France, was appointed commander. But he dying soon after, the army dispersed.²

§ 2. The missionaries sent by the Roman pontiffs, in the preceding century, to the Chinese, the Tartars, and the neighbouring nations, continued to gather numerous and large congregations among those nations. In the year 1307, *Clement V.* constituted *John de Monte Corvino*, archbishop of *Cambalu*, that is, Peking; for it is now beyond a doubt, that the celebrated city of Cathai, then called *Cambalu*, is the same with *Peking*, the modern capital of China. The same pontiff sent seven new bishops, all of them Franciscans, into those regions.³ *John XXI.* appointed *Nicolaus de Bentra*, to succeed *John de Monte Corvino*, in the year 1333; and also sent letters to the emperor of the Tartars, who was then the sovereign of China. *Benedict XII.*, in the year 1338, sent new nuncios into China and Tartary, after being honoured with a solemn embassy from the Tartars which he received at Avignon.⁴ So long as the Tartar empire in China continued, not only the Latins, but the Nestorians also, had liberty to profess their religion freely all over northern Asia, and to propagate it far and wide.

§ 3. Among the European princes, *Jagello*, duke of Lithuania and the adjacent territories, was nearly the only one that still adhered to the idolatry of his ancestors. And he, in the year 1386, embraced the Christian rites, was baptized under the assumed name of *Uladelislaus*, and persuaded his subjects to do the same thing. For *Lewis*, king of Poland, dying in the year 1382, among the candidates for the crown, *Jagello* offered his name; nor were the Poles averse from having so potent a prince for their king. But neither *Hedwig*, the youngest daughter of the deceased king, and by a decree of the senate heiress of the kingdom, would consent to marry, nor would the Poles consent to obey, a man who rejected Christianity. He must therefore change his religion.⁵ What remains there were of the old religions in Prussia and Livonia, were extirpated by the Teutonic knights and crusaders, with war and massacres. We are likewise informed, that many Jews, in one place and another, made profession of Christianity. They

¹ *Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ*, in Muratori, *Antiqq. Ital. Mediæ Ævi*, iii. 368.

² Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* i. 366, 386, 371, 401, &c.

³ Lu. Wadding's *Ann. Ord. Minor.* vi. ad ann. 1305, § 12, p. 69, and ad ann. 1307, p. 91, and p. 368, vii. 53, 221, viii. 235. Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*,

t. iii. § ii. p. 521, &c. Add Jac. Echard's *Script. Prædicator.* i. 537. *Acta Sanctor.* Januarii, i. 984, &c. and Mosheim's *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica.*

⁴ Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* i. 242.

⁵ Odor. Raynald, *Annales Eccles.* ad ann. 1386, § 4. Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* ix. 71. Solignac, *Hist. de Pologne*, iii. 241, &c.

were rendered docile by the exquisite punishments everywhere inflicted upon Jews, especially in France and Germany. For a rumour being spread, either truly or calumniously, that they had poisoned the public fountains, had murdered the infants of Christians, and drunk their blood, had treated with extreme contumely what were called the *hosts*,¹ and had committed other crimes equally heinous; whatever hardship and cruelty could be devised, was decreed against that miserable race.

§ 4. In Spain, the Saracens still held the sovereignty of Granada, Andalusia, and Murcia; and against them, the Christian kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, waged perpetual war; though not always successfully. The kings of Morocco, in Africa, sent aid to the Saracens against the Christians. The Roman pontiffs roused and encouraged the Christians, by subsidies, and by their counsels and promises, to unite and drive the Saracens from Spain. The difficult enterprise proceeded but slowly; yet it became evident, in this century, that the time was approaching, when the Christians would triumph, and would become sole masters of Spain.²

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Christianity prostrate in various parts of Asia — § 2. Its overthrow in China and Tartary.

§ 1. THE Turks and the Tartars, who were dominant in Asia, and who assailed on the one hand the Greeks, and on the other the Saracens and Mamelukes, wholly extirpated the Christian religion in many cities and provinces, and caused the religion of Mahumed to be inculcated on the people in its stead. The nation of the Tartars, in which such numbers once professed Christianity, or at least tolerated it, from the beginning of this century, universally submitted to the Koran. And this religion, though in a corrupted form of it, was embraced by that most potent emperor of the Tartars, *Timur Beg*, or as he is commonly called, *Tamerlane*.³ Having subjugated the greatest part of Asia by his arms, and even conquered the Turkish sultan *Bajazet*, and moreover caused the terrors of his name to

¹ [The consecrated wafers of the eucharist. *Tr.*]

² Jo. de Ferreras, *Hist. Hispania*, iv., v., vi., in various passages. *Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ*, in Muratori's *Antiqq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, iii. 319, where, however, true and false are blended. Baluze, *Miscellanea*, ii. 267.

³ The great Tamerlane, whose name

struck terror, even long after his death, wished to be regarded as belonging to the sect of the Sonnites, and to be an enemy of the Shiites. See Petit Croix, *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, ii. 151, iii. 228. But what his religion was is very doubtful, although he professed that of Mahumed. See Mosheim's *Hist. Tartar. Eccles.* p. 124.

pervade Europe, his mere nod was almost sufficient to cause vast multitudes to abandon Christianity. But he also employed violence and the sword. For being persuaded, as the most credible historians of his life inform us, that it was the duty of every true disciple of *Mahumed* to make war upon Christians, and that those who should compel many Christians to embrace the religion of the Koran, might expect high rewards from God,¹ he inflicted numberless evils on persevering Christians, cruelly butchering some, and dooming others to perpetual slavery.²

§ 2. The Christian religion was likewise overthrown, in the parts of Asia inhabited by the Chinese, the Tartars, the Moguls, and other nations, whose history is yet imperfectly known. At least, no mention has been found of any Latin Christians resident in those countries, subsequent to the year 1370. Nor has it yet been ascertained, what became of the Franciscan missionaries sent thither from Rome. But of the *Nestorians* living in China, some traces can be found, though not very clear, as late as the sixteenth century.³ There can be little doubt, that this fall of Christianity was a consequence of the wars of the Tartars with the Chinese and with other nations. For in the year 1369, the last Tartar emperor of the family of *Genghis Khan* was driven out of China, and the *Mim* family was placed on the throne, and these have excluded all foreigners from entering China.

¹ Petit Croix, *Hist. de Tîmur-Bec*, ii. 329, iii. 9, 137, 243, 265, &c.

² Examples are given in the *Hist. de Tîmur-Bec* (taken from the Persian writer Scherifeddin), ii. 376, 384, 386, iii. 243, iv. 111, 115, 117, ed. Delft, 1723, in 4 vols. 8vo. Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* art. *Tîmur*, p. 877.

³ Nicol. Trigaut, *de Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*, l. i. c. xi. p. 116, &c. Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*, t. iii. pt. i. p. 592, &c. and pt. ii. p. 445, 536, &c. Du Halde, *Description de la Chine*, i. 175.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.

§ 1. The state of learning among the Greeks — § 2. Philosophy — § 3. The state of learning among the Latins — § 4. The languages — § 5. The arts and sciences — § 6. Philosophy — § 7. The Realists and Nominalists — § 8. Astrology: credulity as to magic — § 9. The art of Lullius.

§ 1. ALTHOUGH the Greeks were greatly oppressed by both external and internal troubles, yet they did not suffer literature wholly to lose its lustre and dignity; as is manifest from the number of learned men among them in this century. The liberal arts, antiquities, criticism, and grammar, were reputably prosecuted by *Nicephorus Gregoras*,¹ *Manuel Chrysoloras*,² *Maximus Planudes*,³ and many others.

¹ [Nicephorus Gregoras, or son of Gregoras, was born at Heraclea in Pontus, about 1295; studied under the best masters at Constantinople; became a teacher there, and acquired the title of *the philosopher*. He was one of the ambassadors to the prince of the Servians. In 1328, when the younger Andronicus dethroned his grandfather Andronicus Palæologus, Nicephorus not only lost his patron, but suffered otherwise. Yet he continued a teacher, and had eminent men for pupils. Theodorus Metochita made him overseer of a monastery. He engaged in the public controversies between Barlaam and Palamas; became a monk, and retired from court. He died soon after 1359. Besides some orations and smaller tracts, he wrote a valuable history of the Byzantine empire, from 1204, where Nicetas Acominatus ends, to 1351, in 38 books. The 24 first books, reaching to A.D. 1351, were published Gr. and Lat., by Boivin, Paris, 1702, and Venice, 1729, 2 vols. fol. *Tr.*—and the remainder by Bekker, at Bonn, in 1855. *Ed.*]

² [Manuel Chrysoloras, one of the first and most active of the Greeks who promoted learning in the West, was born of noble parentage, at Constantinople, about the middle of the fourteenth century; and for some time taught literature and science

in his native city. About 1393, the Greek emperor, Manuel Palæologus, sent him twice as an ambassador to solicit aid against the Turks. After visiting the English and various other courts, he took up residence in Italy; and taught Greek to several of the first scholars of that age at Florence, Milan, Venice, Pavia, and Rome. In 1409, the pope sent him to Constantinople, to negotiate a union between the Greek and Latin churches. In 1413, he was sent to the emperor Sigismund, to settle arrangements for the general council of Constance. He attended that council, and died shortly after, in the year 1415. Æneas Sylvius and Poggius give him very high commendations, in their notices of his death. Among his pupils in the West, were Leonard Aretinus, Francis Barbarus, Guarinus of Verona, Poggius, and Philéplus. His only work that has been published, was his *Erotemata Grammatica*; which was the first good Greek grammar among the Europeans, and was that studied by Erasmus and Reuchlin. *Tr.*]

³ [Maximus Planudes was a learned monk of Constantinople, well acquainted with Latin. In 1327, the emperor sent him with others on an embassy to Venice. He suffered considerably for his attachment to the cause of the popes; but afterwards changed sides, and espoused that of the Greeks. He

History was prosecuted, though with different degrees of success, by *Theodore Metochita*,¹ *John Cantacuzenus*,² *Nicephorus Gregoras*, and by several others of less note. An ecclesiastical history was composed by *Nicephorus Callistus*, which, notwithstanding it contains many fabulous and superstitious accounts, yet throws light on a number of subjects.³

§ 2. Such of the Greeks as devoted themselves to philosophy for the most part followed *Aristotle* as their guide. No one among them, so far as I know, ventured upon philosophical speculations, relying on his own ingenuity. In what manner they explained the precepts of the Stagirite, we may learn from the tracts of *Theodore Metochita*. Yet *Plato* had likewise some followers; especially among the cultivators of mystic theology, which had long been in high estimation among the Greeks. In the mathematics and astronomy, *Nicolaus Cabasilas* was their most distinguished scholar.⁴ The Stoic princi-

appears to have died soon after 1353. He translated, from Latin into Greek, the writings of Cicero, Caesar, Ovid, Cato, and Boëthius; also Augustine's 15 books on the Trinity; composed a life of Æsop; and compiled a Greek Anthology, in 7 books. He likewise wrote against the Latins, composed some orations, and many letters and smaller pieces. *Tr.*]

¹ [Theodorus Metochita was a learned Greek, of the kindred of the emperor, and the favourite and prime minister of Andronicus Palæologus. In the latter part of the preceding century, the emperor sent him, with John Glycas, to conduct Maria, sister of the German emperor, who was espoused to the eldest son of the Greek emperor, to Constantinople. About 1314, he was made prime Logotheta, and took nearly the whole government of the empire on his shoulders. But about 1328, Andronicus senior being dethroned by his grandson Andronicus junior, Metochita of course fell into disgrace, and was made a state prisoner till his death, A.D. 1333. He transcribed the third book of Glycas' *Annals*; which Meursius published, in 1648, as an original work, entitled a *Compendium of Roman History*, from Julius Cæsar to Constantine the Great. He wrote Comments on Aristotle's eight books of *Physics*; besides some historical tracts, never published. He was esteemed one of the most learned Greeks of his age. *Tr.*]

² [He was of the illustrious family of the Cantacuzeni, on the father's side, and of that of the Palæologi on the side of his mother. His youth was devoted to literature and arms. He then became a statesman under the elder Andronicus. In 1320 he was found to be a partisan of the younger Andronicus, and fell under displeasure; but his friend supported him, and on his elevation to the throne, Cantacuzenus was loaded with honours and offices. On the death of

Andronicus junior, A.D. 1341, Cantacuzenus was made regent of the empire, and guardian of the prince, John Palæologus, then nine years old. But the empress mother and others became jealous of him, and a civil war ensued. Cantacuzenus was victorious, and in 1347 concluded a peace, by which he and John Palæologus were to be joint emperors. Civil war again broke out; and in 1355, Cantacuzenus resigned the purple, and voluntarily retired to mount Athos; where he became a monk, and spent the remainder of his days in literary pursuits and monastic devotions. Here he wrote the history of the empire, during the reigns of the two Andronici and himself, or from A.D. 1320 to 1357, in four books, published Gr. and Lat. with notes, Paris, 1645, 3 vols. fol. He also wrote three orations, and some tracts against the Mahomedans, which are extant. *Tr.*]

³ [Nicephorus Callisti, or the son of Callistus, lived at Constantinople, and was probably a priest or monk there, about 1333. His personal history is little known. From Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Evagrius, and others, he compiled an *Ecclesiastical History*, in 23 books, from the Christian era to A.D. 911. The style and arrangement are deemed good for that age; but it abounds in useless fables. The 18 first books, extending to A.D. 610, were published Gr. and Lat. Paris, 1630, 2 vols. fol. He also wrote catalogues of the Greek emperors, and of the Constantinopolitan patriarchs. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Nicolaus Cabasilas, nephew and successor to Nilus Cabasilas, archbishop of Thessalonica; was employed as a negotiator between the parties in the civil wars, A.D. 1346 and 1347. The time of his death is unknown. He was a learned man, and a violent opposer of the Latins. His works are, an *Exposition of the Greek Liturgy*; on a life in Christ, or the efficacy of the

ples, in regard to morals, were recommended by *Barlaam*, and exhibited in his *Ethics according to the Stoics*.¹

§ 3. There was no country of the Latins, in which efforts were not made, and successful efforts, for the advancement of learning and the improvement of the human mind. Hence academies and universities were erected in various places, as Cologne, Orleans, Cahors, Perugia, Florence, and Pisa; in which all the liberal arts and sciences were taught, and were distributed into the same classes that remain to this day. In the universities, colleges were founded by the opulent, and endowed with ample revenues; in which not only *monks*, but also young men of narrow circumstances, were educated in the useful arts and sciences. Libraries were also collected; and men of learning were excited by honours and rewards to aspire after fame and distinction. But the advantages to the church and the state from the numerous teachers and learned men, were not correspondent with the vast expense and care bestowed by the great on these institutions. Yet all who assumed the office of teachers in this age, were not, as many have rashly supposed, mere dolts and clods; but an advance had gradually been made from humbler things to greater and higher.

§ 4. The sovereign pontiff, *Clement V.*, himself required the Hebrew and other Oriental languages to be taught in the public schools; that there might be men competent to enter into discussions with the Jews and the Saracens, and to preach divine truth in the countries of the East.² Of course, there were some persons in that age who were acquainted particularly with those languages. The Greek language, which previously very few had regarded at all, was now

sacraments, in six books; an oration against usurers; an encomium on St. Theodora; a Commentary on Ptolemy's third book of Construction; some astrological diagrams; remarks on Ezekiel's vision of four beasts; and some tracts against the Latins. The three last were never published. *Tr.*]

¹ Henry Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, iv. 405. [Barlaam was a native of Calabria in Italy; became a monk of the order of St. Basil; lived at Constantinople; and was a very learned, ambitious, and factious man. Being born and educated among the Latins, he at first agreed with them against the Greeks; but changing sides, he became a most powerful champion among the Greeks against the Latins. While an abbot at Constantinople, he investigated the state of the monks of mount Athos; and brought a complaint against the Hesychists there, before the patriarch of Constantinople. George Palamas appeared as their advocate. The cause was tried before a council, A.D. 1337, and the monks were acquitted. (See below, ch. v. § 1, 2, of this century.) In 1339, Barlaam was the emperor's ambassador to the pope, at Avignon, for negotiating a

union of the two churches. In 1341, he withdrew from Constantinople, on a change in the government; came to Italy, again espoused the cause of the Latins against the Greeks, and was made bishop of Ghieraci in Naples. He died about 1348. His works, besides his *Ethicæ secundum Stoicos libri ii.* are various letters, orations, and tracts, both for the Greeks against the Latins, and for the latter against the former; and six books on arithmetic. The last was printed, Gr. and Lat., Paris, 1600, 4to. All the others, in Latin, are in Canisius, l. c. and in the *Bibliotheca Max. Patrum*, t. xxvi. *Tr.*]

² Anton. Wood's *Antiq. Oxoniens.* i. 156, 159. [This bull of Clement is in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Clementina*, l. v. tit. i. c. i. and bears date A.D. 1311. It required Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic, to be taught, each by two competent instructors, wherever the papal court might be, and also in the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca. The pope was to support the teachers in his court; the kings of France and England, those at Paris and Oxford; the clergy of Italy, those at Bologna; and the clergy of Spain, those at Salamanca. *Tr.*]

first taught by *Leontius Pilatus*, a Calabrian, the translator of *Homer*, and by a few others;¹ and afterwards, with far greater applause and success, by *Manuel Chrysoloras*, a Constantinopolitan,² who awakened extensively ardour for this study. The real and genuine excellence of Latin composition was revived by certain distinguished geniuses in Italy: among whom, the first place is due to *Francis Petrarch*, a great and superior man;³ and the second place belongs to *Dante Alighieri*.⁴ These men felt it to be their duty, in general, to excite mankind to cultivate their minds, and to place a high value on all sorts of learning; and they found numbers disposed to listen to them, as well among their own countrymen as among the French and Germans.

§ 5. Of the grammarians, historians, jurists both civil and canon, and physicians, it would be easy to make out a long list from the monuments of this age, but it would not comport with our design. It is sufficient for the reader to know, that among the vast number,

¹ See Humphry Hody, *de Græcis Illustribus lingue Græcæ, litterarumque humaniorum instauratoribus*, l. i. p. 5, Lond. 1742, 8vo. Calogera, *Opusculi scientifici*, xxv. 258. [Leontius Pilatus came to Venice in 1360, on his way to Avignon. Boccaccio met him, and persuaded him to go with him to Florence. Here he taught Greek to Boccaccio and Petrarch; and for their use translated Homer's *Iliad* into Latin. His admiration of the Greeks led him, in 1363, to go to Constantinople. But he found that people not such as his imagination had represented them. He therefore set sail for Italy the next year; and was killed by lightning on board the ship. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* xxx. 164. *Tr.*]

² H. Hody, l. c. lib. i. p. 10. Angelo Calogera, *Opusculi scientifici*, xxv. 248, &c. and especially Christ. Fred. Boerner, *de Græcis Litterarum Græcar. in Italia Instauratoribus*, p. 1—35. [Some notice of Chrysoloras is given above, § 1, note². *Tr.*]

³ See Jac. Phil. Thomasin's *Life of Petrarch*; in Jo. Gerh. Meuschen's *Vite Claror. Virorum*, t. iv., who, in the preface, enumerates the other biographers of Petrarch. [The Abbé de Sade's *Mémoires pour la vie de François Petrarque*, Amsterd. 1764, 3 vols. 4to. See also a paper by A. F. Tytler, Esq., in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, vol. v. Petrarch was born at Arezzo, in Tuscany, A.D. 1304. When he was eight years old, his father being banished, carried him to Avignon. Here he was educated for the civil law; but he hated the pursuit, fell in love, and became a poet. He passed his life either in travelling about France and Italy or in different retreats, particularly at Vaucluse, near Carpentras, in the south of France. But he also spent considerable time at the courts and seats of different princes, noblemen, and prelates, in Italy

and France; and was in high reputation as a scholar, a poet, a philosopher, and a theologian. Honours were heaped upon him; but that which he valued highest, was to be publicly crowned with the poet's bays at Rome, A.D. 1341. He died at his own villa, near Padua, A.D. 1374. His works are numerous short pieces, particularly letters and poems, with some moral and political writings, partly in Latin, and partly in Italian. The whole were never collected; though a large part of them were, in one vol. fol. Basil, 1554, 1581, and Lyons, 1601. The best edition of his poems is said to be that of Venice, 1756, 2 vols. 4to. *Tr.*]

⁴ The life of Dante, the celebrated poet, has been treated of by many, but especially by his annotator Benvenuto de Imola, from whom Muratori has given numerous extracts, in his *Antiquit. Ital. Medii Ævi*, i. 1036. [Dante was born at Florence A.D. 1265; studied there, and at Bologna and Padua. The *Belles Lettres* were his favourite pursuit. He married, became a soldier, and a statesman at Florence. But belonging to an unsuccessful faction, he was banished from Tuscany in 1302; and after wandering in Italy, and making some excursions to France and Germany, he settled at Ravenna, where he died A.D. 1321. He has left us two considerable works. The first is a poem in Italian, entitled *La Divina Commedia*, or vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, as seen by himself A.D. 1300, divided into three parts. It abounds in vivid descriptions; and has been extolled to the highest by the Italians. The other is shorter, and in Latin, entitled *de Monarchia*. Its object is to evince, that the pontiffs have no right to control princes in civil affairs. The best edition of his collected works is that of Venice, 1757, 1758, 4 vols. 4to. *Tr.*]

there were few of them whose labours were of much service to mankind. The study of civil and canon law was pursued by an immense number; because this was the avenue to preferment in church and state; and who has not heard of *Bartolus*, *Baldus*, *Andreas*,¹ and other jurists of this age, who gave reputation to the Italian universities? Yet the jurisprudence of this age offered nothing that could be alluring to an ingenuous mind. It was rather a barren, thorny field, on which the light of history and polite learning never shone. Mathematics engaged the attention of many; but excepting *Thomas Bradwardine*, an acute man, who was archbishop of Canterbury,² few obtained much applause from these studies.

§ 6. Of the immense crowd of philosophers, who rather deformed than adorned this age, *Aristotle* was the guide and master, though imperfectly understood, and divested of all his beauties. In so high estimation was the Peripatetic philosophy, that kings and princes ordered the works of Aristotle to be translated into the languages of their people, that greater numbers might acquire wisdom. In particular, *Charles V.*, king of France, has been commended for directing *Nicolas Oréme* to translate into French, among other works of the

¹ [Bartolus was born at Sassoferrato in the duchy of Urbino, A.D. 1313. At the age of 13, he commenced the study of the civil law, first at Perugia and then at Bologna. He was made doctor at the age of 20, and commenced teacher of law three years after at Pisa. He also taught at Padua and Bologna, and died A.D. 1356. His lectures and his legal opinions were highly esteemed; and his Glosses on the civil law, for two centuries, were of the highest authority. They were printed at Venice, A.D. 1615, in eleven vols. fol. He was more distinguished for acumen and nice discrimination, than for extensive reading.—Baldus Ubaldus was nobly born at Perugia, A.D. 1324, and was first the pupil and then the rival of Bartolus. He taught both civil and canon law, and lectured at Perugia, Padua, and Pisa. He died at the last-mentioned place, of hydrophobia, A.D. 1400, aged 76. In readiness and metaphysical acumen he was thought superior to Bartolus, but not his equal in solidity of judgment. He wrote commentaries on the Decretals; five volumes of legal opinions; Glosses on nearly the whole *Corpus Juris Civilis*; besides various law tracts; all of which have been printed. These two were the greatest jurists of the age, so far as the civil law is concerned. Yet Andrew Horne, an Englishman of Gloucestershire, distinguished himself by his attempt to reform the English laws, by expunging from them everything that was not in accordance with the Scriptures and natural justice. His work was written in French, and entitled *a Mirror for the Judges*; and

was printed in French, Lond. 1642, 8vo, and in English, Lond. 1646, 8vo. Of his age we only know that his book was written under Edward II., and before A.D. 1324, and that he defended the abbot of Waltham in a court, A.D. 1343. See H. Wharton's Append. to Cave's *Hist. Litterar.*—John Andreas, the celebrated doctor of canon law, taught that science at Bologna for forty-five years, and died there A.D. 1348. His works are commentaries on the five books of Decretals; Glosses on the *Liber sextus Decret.* and the *Clementines*, and tracts concerning fiefs, marriage, affinities, &c. all of which have been published. Tr.]

² [Thomas Bradwardine was an Englishman, educated at Oxford, where he was proctor in 1325, and afterwards doctor of divinity, and lecturer on theology. He became confessor to Edward III., whom he attended in his French wars. In 1348, he was elected archbishop of Canterbury; but the king preferring another, Ufford was chosen. But Ufford dying before his consecration, Bradwardine was re-chosen, and with the king's consent, was consecrated at Avignon. He, however, died very soon after his arrival at Lambeth, A.D. 1349. He was a profound reasoner, eminently pious, a strong Augustinian in theology, of plain unpolished manners, and particularly fond of mathematics. His great work is, *The Cause of God and the Truth of Causes, against Pelagius*, in three books; published by H. Savile, Lond. 1618, fol. He also wrote *Geometrica Speculativa*, and *Arithmetica Speculativa*, published together, Paris, 1612; also *Tractatus Proportionum*, pub-

ancients, the principal works of *Aristotle*.¹ Those, however, who professed to be philosophers, were less solicitous to discover and support truth than to have the pleasure of wrangling; and they perplexed and obscured the pure and chaste precepts both of reason and religion, by their insane subtleties, useless questions, and over-nice distinctions. I need not mention the barbarous diction, in which they thought lay a great safeguard of their art; or that contempt for all elegant literature, which they almost looked upon as an especial credit. This wrangling tribe's whole system and modes of working it may be learned by reading the works of only *John Scotus*, or *Walter Burley*; for they all followed in one common track, though they differed among themselves as to some opinions.

§ 7. The old disputes between the *Realists* and the *Nominalists*, which had been long dormant, were again brought up in the schools by *William Occam*, an English Franciscan of the more rigid cast, a pupil of the great *Scotus*, and a doctor in the university of Paris: nor was it possible afterwards to bring these contentions to an end. Never was there fiercer war between the Greeks and Persians, than between these two sects of philosophers, down to the time when *Luther* obliged the scholastic doctors to terminate their intestine conflicts. The *Realists* despised their antagonists as philosophers of a recent date, and branded them with the name of *Moderns*; while to their own doctrine they ascribed the highest antiquity. But in this they were undoubtedly under a mistake. The *Nominalists*, on the contrary, regarded *them* as being visionaries, who mistook the creations of their own imaginations for real existences and solid substances. The *Nominalists* had, particularly at Paris, a number of acute, subtle, and eloquent doctors; among whom, besides *Occam*, the celebrated *John Buridan*, a Parisian doctor, stood pre-eminent:² but the *Realists* were the more numerous, and were also strong in the countenance given them by the Roman pontiffs. For *Occam* having joined the order of Franciscans, who were openly opposed to *John XXII.*, this pontiff first, and afterwards his successors, left no means untried to put down the philosophy of the *Nominalists*, which seemed to be opposed to the church.³ Hence, in the year 1339, the university of Paris, by a public edict, condemned and prohibited the

lished, Venice, 1505. See Wharton's Appendix to Cave's *Hist. Litter.* and Milner's *Eccles. History*, cent. xiv. ch. ii. Tr.]

¹ Jo. Launoi, *Hist. Gymnas. Navarreni*; in his *Opp. t. iv. pt. i. p. 504*. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris. iv. 379*. Le Bœuf's *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Ecclès. et Civile de Paris*, iii. 456, 463, &c.

² A biography of this noted man was written by Robert Guaguin; as we are told by Jo. Launoi, *Hist. Gymnasii Navarreni*, in his *Opp. t. iv. pt. i. p. 722*. Launoi also speaks of him in other places; as p. 296, 297, 330. See Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris. iv. 282, 307, 341, &c.* [John Buridan was a native of Bethune, in Artois, studied at

Paris under Occam, and taught philosophy there with great applause. He wrote commentaries on Aristotle's logic, ethics, and metaphysics; which are still extant. Some say that he was rector of the university of Paris; and that he afterwards went to Vienna, and there commenced that university: but these circumstances, as well as the exact time when he lived, are uncertain. To him is ascribed the noted metaphysical maxim, that a hungry ass placed between two equal bundles of hay, would not be able to eat of either. See Bayle's *Dictionnaire Hist. et Critique*, art. *Buridan*. Tr.]

³ Steph. Baluze, *Miscellanea*, iv. 532.

philosophy of *Occam*, which was that of the Nominalists.¹ But, as men are apt to press after what is forbidden, the effect of this decree was, that a still greater number than before followed the system of the *Nominalists*.

§ 8. Many of these philosophers joined *astrology*, or the art of prognosticating the fortunes of men from the stars, with their philosophy. For this fallacious science was prosecuted even to madness by all orders, from the highest to the lowest, in those times.² But these astrological philosophers had to be very cautious and circumspect, if they would escape the hands of the Inquisitors, and a charge of magic. Such caution was neglected, to his ruin, by *Cecus Asculanus*; a very noted Peripatetic philosopher, astrologer, mathematician, and physician, first to the pontiff *John XXII.*, and then to *Charles Senza Terra*, duke of Calabria. For having, by mechanical arts, performed some things which appeared miraculous to the vulgar, and by his predictions, which were reported to have proved true, given offence both to his patron and to others, he was looked upon as having intercourse with the devil; and was committed to the flames by the Inquisitors at Florence, A.D. 1327.³ His *Commentary* on the Sphere of *John de Sacrobosco* is still extant, which is represented as affording proof of the extreme superstition of the author.⁴

§ 9. A new and singular species of art was invented and elucidated in numerous treatises by *Raymund Lully*, of Majorca; a man of surprising and very prolific genius, a compound of folly and reason, who, after many journeys and various efforts for the advancement of the Christian cause, was put to death in the year 1315, at Bugia in Africa, by the Mahumedans, whom he attempted to convert to the Christian faith. The Franciscans, to whose third order he is said to have belonged, extol him to the skies, and have long endeavoured most earnestly to persuade the pontiffs to enrol him among the saints: but the Dominicans and others, on the contrary, endeavour to make him a heretic, a magician, a delirious alchymist, a plagiarist from books written by Mahumedans; and some represent him as deranged and fanatical: of the pontiffs, there are those who have pronounced him an innocent and pious man; and others, a heretic and irreligious. He who shall read his works without prejudice, will coincide with neither party. *Lully* would have been a truly great man, if the warmth and fertility of his imagination had been tempered and restrained by a sound judgment.⁵

¹ Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 257, v. 708. Car. Pless. d'Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de novis erroribus*, i. 337. On the contests of these sects in England, see Ant. Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* i. 169, &c.

² See Imola, in Muratori's *Antiquit. Italicæ Medii Ævi*, i. 1089. Le Bœuf's *Dissert. sur l'Hist. de Paris*, iii. 445, &c.

³ An apology for him was written by Paul Ant. Appian, the Jesuit; which may be seen in Domen. Bernini's *Storia di tutte l'heresie*, t. iii. sæc. xiv. c. iii. p. 210, &c. An account

is also given of this unhappy philosopher and poet (for he was also a poet) by Jo. Maria Crescimbeni, *Commentarij della vulgar Poesia*, vol. ii. pt. ii. lib. iii. c. 14.

⁴ Gabr. Naudé, *Apologie pour les grands qui ont soupçonné de magie*, p. 270, &c.

⁵ See Jo. Salzinger's Preface to the works of Raymund Lully, which the elector Palatine, John William, caused to be collected and published at a great expense, in five vols. folio, A.D. 1720, Luke Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, iv. 421, &c. v. 157, 316, &c.

vi: 229, &c. On the famous *Lullian art*, see Dan. Geo. Morhof's *Polyhist.* l. ii. c. v. p. 352, &c. [‘It consisted in collecting a number of general terms, common to all the sciences, of which an alphabetical table was to be provided. Subjects and predicates taken from these were to be respectively inscribed in angular spaces upon circular paper. The essences, qualities, affections, and relations of things being thus mechanically brought together, the circular papers of subjects were fixed in a frame, and those of predicates were so placed upon them as to move freely, and in their revolutions to produce various combinations of subjects

and predicates, whence would arise definitions, axioms, and propositions, varying endlessly.’ See Rees's *Cyclopædia*, art. *Lully*, *Raymond*; Brücker's *Hist. Crit. Philos.* iv. 9, &c. The life of Lully, written by a contemporary, is in the *Acta Sanctor.* Antwerp, tom. v. p. 633, &c. He is said to have been born A.D. 1236, to have been dissipated in his youth, and afterwards to have applied himself much to chemistry, as well as to metaphysics and theology. He died aged 79, A.D. 1315. As a chemist, Boerhaave thought him much in advance of his age; if the works ascribed to him are all genuine. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Corruption of the clergy — § 2. Philip, king of France, opposed the domination of the pontiffs — § 3. Issue of the conflict — § 4. The pontifical court is removed to Avignon — § 5. Decrease of the pontifical authority — § 6. New arts devised by the pontiffs for acquiring wealth — § 7. Obsequiousness of Clement V. to Philip — § 8. John XXII. and Nicolas V. — § 9. The former charged with heresy — § 10. Benedict XII. — § 11. Clement VI. — § 12. Innocent VI. — § 13. Gregory XI. — § 14. The great schism of the West commences — § 15. The evils of it — § 16. Projects for terminating it — § 17. Vices of the monks, especially the Mendicants — § 18. Hence, general hatred against them — § 19. John Wickliffe — § 20. His opposers — § 21. Impiety of the Franciscans. Book of the conformities of St. Francis — § 22. Vices of the *Fratrielli*, &c. — §§ 23, 24. Projects for terminating the discords of the Franciscans — § 25. Their ridiculous contests — § 26. They produce more serious disturbances — § 27. A new contest arose respecting the poverty of Christ — § 28. Its continuation — § 29. Their conflict with John XXII. — § 30. Their attempts against the pontiff — § 31. Their patron Lewis the Bavarian — § 32. Peace with the pontiff — § 33. Sufferings of the Spirituals, the *Beghardi*, &c. in Germany — § 34. Yet they were not exterminated. Two great sects of Franciscans are produced — § 35. New religious orders — § 36. The sect of the Cellite brethren and sisters. The Lollards — § 37. The Greek writers — § 38. The Latin writers.

§ 1. THAT the governors of the church, as well of highest rank as of inferior, were addicted to all those vices which are the most unbecoming men in their stations, is testified most abundantly. As for the Greek and oriental clergy, many of whom lived under oppressive governments, I shall say nothing, although their faults are sufficiently manifest. But of the faults of the Latins, silence would be the less proper, in proportion to the certainty, that from this source the whole community was involved in the greatest calamities. All the honest and good men of that age ardently wished for a *reformation of the church, both in its head and in its members*; as they themselves

expressed it.¹ But to so desirable an event there were still many obstacles. First, the power of the pontiffs was so confirmed by its long continuance, that it seemed to be immoveably established. In the next place, extravagant superstition held the minds of most persons in abject slavery. And lastly, the ignorance and barbarism of the times quickly extinguished the sparks of truth that appeared from time to time. Yet the dominion of the Roman pontiffs, impregnable and durable as it seemed to be, was gradually undermined and weakened in this century, partly by the rash insolence of the pontiffs themselves, and partly by the occurrence of certain unexpected events.

§ 2. The commencement of this important change must be referred to the contest between *Boniface VIII.*, who governed the Latin church at the beginning of this century, and *Philip* the Fair, king of France. This high-minded sovereign first taught the Europeans, what the emperors had in vain attempted, that the Roman bishops could be vanquished, and be laid under restraint. In a very haughty letter addressed to *Philip*, *Boniface* maintained, that all kings and persons whatever, and the king of France as well as others, by divine command, owed perfect obedience to the Roman pontiff, and this not merely in religious matters, but likewise in secular and human affairs. The king replied with extreme bitterness. The pontiff repeated his former assertions with greater arrogance; and published the celebrated *bull*, called *Unam sanctam*;² in which he asserted, that *Jesus Christ* had granted a twofold power or *sword* to his church, a *spiritual* and a *temporal*; that the whole human race was subjected to the pontiff; and that all who dissented from this doctrine were *heretics*, and could not expect to be saved.³ The king, on the contrary, in an assembly of his nobles, A.D. 1303, through the famous

¹ Matth. Flacius, *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, lib. xiii. p. 1697. Jo. Launoï, *de varia Fortuna Aristotelis*, p. 217. Jo. Henr. Hottinger, *Hist. Eccles. sæc. xiv.* p. 754. [See Odor. Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* ad ann. 1311, § 56-65, t. xv. p. 87-90. From a manuscript account of the transactions of the council of Vienne, found in the Vatican library, Raynald here extracts largely from the statements of a prelate whom Clement V. consulted, respecting the abuses which called for reformation in the church. And the picture of the corruption of the clergy, the dissoluteness of the monks, and the ignorance and wickedness of the people, sketched by this anonymous prelate, shows the church to have been in a most deplorable state; and that some at least saw it, and earnestly desired a reformation. *Tr.*]

² [From the first words of it. *Tr.*]

³ This bull is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Extravagant. Commun.* lib. i. tit. [viii. cap. i.] *de Majoritate et Obedientia*. [In this bull the pope asserts, that there is

but one church of Christ, under one head, as there was but one ark under the command of Noah; all out of which necessarily perish: that the sole head of the church on earth is Christ's vicegerent St. Peter, and his successors, who are amenable to none but God: that both *swords*, the *spiritual* and the *material*, are in the power of the church; the latter to be wielded for the church, or by kings and soldiers, at the nod and pleasure of the priesthood, and the former to be wielded by the church or the priesthood: and the temporal power is subjected to the spiritual; otherwise the church would be a double-headed monster; that whoever resists this order of things, resists the ordinance of God: and he concludes thus: We declare, determine, and decree, that it is absolutely necessary to salvation, that every human being should be subject to the Roman pontiff. *Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omnem humanam creaturam, declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis. Tr.*]

lawyer, *William de Nogaret*,¹ publicly accused the pontiff of *heresy, simony, dishonesty*, and other enormities; and urged the calling of a general council to depose a pontiff so very wicked from his office. The pontiff, in return, excommunicated the king and all his adherents the same year.

§ 3. Soon after receiving this sentence, Philip again, in an assembly of the states of his kingdom, entered a formal complaint against the pontiff, by men of the highest reputation and influence; and appealed to the decision of a future general council of the church. He then despatched *William de Nogaret*, with some others, into Italy, to rouse the people to insurrection, and to bring the pontiff prisoner to Lyons, where he wished the council to be held. *Nogaret*, who was a resolute and energetic man, having drawn over to his interest the *Colonna* family, which was at variance with the pontiff, raised a small force, suddenly attacked *Boniface*, who was living securely at Anagni, made him prisoner, wounded him, and, among other severe indignities, struck him on the head with his iron gauntlet. The people of Anagni, indeed, rescued the pontiff from the hands of his furious enemy; but he died shortly after, at Rome, in the month of October, from rage and anguish of mind.²

§ 4. *Benedict XI.*, previously *Nicolas* of Treviso, the successor of Boniface, profiting by his example, restored the king of France and his kingdom to their former honours and privileges, without even being solicited; but he was unwilling to absolve from his crime *Nogaret*, who had so grievously offended against the pontifical dignity. This daring man, therefore, prosecuted strenuously the suit commenced against *Boniface* in the Roman court; and in the name of the king, demanded that a mark of infamy should be set upon the deceased pontiff. *Benedict XI.* died in the year 1304; and *Philip*, by his secret machinations, caused *Bertrand de Got*, a Frenchman, and archbishop of Bourdeaux, to be created pontiff at Rome, on the 5th of June, A.D. 1305. For the contest of the king against the pontiffs was not yet wholly settled, *Nogaret* not being absolved, and it might easily break out again. Besides, the king thirsted for revenge, and designed to extort from the court of Rome a condemnation of *Boniface*: he also meditated the destruction of the Templars, and other things of great importance; which he could hardly expect from

¹ Of this celebrated lawyer, who was the most bold and determined enemy the pontiffs ever had, before Luther, none have given a fuller account than the Benedictine monks, in their *Hist. Générale de Languedoc*, iii. 114, 117, &c. Philip made him chancellor of France, for his heroic opposition to the pontiff.

² See the *Acta inter Bonifacium VIII., Benedictum XI., Clementem V., et Philip-pum Pulchrum*, enlarged and corrected by Peter Puteanus, as the title-page asserts; published, 1618, 8vo, but without notice of the place of publication. [The compiler

of the work was a Parisian divine, named Simon Vigor. The first edition was published at Paris, 1613, 4to, and the third was in French, Paris, 1655, fol. entitled *Histoire du Différend de Philippe le Bel et de Boniface VIII. produite par les Actes et Mémoires originaux.* Schl.]—Andr. Baillet, *Histoire des Demelez du Boniface VIII. avec Philip le Bel*, Paris, 1718, 12mo. Jo. Rubeus, in his *Bonifacius*, cap. xvi. p. 137, &c. The other writers are mentioned by Baillet, in his Preface, p. 9, &c. Add Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 4, &c. [and Gifford's *Hist. of France*, i. 518, &c. *Tr.*]

an Italian pontiff. He therefore wished to have a French pontiff, whom he could control according to his pleasure, and who would be in a degree dependent on him. The new pontiff, who took the name of *Clement V.*, remained in France, as the king wished, and transferred the pontifical court to Avignon, where it continued for seventy years. This period the Italians call the *Babylonian Captivity*.¹

§ 5. It is certain that this residence of the pontiffs at Avignon was injurious, in no slight degree, to the authority of the Roman see. For the pontiffs being at a distance, the *Ghibelline* faction in Italy, who were hostile to the pontiffs, assumed greater boldness than formerly, and not only invaded and laid waste the territories of St. Peter, but also assailed the pontifical authority by their publications. Hence a number of cities revolted from the popes; Rome itself became the parent and nurse of tumults, cabals, and civil wars; and the laws and decrees sent thither from France were publicly treated with contempt, and not merely by the nobles, but also by the common citizens.² A great part of Europe followed the example of Italy; and numberless examples show, that the people of Europe attributed far less power to the fulminations and decrees issued from France, than to those issued from Rome. Various seditions, therefore, were raised, in one place and another, against the pontiffs; which they were unable to subdue and put down, notwithstanding that the *Inquisitors* were most active in the discharge of their functions.

§ 6. As the French pontiffs could derive but little revenue from Italy, which was rent into factions, seditious, and devastated, they were obliged to devise new modes of raising money. They, therefore, not only sold indulgences to the people, more frequently than formerly, to the great indignation of kings and princes; but they likewise required enormous prices to be paid for their letters or bulls of every kind. In this thing *John XXII.* showed himself peculiarly adroit and shrewd; for though he did not first invent the *regulations and fees of the apostolic chancery*, yet the Roman writers admit that he enlarged them, and reduced them to a more convenient form.³ He also is said to have imposed that tribute, which under the title of *annates* is customarily paid to the pontiffs; yet the first commencement of it was anterior to that age.⁴ Moreover, these French popes,

¹ On the French popes, the writer to be especially consulted is, Steph. Baluze, *Vitæ Pontificum Avenionensium*, in two volumes, Paris, 1693, 4to. The reader may also peruse, though it should be with caution, Jac. Longueval and his continuators, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, t. xii. &c. This Jesuit, and his successors in the work, are eloquent and laborious; but they often conceal, artfully, the abominable deeds of the pontiffs.

² See Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* ii. 290, 291, 301, 309, 323; and various other places. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* iii. 397, 401, 409, &c. Giannone, *Hist. de Naples*, iii. 280, &c.

³ Jo. Ciampini, *de Vicecancellario Ecclesiæ Romanæ*, p. 39, &c. Charles Chais, *Lettres sur les Jubilé*, ii. 673, and others.

⁴ Bernh. van Espen, *Jus Eccles. Universale*, ii. 876. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 911. Ant. Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* i. 213. Wilh. Fran. Berthier, *Dissert. sur les Annates*, in his *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, xii. 1, &c. [The *annates* were the first year's revenues of a benefice, which every new incumbent was required to remit to the pontiff's treasury. By constantly advancing clergymen from poorer to richer benefices, and prohibiting pluralities, these *annates* might be made the source of immense in-

subverting the rights of election, assumed the power of conferring all sacred offices, whether high or low, according to their own pleasure: by which means they raised immense sums of money. Hence, under these pontiffs, those most odious terms, *reservations*, *provisions*, and *expectatives*, rarely used before, were now everywhere heard; and they called forth the bitterest complaints from all the nations of Europe;¹ and these complaints increased immeasurably, when some of the pontiffs, *John XXII.*, *Clement VI.*, *Gregory XI.*, publicly announced, that they had *reserved* all churches to themselves; and that they would *provide* for all without exception, by virtue of the sovereign right which *Christ* had conferred on his vicars, or *in the plenitude of their power*.² By these and other artifices for filling their treasury and amassing property, these indiscreet pontiffs heaped additional odium on the apostolic see; and thus weakened very considerably the papal empire, which began to decline from the times of *Boniface*.

§ 7. *Clement V.* was governed all his life by the will and pleasure of *Philip* the Fair, king of France. *William de Nogaret*, the implacable foe of *Boniface VIII.*, though excommunicated, resolutely prosecuted his own cause and that of king *Philip* against *Boniface*, in the papal court; a transaction which, I believe, is without a parallel. *Philip* wished to have the body of *Boniface* disinterred, and publicly burnt. With great difficulty *Clement* averted this infamy by his entreaties and advice; but in everything else he had to obey the king. Accordingly, he abrogated the laws enacted by *Boniface*; granted the king five years' tithes; absolved *Nogaret* from all crime, after imposing on him a slight penance, which he

came, when levied throughout Christendom, upon all the numberless officers in the churches and monasteries. *Tr.*—In England, these first-fruits were taken from the pope by Henry VIII., and given to the king, by the 26 Hen. VIII. c. 3: they were restored to the church, 2 & 3 Phil. Mar. c. 4: resumed by 1 Eliz. c. 4, and by 2 & 3 Ann. c. 20, devoted to the increase of small livings. *Ed.*—On the origin of this impost, F. Paul says that imperial and royal patrons had commonly made bargains for their own pecuniary advantage, on the pre-ferment of an individual to some dignity; a practice branded as simoniacal at Rome, but really the origin of the pope's claim for annates. 'John XXII. in 1316, made a decree, that for three years, whoever obtained a benefice of more than twenty-four ducats yearly rent, should pay one year's value for the expedition of his bulls; which, at the expiration of the three years, came to be renewed again, as well as continued by his successors, though in divers places it met with opposition; some places coming to an agreement to pay only one half of the annates, others to pay only for some par-

ticular sort of benefices, and that the rest should be exempted.' (F. Paul's *Treatise of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Revenues*, Lond. 1736, p. 172.) It is plain that the principle here developed, is the same as that which laymen found branded with simony. In one case, presentation was to be paid for; in the other, possession. Platina, however (*De Vitis Pontificum*, ed. 1529, p. 218), says that Boniface IX., pope from 1389 to 1404, was the real inventor of annates, but he adds, that some refer the impost to John XXII. This latter was conspicuously fond of money, and died immensely rich: hence any gainful practice of uncertain origin was very likely to be fathered upon him. S.]

¹ Stephen Baluze, *Miscellanea*, ii. 479, 518; and his *Vite Pontif. Avenion.* ii. 60, 63, 65, 74, 154, 156. *Gallia Christiana Benedictinor.* t. i. Append. p. 13. Ant. Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* i. 148, 201, 202. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 911, &c.

² Baluze, *Vite Pontif. Avenion.* ii. 873; i. 285, 311, 681, &c. Ant. Matthæus, *Analecta Vet. Ævi*, v. 349, &c. *Gallia Christiana*, i. 69, 1208. *Hist. du Droit Ecclésiast. François*, ii. 129, &c.

never performed; restored the inhabitants of Anagni to their former reputable and good standing; and held a general council at Vienne, A.D. 1311, that *Philip's* pleasure might be gratified in the suppression of the *Templars*. In this council, likewise, various things were decided according to the pleasure of the king, whom *Clement* dared not offend, being terrified by the melancholy fate of *Boniface*.¹

§ 8. On the death of *Clement*, A.D. 1314, there were violent contests among the cardinals respecting the election of a successor, the French demanding a French pontiff and the Italians an Italian. After two years the French gained the victory; and in 1316, *James de Ense*, of Cahors, cardinal of Porto, was made head of the church, and assumed the pontifical name of *John XXII*. He was not destitute of learning, but was crafty, insolent, weak, imprudent, and avaricious, as even those who honour his memory do not positively deny. He rendered himself notorious by many imprudent and unsuccessful enterprises, but especially by his unfortunate contest with the emperor, *Lewis* of Bavaria. There was a contest for the empire in Germany, between *Lewis* of Bavaria and *Frederic* of Austria, each being chosen emperor by a part of the electors in the year 1314. *John* declared, that the decision of this controversy belonged to him. But *Lewis* having conquered his rival in battle, and taken him prisoner, in the year 1322, assumed the government of the empire, without consulting the pontiff, and refused to submit a cause, which had been decided by the sword, to another trial before the pontiff. *John* was greatly offended at this; and in the year 1324, divested the emperor of all title to the imperial crown. *Lewis*, in return, accused the pontiff of corrupting the faith, or of heresy; and appealed to the decision of a council. Exasperated by this and some other things, the pontiff, in the year 1327, again divested the emperor of all his authority and power, and laid him under excommunication. In revenge of this injury, the emperor in the year 1328, at Rome, publicly declared *John* unworthy of the pontificate; and substituted in his place *Peter de Corbario*, a Franciscan, and one of those who disagreed with the pontiff; and he, assuming the name of *Nicolas V.*, crowned *Lewis* as emperor. But in the year 1330, this *Imperial* pontiff voluntarily abdicated his office, and surrendered himself into the hands of *John*, who kept him a prisoner at Avignon till his death. Thus *John* continued to reign, in spite of the emperor; and the emperor, in spite of the pontiff.²

¹ Besides the common writers already cited, see Willh. Fran. Berthier's *Discours sur le Pontificat de Clément V.*, in his *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, t. xii. Colonia's *Hist. Littér. de Lyon*, i. 340. *Gallia Christiana Bened.* i. 1189, and ii. 829.

² This great contest is to be learned principally from the *Records* of it, which are published by Steph. Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* ii. 512, &c. by Edm. Martene, *The-saurus Anecdotor.* ii. 641, &c. by Jo. Geo. Herwart, in his *Ludovicus Imperator de-*

fensus contra Bzovium, München, 1618, 4to, and by Christ. Gewold, in his *Apologia pro Ludovico Bavaro*, Ingolst. 1618, 4to, against the same Bzovius, who in his *Annales* had basely defamed the character of this emperor. Add Lu. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vii. 77, 106, &c. Whoever considers attentively the history of this contest will perceive that *Lewis* of Bavaria took for his pattern Philip the Fair, king of France. As the latter brought the charge of heresy against Boniface, so did *Lewis* against *John*

§ 9. On the side of *Lewis* stood the whole mass of the *Fratricelli*, the *Beghards* of every description, and the *Spirituals*, or more rigid among the Franciscans; and these being scattered over a large part of Europe, and supported by the protection of *Lewis*, everywhere assailed *John* with reproaches and criminations, both orally and in books, and charged him with religious apostasy. The pontiff, however, was not greatly injured by these private attacks; but, towards the close of his life, he fell under the disapprobation and censure of nearly the whole church. For in the years 1331 and 1332, he taught in some public discourses, that departed souls would indeed behold *Christ* as man, but would not see the face of God, or the divine nature, until their reunion with the body at the last day. With this doctrine *Philip VI.*, the king of France, was highly displeased; the theologians of Paris condemned it in 1333; and both the friends and the foes of the pontiff were opposed to it. For it appeared to them, that the pontiff detracted much from the blessedness of departed spirits. To so great opposition, *John*, though naturally pertinacious, had to give way. He therefore first apologized for the doctrine; and afterwards, when near the point of death, A.D. 1334, he did not indeed abandon it, but he qualified it by saying, that he believed souls in the intermediate state saw the *Divine essence*, as far as the state and condition of the unembodied spirit would permit.¹ But this declaration did not satisfy his adversaries. Hence, after various disputes, his successor, *Benedict XII.*, terminated the controversy, according to the decision of the Parisian doctors, by declaring the true faith to be, that the souls of the blessed, when separate from the body, fully and perfectly behold the Divine nature, or God himself.² *Benedict* could do this without impeaching his predecessor; for *John*, when dying, submitted his opinion to the judgment of the church; lest, perhaps, he should, after death, be classed among *heretics*.³

§ 10. On the death of *John*, A.D. 1334, new contests between the French and the Italians, respecting the choice of a pontiff, divided the college of cardinals. But near the close of the year, *James Fournier*, a Frenchman, cardinal of St. Prisca, was chosen, and assumed the name of *Benedict XII.* Historians allow him the praise of being an upright and honest man, no less free from avarice than from the lust of rule.⁴ During his reign, the controversy with the

XXII. The French king employed Nogaret and others as accusers: *Lewis* employed [William] Occam, and the Franciscans [Marsilius] of Padua, John of Ghent, and Ulrich Hangoer. *Tr.*] Each wished to have a general council called, by which the pontiff should be hurled from the chair of St. Peter. I omit to mention other parallels.

¹ See Stephen Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenionens.* i. 175, 177, 182, 197, 221, 786, &c. Lu. D'Achery, *Spicileg. Script. Veter.* i. 760, ed. vet. Jo. Launoï, *Hist. Gymnasii Navarr.* p. i. c. vii. in his *Opp.* iv. pt. i. p. 319. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 235,

250. Lu. Wadding, *Annales Minor.* vi. 371, vii. 145. Jac. Echard, *Scriptores Prædicator.* i. 599, 608.

² Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenionens.* i. 197, 216, 221, 224, 236, &c.

³ [There were 'found in his coffers after his death, five and twenty millions of florins, of which there were eighteen in specie, and the rest in plate, jewels, crowns, mitres, and other precious baubles, all which he had squeezed out of the people and the inferior clergy during his pontificate. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* l. xciv. § 39. *Macl.*]

⁴ See the *Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ*,

emperor *Lewis* was at rest. For although he did not restore him to church communion, being prevented, as is reported, by the king of France, yet he did not attempt anything against him. He saw the existing evils in the church; and some of them, as far as he could, he removed: in particular, he laboured to reform, by decrees and ordinances, the orders of monks, both mendicant and opulent. But death removed him, when he was contemplating more and greater changes, A.D. 1342. Overlook superstition, which was the common fault of his age, and we shall find nothing to prevent us from declaring this pontiff to have been a man of a right spirit.

§ 11. Of a different spirit was his successor, *Clement VI.*, who was likewise a Frenchman, named *Peter Roger*, and cardinal of St. Nereus and St. Achilleus. To say nothing of his other deeds, that are little to be commended, he trod in the steps of *John XXII.*, by his *provisions* and *reservations* of churches, which was evidence of a shameful avarice; and, further, he conferred the most important spiritual offices on foreigners and Italians, which produced controversies between him and the kings of France and England; and, lastly, he demonstrated the arrogance and pride of his heart, among other things, by renewing the war with *Lewis* the Bavarian. For, in the year 1343, he hurled new thunders at the emperor; and finding these to be contemned by *Lewis*, in the year 1346, he devoted him again to execration; and persuaded the princes of Germany to elect *Charles IV.*, son¹ to *Henry VII.*, for their emperor. A civil war would now have broken out in Germany, had not the death of *Lewis*, in 1347, prevented it. *Clement* followed him to the grave, in 1352, famous for nothing but his zeal for exalting the majesty of the pontiffs, and for adding *Avignon*, which he bought of *Joanna*, queen of Naples, to St. Peter's patrimony.²

§ 12. There was more moderation and probity in *Innocent VI.*, or *Stephen Albert*, a Frenchman, previously bishop of Ostia; who governed the church ten years, and died A.D. 1362. He favoured his own relatives too much; but in other respects he encouraged the pious and the well-informed, held the monks to their duty, abstained from *reserving* churches, and did many things worthy of commendation. His successor, *William Grimoard*, abbot of St. Victor, at Marseilles, who assumed the name of *Urban V.*, was also free from great faults, if we except those which are almost inseparable from the office of a pope. Overcome by the entreaties of the Romans, he removed to Rome in the year 1367, but returned to Avignon in 1370, in order to make peace between the king of England and the king of France, and died there the same year.³

in Muratori's *Antiquit. Italic.* iii. p. 275. Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenionens.* i. 205, 218, 240, &c. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 253, &c.

¹ [Grandson. *Tr.*]

² [Lives of this pontiff may be found in Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenionens.* i. 143, &c. and in Muratori's *Script. Rerum Italicar.*

t. iii. pt. ii. p. 550, &c. *Schl.*]

³ [Of these popes, also, there are several lives: of Innocent VI., in Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* i. 321, &c. and in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicar.* t. iii. pt. ii. p. 589, &c. and of Urban V., in Baluze, l. c. p. 363, &c. and in Muratori, l. c. p. 642, &c. *Schl.*]

§ 13. He was succeeded by *Peter Roger*, a Frenchman of noble birth, under the pontifical name of *Gregory XI*. He was inferior to his predecessors in virtue, but exceeded them in energy and audacity. Under him, great and dangerous commotions disturbed Italy and the city of Rome. The Florentines, especially, waged fierce war with the Roman church, and were successful in it.¹ To restore the tranquillity of Italy, and recover the territories and cities taken from the patrimony of St. Peter, *Gregory*, in 1376, transferred his residence from Avignon to Rome. One *Catherine*, a virgin of Siena, whom that credulous age took to be a prophetess divinely inspired, came to Avignon, and by her exhortations greatly contributed to this measure.² But *Gregory* soon after repented of his removal; for by their long absence from Italy, the authority of the pontiffs was so fallen there, that the Romans and the Florentines had no scruple to insult and abuse him in various ways. He therefore purposed to return to Avignon, but was prevented by death, which removed him from among living men, in the year 1378.³

§ 14. After the death of *Gregory XI*., the cardinals being assembled to provide a successor, the Roman people, fearing lest a Frenchman should be elected, who would remove to Avignon, demanded, with furious clamours and threats, that an Italian should be placed at the head of the church without delay. The terrified cardinals proclaimed *Bartholomew Pregnano*, who was a Neapolitan by birth, and archbishop of Bari, to be elected pontiff; and he assumed the name of *Urban VI*. This new pontiff, by his coarse manners, his injudicious severity, and his intolerable haughtiness, alienated the minds of all from him, but especially the cardinals. These, therefore, withdrew to Fondi, a city in the kingdom of Naples, and there created another pontiff, *Robert*, count of Geneva, who took the name of *Clement VII*., alleging that *Urban* was elected only in pretence, in order to quiet the rage of the people of Rome. Which of these was the legitimate and true pontiff still remains uncertain, nor can it be fully ascertained from the *Records* and documents, which have been published in great abundance by both parties.⁴ *Urban* continued at Rome; *Clement* removed to Avignon in France. The cause of *Clement* was espoused by France, Spain, Scotland, Sicily, and Cyprus: the other countries of Europe acknowledged *Urban* for the true vicegerent of Christ.

¹ See here, especially, the *Epistolæ Co-lucii Salutati*, written in the name of the Florentines, part i. p. 47-100, p. 148, 162, and the Preface to part ii. p. 18. I use the new edition at Florence, by Laur. Mehus.

² See Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, xiv. 159, 192.

³ [He was the son of William, count of Beaufort, and nephew to Clement VI. His last will, which is in D'Achery's *Spicileg.* iii. 378, is worthy of notice, as he there very frankly acknowledges his faults. His biography is in Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenion.*

i. 426, &c. and in Muratori's *Script. Rerum Italic.* t. iii. pt. ii. p. 645, &c. Schl.]

⁴ See the records and documents in Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 463, &c. in Lu. Wadding's *Annales Minor.* ix. 12, &c. in S. Baluze's *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* i. 442, 998, &c. and in the *Acta Sanctor.* April, i. 728, &c. There are also some unpublished documents in my possession, which throw much light on this controversy, yet do not decide it. [The whole question must be tried according to ecclesiastical law; and, according to that, both elections were undoubtedly liable to exceptions. Schl.]

§ 15. Thus the unity of the Latin church, as existing under one head, came to an end at the death of *Gregory XI.*; and that most unhappy disunion ensued, which is usually denominated *the great Schism of the West*.¹ For during fifty years the church had two or three heads; and the contemporary pontiffs assailed each other with excommunications, maledictions, and insidious measures. The calamities and distress of those times are indescribable. For besides the perpetual contentions and wars between the pontifical factions, which were ruinous to great numbers, involving them in the loss of life or of property, nearly all sense of religion was in many places extinguished, and wickedness daily acquired greater impunity and boldness; the clergy, previously corrupt, now laid aside even the appearance of piety and godliness, while those who called themselves Christ's vicegerents were at open war with each other; and the conscientious people, who believed that no one could be saved without living in subjection to Christ's vicegerents, were thrown into the greatest perplexity and anxiety of mind.² Yet both the church and the state received very considerable advantages from these great calamities. For the very sinews of pontifical power were cut by these dissensions, and no art could heal them any more; kings too, and princes, who had before been in a sense the servants of the pontiffs, now became their judges and masters. Moreover, great numbers, possessing some measure of discernment, despising and disregarding pontiffs, fighting for dominion, committed themselves and their salvation to God alone, in full assurance that the church and religion might be safe and continue so, although without any visible head.

§ 16. On the death of *Urban VI.*, A.D. 1389, the Italian cardinals, his partisans, elected for his successor at Rome *Peter Thomacelli*, a Neapolitan, known among the pontiffs by the name of *Boniface IX.* And *Clement VII.* dying in the year 1394, the French cardinals appointed, as his successor, *Peter de Luna*, a Spaniard, who assumed the name of *Benedict XIII.* In the mean time, kings, princes, bishops, and theologians, proposed and attempted various methods for extinguishing this schism. The safest and best method, it was generally thought, was that of voluntary *resignation*, as they expressed it.³

¹ For an account of this schism, see Peter Puteanus, *Histoire du Schisme qui a été en l'Eglise depuis l'an 1378, jusqu'en l'an 1428*, Paris, 1654, 4to, which, as the Preface informs us, was compiled from documents in the archives of the king of France, and is worthy of credit. Neither is Lewis Maimbourg's *Histoire du grand Schisme d'Occident* to be despised, though the writer is here and there manifestly partial. Many documents are contained in Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* t. iv. and v. and Edm. Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* ii. 1074, &c. The common writers, as Alexander, Raynald, Bzovius, Spondanus, Du Pin, I omit to name as usual.

² On the great evils of this schism there

are direct remarks in the *Hist. du Droit public Ecclés. François*, ii. 166, 193, 202, &c.

³ [In reality, the university of Paris proposed three ways of terminating the schism: the voluntary resignation of both (via cessionis); an agreement between them (via compromissi); and reference to the decision of a general council (via deliberationis per concilium universale). Among all these, that by resignation was thought to be the easiest; but this supposed the pontiffs to be ingenuous, and to make the good of the church their primary object, which was not the fact. In order to facilitate this project, the king and the nobles of France, with the university of Paris, used all their exertions, after the death of Clement, to prevent a

But neither of the pontiffs could be induced to resign, either by entreaties, or threats, or promises. The French church, greatly displeased by this obstinacy, in the year 1397, withdrew itself from the dominion and authority of both pontiffs, in a council held at Paris. This decree being published in the year 1398, *Benedict XIII.* was detained as a prisoner, by order of *Charles VI.*, king of France, in his own palace at Avignon.¹

§ 17. The vices and faults of the great body of the monks were seen even by some of the Roman pontiffs, and especially by *Benedict XII.*, who looked upon them with abhorrence, and laboured to cure and remove them; but it was a vast and most arduous undertaking, that failed of success. The lead was taken, not only among monks, but likewise in the whole church, by the *mendicants*, particularly the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*; whose counsels and pleasure acted upon everything of importance, as well in the courts of the pontiffs, as in those of princes. So high was the reputation of these friars for sanctity and for influence with God, that the most distinguished persons of both sexes, some while in health, and others when sick and in the near prospect of death, wished to be received into their orders, for the purpose of securing the favour of God. Many carefully inserted in their last wills, that they would have their corpses wrapped in a sordid Dominican or Franciscan garment, and be buried among friars mendicant. For the amazing superstition and ignorance of the age led people to believe, that those would find Christ a gracious judge at the last day who should appear before his tribunal mingled with mendicant monks.

§ 18. But this high reputation and vast influence of the mendicants inflamed still more the hatred which had long burned against them almost universally, in priests both of the first and second order, in monks, and in universities. Hence there was scarcely a country of Europe, or a university, in which one might not see bishops, priests, and theologians eagerly contending against the Dominicans and Franciscans, who, by means of the great privileges conferred on them by the pontiffs, everywhere undermined the ancient discipline of the church, and assumed to themselves the direction of all religious matters. In England, the university of Oxford firmly resisted the Dominicans;² and *Richard* of Armagh,³ *Henry Crump*, *Norris*, and

new election at Avignon. But the cardinals were of a different mind. They went into conclave, and elected Benedict XIII., yet previously binding themselves by a solemn oath, that the person elected, on the return of tranquillity, should himself labour to bring about a resignation of both, if the majority of the cardinals should see it to be best. But neither Benedict nor his opposer Boniface would have anything to do with a resignation. The pleasure and the honour of being pope outweighed all considerations of patriotism; and it was not till the next century that the church was so happy as to see this schism removed. *Schl.]*

¹ Besides the common writers, see Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, t. xiv. and the Records themselves, in Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*. iv. 829, &c.

² See Ant. Wood's *Antiq. Oxoniens.* i. 150, 154, 196, &c.

³ [Richard Fitz-Ralph was a native of Ireland, professor of theology at Oxford, much esteemed by king Edward III. of England, created by him dean of Lichfield, and, A.D. 1333, chancellor of Oxford. In 1347, Clement VI., by his pontifical right of *provision*, constituted him archbishop of Armagh in Ireland. He strenuously opposed the mendicants. While at Oxford, he

others, assailed with great energy all the mendicant orders.¹ The most zealous of these, *Richard* of Armagh, went to the court of *Innocent VI.*, in the year 1356, and there pleaded the cause of the church against them, with amazing ardour, until his death in 1360.² In France, various persons, backed by the university of Paris, laboured in a more private way to overthrow the power of the mendicants;³ but *John de Pouilli*, a doctor of theology, publicly denied that the Dominicans and Franciscans had power to grant absolution to persons confessing sins to them, or that the pontiffs were able to give them such power, so long as the *canon*, called *omnis utriusque sexus*, remained in force: whence he inferred, that those who would be sure of salvation must confess their sins to their parish priests, notwithstanding they had absolution from the monks. But all these adversaries effected little or nothing, for the pontiffs vigorously defended these their best friends and supporters against all attacks, secret or open. The opinion of *John de Pouilli* was condemned by a special decree of *John XXII.* in the year 1321.⁴

§ 19. But among all the foes of the mendicant orders, no one has obtained greater fame, both good and ill, among posterity than *John Wickliffe*, an Englishman, doctor and professor of theology at Oxford, and afterwards rector of Lutterworth,⁵ a man of an acute mind, and, for the age in which he lived, of great learning. After the example of *Richard* of Armagh, and many others of the best men in his country, he first vigorously defended, in the year 1360, the rights of the University of Oxford against the sects that professed voluntary poverty, at the same time slightly censuring also the pontiffs, who were their chief patrons: nor did any lover of his country consider him as criminal on this account. Afterwards, when *Simon Langham*, archbishop of Canterbury, deprived him of the Wardenship of *Canterbury Hall*, in the University of Oxford, A.D. 1367, and

exposed their vain and proud poverty in his public lectures; and when a bishop, he came out still more powerfully against them. In 1356, he came to London, and there published in his preaching nine theses against them. They now accused him to the pope of heresy, and caused him to be cited to Avignon. He went there, and after three years' attendance, his cause not being yet decided, he was removed by death, A.D. 1360. He has left us a number of sermons; a *Summa*, seu libri xix. *adversus errores Armenorum*; and his defence against the mendicants, delivered at Avignon in 1357, besides several sermons and tracts never published. A little before his death, an Irish translation of the New Testament was found concealed in a wall of his church, which has been supposed to be his production. *Tr.*]

¹ See Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* i. 181, 182. ii. 61, 62. Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* i. 338, 950. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv.

336. Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* viii. 126.

² See Rich. Simon's *Lettres Choisies*, i. 164, &c. I have before me in manuscript, by Bartholomew de Brisaco (provincial of the Dominicans for Germany), *Solutiones oppositæ Richardi, Armachani Archiepiscopi, propositionibus contra Mendicantes in curia Romana coram pontifice et cardinalibus factis*, A.D. 1360.

³ See Jo. Launoi, *de Canone, Omnis utriusque sexus*; in his *Opp.*, t. i. pt. i. p. 271, 274, 287, &c. Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* ii. 10, and *Miscellanea*, i. 153. D'Achery, *Spicileg. Scriptor. Veter.* i. 112, &c.

⁴ It was published by Edm. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* i. 1368. Add Steph. Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* i. 132, 182, &c.

⁵ [In Leicestershire. *Tr.*—The story about Canterbury Hall is a mistake. See *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, Ed. Shirley, p. 513. *Ed.*]

appointed a monk to succeed him, and the sovereign pontiff, *Urban V.*, to whom he appealed, confirmed the decision of the archbishop; *Wickliffe* assailed with greater freedom, not only all the monks and their morals, but also the power of the pontiffs, and some other things, both in his writings and in his discourses. From this he proceeded still further, and in various treatises refuted a large part of the prevailing opinions on religious subjects; exhorted the people to read the sacred volume; translated the Scriptures into the English language¹ with his own hands; and expressed abhorrence of the grosser superstitions then in vogue. It would be easy to show that neither the doctrines of *Wickliffe* were free from errors, nor his life void of faults; and yet it is most certain that he advocated many things that were wise, and true, and profitable.²

§ 20. The monks, whom *Wickliffe* had especially offended, commenced a great religious process against him in the pontifical court of *Gregory XI.*, who in the year 1378 commanded *Simon Sudbury*, archbishop of Canterbury, to try the cause in a council at London. From this imminent peril *Wickliffe* escaped unharmed, through the protection of the duke of Lancaster and other noblemen, who were his friends. And as *Gregory* died soon after, and the fatal schism in the Latin church ensued, one pontiff reigning at Rome, and another at Avignon, this controversy remained long suspended. Upon a change in the state of affairs, *William Courtenay*, archbishop of Canterbury, revived the controversy in 1385, and urged it on with great vehemence, in two councils, the one held at London, and the other at Oxford. The result was, that of the eighteen³ opinions, for which the monks accused him, nine were condemned as heresies, and fifteen as errors; but *Wickliffe* himself returned in safety to Lutterworth, where he died in tranquillity, A.D. 1384. By what means he escaped this latter peril, which was greater than the former, whether by the favour of the court, or by denying and abjuring the opinions in controversy, does not appear.⁴ He left a great number of fol-

¹ [From the Vulgate. *Tr.*]

² His Dialogues, in four books, have lately been reprinted, Frankfort and Leipsic, 1753, 4to, from which may be learned, not, indeed, all his opinions, but the general objects at which he aimed, and the spirit of the man.

³ [Twenty-four. *Tr.*]

⁴ A formal biography of this very noted man was composed by John Lewis, '*The History of the Life and Sufferings of John Wickliffe.*' London, 1720. 8vo. He also published the *New Testament*, in an English translation by John Wickliffe, from the Latin version called the *Vulgate*: London, 1731, fol., with a learned Preface, in which he treats of the life and sufferings of Wickliffe. [His life is also given in Gilpin's *Lives of the Reformers*, Lond. 1809, 2 vols. 8vo, in Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica*, vol. i. p. 1, &c., and in Milner's *History of*

the Church, cent. xiv. ch. iii.] The documents in relation to his trials are in Dav. Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britannię et Hibern.* tom. iii. p. 116, &c., 156, &c. Add Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 450, &c. Ant. Wood's *Antiq. Oxonienses*, tom. i. p. 183, &c., 186, &c., and in other places. [John Wickliffe, or de Wickliffe, was born probably at Hipswell, near Richmond, in Yorkshire, early in this century. He became Master of Balliol College, in Oxford, before 1361, and Doctor of Divinity about 1363. In 1361 he took the rectory of Fylingham, in Lincolnshire, and resigned the Mastership. In 1363 he was resident as a lodger in Queen's College. In 1368 he exchanged Fylingham for Ludgershall, and that in 1374 for Lutterworth. Wickliffe was a hard student, a profound scholar, a sarcastic writer, and a subtle disputant. Philosophy, metaphysics, and theology,

lowers, both in England and out of England, who were denominated *Wickliffites*, and by a vulgar term of reproach, brought from Belgium

were his favourite studies. In the year 1360 he distinguished himself by becoming the advocate of the university against the mendicant monks, who infringed the laws of the university, and enticed the students away to their monasteries. Wickliffe, whose English style was excellent for that age, wrote various tracts against them, and disputed against them with great success. After he took his degree of D.D., he read lectures on theology at Oxford with great applause. He here attacked not only the monks, but also the pope and the clergy; and confuted the prevailing errors of the day, both as to the doctrines of Christianity and the constitution of the Christian church. In 1374, the king appointed him one of his ambassadors to the pope, to remonstrate against the papal *reservation* of churches. After this he inveighed still more boldly against the pope in his lectures, calling him, 'Anti-christ, the proud, worldly priest of Rome, and the most cursed of clippers and purse-cutters.' He also inveighed against the prelates. In February 1377 he was accused by the Convocation of heresy, and brought before the Bishops at St. Paul's; but the proceedings were broken up by a riot caused by the unpopularity of John of Gaunt, Wickliffe's patron. The monks now drew up nineteen articles, extracted from his public lectures and sermons, which they sent to the pope. The principal of these were: 'That there is one only universal church, consisting of the whole body of the *predestinate*. That the eucharist, after consecration, was not the real body of Christ, but only an *emblem* or *sign* of it—that the church of Rome was no more the head of the universal church than any other church: and that St. Peter had no greater authority given him than the rest of the apostles.—That the pope had no more jurisdiction in the exercise of the keys than any other priest.—That if the church misbehaved, it was not only lawful, but meritorious, to dispossess her of her temporalities.—That when a prince or temporal lord was convinced that the church made an ill use of her endowments, he was bound, under pain of damnation, to take them away.—That the Gospel was sufficient to direct a Christian in the conduct of his life.—That neither the pope, nor any other prelate, ought to have prisons for the punishing offenders against the discipline of the church.' On the 31st of May, 1377, the pope issued five bulls, addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, (who were directed to

try the charges,) to the king, (who was desired to assist the bishops,) and to the university of Oxford (ordering them to deliver up the accused). The king died before the bulls arrived: the university treated theirs with contempt; the prelates determined to proceed against him, and therefore summoned him to appear before them at London within thirty days. During that interval, parliament met, and deliberated, whether they might lawfully refuse to send treasure out of the kingdom, when the pope required it to be sent. The resolution of this doubt was referred, by the king and the great council, to doctor Wickliffe, who answered that it was lawful, and undertook to prove it so by the principles of the law of Christ. The place of trial was now fixed at Lambeth, and there Wickliffe appeared, and was again rescued by a riot, and by the protection of the princess of Wales. In 1378 the pope died; and the commission to the two English prelates to try the case of Wickliffe of course was at an end. Wickliffe in his lectures, sermons, and writings, now embraced every opportunity of exposing the Roman court, and detecting the vices of the clergy and the monks. In 1381 he published sixteen Theses against transubstantiation; and in his lectures at Oxford expressly denied the doctrine of the real presence. The vice-chancellor and eleven doctors now condemned his doctrine. In 1381, William Courtenay was translated from the see of London to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury; and now began another process against Wickliffe, whom he summoned to appear at London before commissioners appointed to try him. He was dissuaded by his friends from appearing; but the university sent a letter in his favour, testifying fully to his learning, piety, and soundness in the faith. Notwithstanding this testimony, and the arguments of his able counsellors, fourteen of his conclusions were pronounced heretical or erroneous. Soon after he left Oxford, in 1382, Wickliffe had a slight shock of the palsy; yet he continued to preach till 1384, when he was seized again, in his pulpit, at Lutterworth, more violently; fell down, was carried home, and shortly after expired. His works were a vast number of tracts on doctrinal and practical subjects in theology, against the prevailing errors and vices of the times, &c. See Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica*, vol. i. p. 1, &c. The above is Dr. Murdock's note corrected by Mr. Shirley's Introduction to the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, London, 1858, which also disproves the

into England, *Lollards*: and these were everywhere grievously persecuted by the *Inquisitors* and other instruments of the pontiffs. Hence the council of Constance, A.D. 1415, condemned the memory and the opinions of *Wickliffe* in a solemn decree; in consequence of which, in the year 1428, his bones were dug up, and publicly burnt.

§ 21. These numerous adversaries, with all their ability and authority, wholly failed of bringing the mendicant orders to give up their excessive pride and superstition, and to cease from deceiving the multitude with opinions injurious often to the Divine character and to religion. The Franciscans especially, in extolling the excellence of their institution, which they contended was the very *gospel* of Jesus Christ, and in eulogizing the founder of their order, whom they impudently represented as another Christ, or as in every respect like to Christ, exceeded all bounds of sobriety and reverence for the Saviour. Yet the Roman pontiffs patronised this madness by their letters and decrees, in which they declared the absurd fable of the *stigmata*, or five wounds, impressed upon *St. Francis* by the Saviour himself on mount Alverno, to be highly credible, nay, unquestionably true.¹ They also suffered to go abroad without censure, and even

alleged connexion of Wickliffe with Merton College and Canterbury Hall. There are also Lives of Wickliffe by Dr. Vaughan and Mr. Le Bas. *Ed.*

¹ The fable of the *Stigmata*, impressed upon Francis by Jesus Christ, is very well known; nor are the pontifical letters unknown, by which belief in this fable is commanded, and which are published with great care, in particular, by Wadding, in his *Annales Minorum*, t. viii. and ix. [The story of these *Stigmata*, as related by Bonaventura, the biographer of Francis (*de Vita S. Patris Francisci*, cap. 13,) is briefly this: that Francis, two years before his death, retired, as was his custom, to mount Alvernus, to keep a forty days' fast, in Lent. While praying there, a Seraph appeared flying in the heavens, and came near to him, having six wings, under which he saw distinctly the figure of Christ crucified. The Seraph talked with him; but he would never relate the conversation. After the Seraph departed, he found on himself five wounds; one on each of his feet and hands, and one on his side. On the insides of his hands, and on the upper sides of his feet, were hard, round, black substances, representing the heads of nails; and on the back of his hands, and the soles of his feet, projecting acuminated substances, which bent round like clenched nails. In his side was a wound, three fingers long. From all these, blood and a watery substance flowed occasionally; and he experienced continual, and sometimes exquisite, pain from them. When he descended from the mountain, he, with some hesitation, related the vision to a few trusty friends.

His wounds he concealed, as much as possible, during his life. He languished two years, and died. After his death, more than fifty persons examined these wounds, and found them real, among whom were some cardinals. Alexander IV., the Roman pontiff, in preaching before the brethren, when Bonaventura was present, declared that he had seen those wounds on Francis, previously to his death. *Tr.*] The Dominicans formerly opposed this fable openly: but being restrained by the bulls of the pontiffs, they now ridicule it only in private. The Franciscans, on the contrary, have not ceased to trumpet it. That St. Francis had these *Stigmata*, or appearances of the five wounds of Christ, on his body, I do not doubt; for the fact is attested by witnesses sufficiently numerous and competent. But undoubtedly St. Francis himself, who was peculiarly superstitious, inflicted those wounds upon his own person, in order to be like to Christ, and to bear in his own body a perpetual memento of his sufferings. For it was customary in that age for those who wished to appear more holy and devout than common, to mark themselves with such *Stigmata*, so that they might always have before their eyes something like a picture of the death of Christ. The words of St. Paul, *Gal. vi. 17.* [*I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus,*] were understood, in that ignorant age, to have reference to such a custom. And from the *Acta Sanctorum*, and other monuments of this and the following century, a long catalogue of such *stigmatized saints* might be drawn up. Nor is this superstition entirely done away in our own age. The Franciscan friars,

approved and commended, an impious piece stuffed with monstrous and absurd tales, entitled, *The book of the conformities of St. Francis with Jesus Christ*; which was published in 1385, by *Bartholomew Albizi*, a Franciscan of Pisa, with the applause of his order. This infamous book, in which the Son of God himself is put upon a level with a vile and miserable man, is an eternal monument of the impious arrogance and religious stupidity of the Franciscan order, and of the consummate indiscretion of the pontiffs in extolling and recommending those friars.¹

§ 22. Not a whit wiser than these Franciscans, who remained obedient to the pontiffs, were those other Franciscans who insisted on observing their rule perfectly, and who resisted the pontiffs that mitigated it: I refer to the *Fratricelli*, their *Tertiarii*, or *Beghards*, and to the *Spirituals*, who resided principally in France, and embraced the opinions of *Peter John Oliva*. These Franciscans, for a long time, caused great disturbance both in church and state, and gave the pontiffs incredible trouble. Near the beginning of the century, in the years 1306 and 1307, the less austere Franciscans in Italy raged violently against the more strict, or the *Fratricelli*, who had withdrawn from the community.² Such of these as were able to escape the fury of their enemies, in the year 1307 fled into France, and connected themselves with the *Spirituals*, or the followers of *Peter John Oliva* in Provence, who had likewise receded from the body. Soon after this, the whole Franciscan order in France, Italy, and other countries, was divided into two parties: one of which being attached to the rigid poverty of *St. Francis*, was called that of the *Spirituals*; the other, that was disposed to have the rules of their founder mitigated, was called the *Brethren of the community*. The latter was the larger and more powerful, and laboured to the utmost to suppress the former, which was yet in its infancy, and making way by degrees. But the seceders would rather endure everything than abandon the injunctions of their founder, and return to the community. In the year 1310, the pontiff, *Clement V.*, called the leaders of both parties to his court, and made great efforts to terminate the

finding these marks upon the body of their deceased founder, and wishing to make him appear privileged above all men, invented this fable of Christ's miraculously transferring his wounds to *St. Francis*. [A curious account of similar manifestations in 1847, in the Tyrol, may be found in *Allies's Journal in France*. London, 1849. p. 127, &c. *Ed.*]

¹ Concerning *Albizi* and his book, see *Lu. Wadding's Annales Minorum*, ix. 168, &c. *Jo. Alb. Fabricius, Biblioth. Latina Medii Ævi*, i. 131. *Jo. Geo. Schellhorn, Amœnitates Litterar.* iii. 160. *Peter Bayle, Dictionnaire*, t. ii. art. *François*; and *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* t. i. art. *Albizi*, p. 217. Extracts from this book, which is called the *Alcoran of the Franciscans*, were made by *Erasmus Alberus*, and have been

often printed in Latin, French, and German; the second German edition was printed, *Amsterd.* 1734, 2 vols. 8vo. The French and Latin editions are ornamented with elegant engravings. [¹The *conformities* between Christ and *St. Francis* are carried to forty in the book of *Albizi*, but they are multiplied to 4,000 by a Spanish monk of the order of Observants, in a book published at Madrid, in the year 1661, under the following title, *Prodigiosum Naturæ et Gratæ Portentum*. The *conformities* mentioned by *Pedro de Alva Astorga*, the austere author of this most ridiculous book, are whimsical beyond expression. See the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, iv. 318.² *Macl.*]

² *Wadding's Ann. Minor.* t. vi. 91, ad ann. 1307.

schism. But the business advanced very slowly, in consequence of the inflexibility of the parties, and the great number of their mutual accusations. In the meanwhile, the *Spirituals* of Tuscany, without waiting for the decision of the pontiff, chose for themselves general and inferior officers; but the French, being nearer the pontiff, waited patiently for his determination.¹

§ 23. After various deliberations, *Clement V.*, in the general council of Vienne, A.D. 1312, published the celebrated law or bull, called, from its first words, *Exivi de paradiso*; ² in which he endeavoured to end the discord by taking a middle course. For he made a number of concessions to the *Spirituals*; and, in particular, commanded the Franciscans to profess, as their rule prescribed, *the greatest and most perfect poverty, renouncing all property either common or personal*; and allowing only the *simple use*, and that *narrow, meagre, and poor*, of the necessities of life. On the other hand, he allowed the Franciscans, if they lived in places where it was very difficult to obtain subsistence by begging, to provide themselves with *granaries* and store-cellars, and to collect and lay up in them what they procured by begging: and the officers and overseers of the order were to judge when and where such *granaries* and *cellars* were necessary. Moreover, in order to satisfy the *Brethren of the community*, he condemned some of the opinions of *Peter John Oliva*.³ This decision quieted the commotions in France, though with difficulty, and only for a short time; but it had no effect to allay the heated passions of the Tuscan and Italian *Spirituals*, many of whom, not feeling themselves safe in Italy, in the year 1313, emigrated to Sicily, where they were kindly received by *Frederic* the king, and by the nobles, and the bishops.⁴

§ 24. After the death of *Clement V.*, the tumult in France, which had been stilled by his authority, broke out anew. For, in the year 1314, one hundred and twenty of the *Spirituals* drove the *Brethren of the community* out of the monasteries of Narbonne and Beziers by force and arms; elected new presiding officers; and (what greatly enhanced the difficulty of this already inveterate contest) cast off their former garments, and assumed such as were short, narrow, and ill-shaped. Many more from other provinces joined with them; and the citizens of Narbonne, among whom *Oliva* was buried, undertook to defend this company. *John XXII.* being placed at the head of the church, attempted, in the year 1317, to apply a remedy to the inveterate evil. In the first place, by a special law, he ordered the extirpation of the *Fratricelli*, and their *Tertiarii*, or the *Beguins* or *Beghards*, who were distinct from the *Spirituals*.⁵ Soon after, he

¹ Wadding's *Annales Minor.* vi. 172, ad ann. 1310. Eccard's *Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi*, i. 1480. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 129. Echard's *Script. Prædicator.* i. 508, 509.

² This law is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* among the *Clementinæ*, [lib. v.] tit. xi. *de verbor. significat.* t. ii. p. 1098, ed. Böhmer.

³ Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* vi. 194, 197, 199.

⁴ Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* vi. 213, 214. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 152, 165. Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de novis error.* i. 392, &c.

⁵ This law is called *Sancta Romana*, &c., and is extant among the *Extravagantes*

admonished the king of Sicily to expel all the *Spirituals* residing in his dominions.¹ And lastly, he called the French *Spirituals* before him at Avignon, and exhorted them to return to their duty, and in particular to lay aside their *short, strait habits, and their small hoods*. Most of them complied; but the head of the company, brother *Bernard Delitiosi*, with twenty-four others, boldly refused to submit to the requisition. For these men affirmed, that the rule of *St. Francis* was the same as the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*; and, therefore, that the power of the pontiffs was not adequate to change it. Consequently, the pontiffs did wrong by allowing the Franciscans to have *granaries and cellars*; and they did wrong by prohibiting such garments as *St. Francis* had prescribed. Against these pertinacious friars *John* directed proceedings² as against *heretics*. And truly they were the worst of *heretics*, for they opposed the majesty and power of the Roman pontiff. The head of the party, brother *Delitiosi*, who was sometimes called *Delli Consi*, was confined in a prison, where he ended his days. Four others were burned at the stake, by order of the Inquisitors, at Marseilles, in the year 1318.³

§ 25. These unhappy monks, and afterwards many more, who were cut off in this lamentable contest, were punished merely for disregarding the majesty of the pontiffs; for they considered the rule of their founder, *St. Francis*, as being dictated by God himself, and really the Gospel of *Christ*, to be placed above the pontiff's power. The controversy, considered in itself, was rather ridiculous than serious, and had no connexion with true religion. It related merely to two points: *first*, the form of the garments to be worn by Franciscans; and, *secondly*, their *granaries and cellars*. The *Brethren of the community*, that is, the laxer Franciscans, wore long, loose, and good habits, with ample hoods or coverings for their head: but the *Spirituals* wore strait, short, sordid, and vile garments, with small hoods, because such a dress, they said, was prescribed for the fraternity in the rule of *St. Francis*, which it was not lawful for any mortal to alter. In the next place, the *Brethren of the community*, in the seasons of harvest and vintage, laid up corn in their granaries, and wine in their cellars: but the *Spirituals* contended that this was inconsistent with genuine mendicity, and the profession made by poor *Minorites*. And hence *John* published, in this very year, a long epistle, in which he directs that both questions be left to the judgment and discretion of the superiors of the order.⁴

§ 26. The effects of this epistle and of other decrees were prevented by the unseasonable and impious severity of *John XXII.*,

Johannis XXII. tit. vii. de religiosis domibus; in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* ii. 1112.

¹ Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* vi. 265, &c.

² [By the Inquisitors. *Tr.*]

³ Baluze, *Vite Pontif. Avenion.* i. 116, ii. 341, and *Miscellanea.* i. 195, 272. Wadding, *Annales Minor.* vi. 267, &c. 316, &c. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* v. p. 175. Martin of Fulda, in *Eccard's Corpus Histor.*

Medii Ævi, i. 1725, and Herm. Coerner, *ibid.* ii. 981. *Histoire générale de Lanquedoc*, iv. 179, &c. Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de novis error.* i. 294.

⁴ It is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Extravagant. Johannis XXII.* [tit. xiv. cap. 1.] *de verbor. signif.* Add Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* vi. 273, and others.

which even his friends detested. For the *Spirituals* and their supporters, exasperated at the cruel death of their brethren, maintained that *John XXII.* had rendered himself unworthy of the pontifical office, and an *Antichrist*, by the slaughter of those holy men: the four brethren burnt at Marseilles they honoured as martyrs, paying religious veneration to their bones and ashes: and they contended, far more earnestly than before, against the long garments, the large hoods, and the *granaries* and *cellars*. On the other hand, the *Inquisitors*, by direction of the pontiff, seized all the persons of this description on whom they could lay their hands, and committed them to the flames without mercy, immolating them to the pontifical indignation. From this time onward, therefore, not only in France, but also in Italy, Spain, and Germany, an immense number of the defenders of the rule of *St. Francis*, *Fratricelli*, *Beghards*, and *Spirituals*, were cruelly put to death.¹

§ 27. This conflagration was taking in a wider field, and involving the whole Franciscan order, in the year 1321, when to the former points of controversy a new one was added respecting the poverty of *Christ* and his apostles. A *Beguine*, or one professed in the *third order* of *St. Francis*, being apprehended this year at Narbonne, taught, among other things, that *Christ and his apostles possessed nothing by way of property or dominion, either in common or individually*. This opinion, *John de Belna*, an Inquisitor belonging to the order of Dominicans, pronounced to be an error: but *Berengarius Taloni*, a Franciscan, maintained it to be sound and consonant to the epistle of *Nicolas III.*, *Exiit qui seminat*. The judgment of the former was approved by the Dominicans; the decision of the latter was maintained by the Franciscans. The subject being brought before the pontiff, he endeavoured to quiet the new controversy by careful management; and, therefore, called to his counsel *Ubertinus de Casalis*, a Franciscan of great reputation, and a patron of the *Spirituals*. He answered equivocally, and by making distinctions. Yet the pope and the cardinals thought his decision calculated to end the controversy. The pontiff therefore ordered both the parties to acquiesce under it, and to be silent and observe moderation.²

§ 28. But the impassioned minds of the Dominicans and Franciscans could not be brought to submit to this mandate. *John* therefore, in the year 1322, allowed the controversy to be brought up again; and he laid the following question before the most celebrated divines, and especially those of Paris, for their decision: *Whether*

¹ I have in my hands, in addition to the other documents serving to elucidate the difficult history of this persecution, the *Martyrology of the Spirituals and Fratricelli*, which was exhibited to the Inquisition at Carcassone, A.D. 1454, which contains the names of 113 persons, of both sexes, who, from the year 1318, to the time of Innocent VI., [A.D. 1352–1362,] expiated in the flames their zeal for the poverty of *St. Francis*, in France

and Italy. To these, so many others might be added from historians and documents, printed and manuscript, that I suppose a catalogue of two thousand such martyrs might be made out. See the *Codex Inquis. Tolosane*; published by Limborch, pp. 298, 302, 319, 327, &c.

² Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* vi. 3. 1. Steph. Baluze, *Miscellanea*, i. 307. Gerh. Du Bois, *Hist. Eccles. Paris.* p. 611, &c.

those were heretics who affirmed that Jesus Christ and his apostles held no property, either in common or as individuals? The Franciscans, who this year held their convention at Perugia, having had previous notice of the business, unanimously decided, that persons making such an assertion were no heretics, but held a doctrine that was true and holy, and accordant with the decisions of the pontiffs and they appointed a man of distinguished learning, belonging to their order, brother *Bonagratia* of Bergamo, who was also called *Boncortese*,¹ to repair to Avignon, and there defend this decision of the whole order against all opponents. *John XXII.* was exceedingly offended at this, and published an ordinance, in the month of November, in which he espoused the opposite doctrine to that of the Franciscans, and pronounced those to be *heretics* who should pertinaciously maintain that *Christ and his apostles possessed no property, either in common or individually, and had not the right of selling and giving away what they possessed.* A little after, he proceeded still further; and in an ordinance, drawn up in the month of December, he exposed the vanity and futility of the arguments, commonly drawn from a bull of *Nicolas III.*, proving a transfer of the dominion of the Franciscan possessions to the church of Rome, leaving only the simple use, without any ownership to the brethren: for it was utterly impossible, in regard to things which are consumed by the use of them, to separate the right of use from the right of property or dominion. He also solemnly renounced all property in the Franciscan effects reserved by the former pontiffs to the Roman church, with the exception of their churches and some other things; and dismissed the officers or purveyors, who had hitherto received the revenues and administered the affairs of the order in the name of the Roman church, and repeated all the laws and constitutions of his predecessors on this subject.²

§ 29. These pontifical ordinances destroyed the very citadel of the Franciscan order, that boasted *expropriation*, in which *Francis* placed the highest glory of his fraternity. Hence the Franciscans most resolutely opposed the pontiff; and in particular, brother *Bonagratia*, the legate of the order, publicly maintained in the court of the pontiff, A.D. 1323, that the last ordinance of *John* was repugnant both to human and divine law, and announced an appeal.³ The pontiff, on the other hand, threw this bold defender of Franciscan poverty into prison; and, by a new edict, at the close of the year, commanded that all persons should be accounted *heretics* and

¹ I notice this circumstance, because some valuable writers have made them two persons.

² These constitutions are inserted in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* among the *Extravagant's* [*Johannis XXII.*] tit. xiv. *de verb. significat.* cap. ii. iii. p. 1121, &c. On the subject itself, the most important writer to be consulted is the contemporary author, *Alvarus Pelagius, de Planctu Ecclesiæ*, l. ii.

c. 60, &c. p. 145, &c., and next to him, *Lu. Wadding, Ann. Minor.* vi. 394, &c. Both censure *John.* *Boulay's Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 191, &c.

³ *Wadding's Ann. Minor.* vii. 2, 22, &c. *Alvar. Pelagius, de Planctu Ecclesiæ*, l. ii. p. 167. *Trithemius, Annales Hirsang.* ii. 157. *Theod. de Niem, in Eccard's Corpus Histor. Mediæ Evæ*, i. 1491, &c.

corruptors of religion, who should teach that Christ and his apostles possessed no property, either in common or as individuals.¹ And as this edict did not terrify the Franciscans, and many of them poured forth reproaches and maledictions against *John*, another bull, still more violent, was issued towards the close of the year 1324; in which the pontiff defended his former decrees, and pronounced the doctrine of an *expropriation by Christ and his apostles* to be *pestiferous, erroneous, damnable, blasphemous, and opposed to the catholic faith*; and ordered, that all who professed it should be accounted *heretics, contumacious, and rebels against the church*.² The effect of this edict was, that many, who continued to assert that Christ and his apostles were such mendicants as Francis required his brethren to be, were seized and committed to the flames by the enemies of the Franciscans, the Dominican Inquisitors. And the history of France, Spain, Italy, and Germany shows, that examples of this very great cruelty were not few, in this and the following century.

§ 30. *John* strenuously prosecuted this business in the subsequent years. As the whole controversy seemed to originate from the books of *Peter John Oliva*, in the year 1325, he declared the *Postilla*, and the other writings of *Oliva*, to be heretical.³ He next summoned to Avignon the more learned and eminent Franciscans, whose tongues and pens he feared, and detained them at his court. And lastly, he employed his friends the Dominicans everywhere as sentinels; lest the Franciscans, who were full of indignation and wrath, should plot some mischief. The general of the order, *Michael Cæsenas*, lived in Italy, and did not disguise his hatred of the pontiff. Him, therefore, he summoned to Avignon, in the year 1327, and deprived him of his office.⁴ This use of force, tempered with policy, only inflamed still more the minds of the Franciscans who were contending for absolute poverty. And a fierce contest breaking out between *John XXII.* and the emperor *Lewis* of Bavaria, several of the leading Franciscans, among whom *Marsilius* of Padua, and *John* of Jandunum, or Genoa, were pre-eminent, fled to the emperor, and under his protection opposed most violently in their writings, not only *John* himself, but generally the power and authority of the Roman pontiffs.⁵

¹ Wadding, vii. 36. The continuator of de Nangis, in D'Achery's *Spicileg.* iii. 83. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 205. The Benedictine *Gallia Christiana*, ii. 1515, &c.

² This constitution, as well as the two above mentioned, is [in the *Corpus Juris Canon.*] among the *Extravagantes* [*Johan. XXII.*] tit. xiv. *de verbor. signif.* [cap. v.] The last one is strenuously opposed, at great length, by Wadding, vii. 36, which was not to be expected in a man so immoderately devoted to the pontiffs.

³ Wadding's *Annales Minor.* vii. 47. Jo. George Eecard's *Corpus Histor. Mediæ Ævi*, i. 592 and 1491. [And indeed *Oliva* has, in his *Postilla* on the Apocalypse, propo-

sitions which the pope must have accounted worthy of condemnation. He understood by the whore of Babylon, the Roman church; by Antichrist, the pope; by the angel flying through the midst of heaven with the everlasting gospel, St. Francis; and by an evangelical life, a life void of all property, common or personal, and in which a person has the mere use of things. *Schl.*]

⁴ See Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* vii. 69, 74.

⁵ Lu. D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, iii. 85, &c. *Bullarium Roman.* vi. 167. Edm. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* ii. 695, 704. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 216. Particularly noted is the performance of Marsilius of

Their example was followed by *Michael Cæsenas*, *William Occam*, a man of extraordinary subtlety and acuteness, and by brother *Bona-gratia*, of Bergamo, who in the year 1328 proceeded by sea from Avignon, first into Italy, to the emperor, and thence to Munich. These were succeeded by others, in great numbers; among whom were *Berengarius*, *Francis de Esculo*, and *Henry de Halem*, men eminent for erudition and talents.¹ All these composed eloquent and

Padua, a professor at Vienna, entitled, *Defensor pacis pro Ludovico Bavarico adversus usurpatam Romani pontificis jurisdictionem*; published with other works, and also separately, by Fran. Gomarus, Francf. 1592, 8vo.

¹ Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* vii. 81. Martene's *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* ii. 749, 757, 781, &c. Trithemius, *Annales Hirsaug.* ii. 167. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 217. Eccard's *Corpus Hist. Mediæ Ævi.* ii. 1034. Baluze, *Miscellanea*, i. 293, 315, &c. Concerning these men, the reader may consult the compilers of Catalogues and *Bibliothecas* of the Ecclesiastical writers.—[Michael Cæsenas, D.D., was an Italian Franciscan, of the province of Bologna, and created general of the order A.D. 1316. He strenuously enforced the discipline of the order; presided in the chapter held at Perugia, A.D. 1322; was summoned to Avignon in 1327, imprisoned, and the next year ordered to trial for the decision in the chapter at Perugia. He appealed from the sentence, and, fearing the consequences, privately escaped from Avignon. The pope now excommunicated him, and deposed him from the generalship of his order, appointing cardinal Bertrand to succeed him. Michael appealed to a council, joined the emperor Lewis, and strenuously resisted the pontiff. In 1329, Bertrand called a chapter of the Franciscans at Paris, which deposed Michael, and elected Gerard to succeed him. He now openly accused the pope of heresy; and the latter anathematized him in 1330; and the year following, the convention of his order at Perpignan declared him a heretic. He died A.D. 1343, retaining his rancour against the pope to the last. His works are, several tracts, letters, and protestations against John XXII., commentaries on Ezekiel, and on the four books of Sentences, and some sermons.—Marsilius Patavinus was born at Padua, studied law at Orleans, was one of the most distinguished philosophers and jurists of his age, and became a counsellor of Lewis of Bavaria. He composed his celebrated *Defensor pacis pro Ludovico*, &c., in three books, A.D. 1324; in which he asserts the superiority of the emperors over the popes, even in the external affairs of the church: depicts the pride, ambition, and luxury of the court of Rome, in vivid colours; and shows that the bishops of

Rome have no more authority, by divine right, over the whole church than any other bishops. In 1327, John XXII. excommunicated him; and he died the year following. Besides his *Defensor pacis*, he left tracts on the power of the emperors in matrimonial causes, and on the transfer of the empire.—John de Janduno, or of Genoa, was a doctor at Perugia, and a distinguished theologian and philosopher, who was excommunicated at the same time with Marsilius. In 1338, he published his tract, *Pro Superioritate Imperatoris in temporalibus*. He also wrote commentaries on various works of Aristotle.—William Occam was an Englishman, born [at Ockham] in Surrey, a disciple of Duns Scotus; was called *Doctor Singularis*, and *Venerabilis Inceptor*, and belonged to the order of Franciscans. In the beginning of this century, he occupied a theological chair in the university of Paris; dissented from his master Scotus, and became the head of the sect of Nominalists. He espoused the cause of Philip the Fair against the pontiff, in a tract on the point in controversy. In 1322 he was made provincial of his order for England; attended the general chapter at Perugia the same year, and embraced strongly the decision of that convention respecting the poverty of Christ and his apostles. This doctrine he now openly preached everywhere, and particularly at Bologna. The next year the pope commanded him to be silent, on pain of excommunication. He retired to France, and remained secure in silence till 1328, when he drew his pen, in favour of Lewis, against the pope; espoused the cause of Peter de Corbario, the antipope; wrote keenly against the ambition and tyranny of John XXII., and maintained that the emperor was subject to none but God in temporal things. He was therefore excommunicated by John in 1330; and fled to the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, who received him kindly, made him his privy counsellor; and he remained all the rest of his life at that court, strenuously and learnedly defending the emperor's cause against the pope. He said to the emperor, *Tu me defendas gladio; et ego te defendam calamo*. He died A.D. 1347; some say, later. His numerous works are, Questions and Commentaries on the four

severe treatises, in which they vindicated the rule of their founder, and depreciated the power and majesty of the pontiffs. *Occam* excelled the rest, whose *Dialogues* and other writings were eagerly read, and handed down to posterity, and have inflicted a mortal wound on the pontifical supremacy.

§ 31. The emperor, *Lewis* of Bavaria, feeling grateful to these his defenders, made the cause of the Franciscans against *John XXII*, his own; and he not only espoused their cause, but likewise their opinion respecting the mendicity of Christ and the apostles. For among the pernicious errors, for which he publicly accused *John* of heresy, and removed him from the pontificate, the chief was his opinion respecting *Christ's* poverty, or that he was not destitute of all property; than which, the emperor supposed, there could be no worse heresy.¹ The emperor, moreover, afforded to all the *Fratricelli*, the *Beghards*, the *Beguins*, and the *Spirituals*, who were contending against the pontiff, a secure asylum in Germany against the Inquisitors. Hence, during his reign, Germany abounded in herds of mendicants; and in nearly all the provinces and cities houses were erected for *Beghards* and *Beguins*, that is, for persons professing what was called the *third rule* of St. Francis, and placing the highest virtue of a Christian man in a voluntary destitution of all things, or in mendicity.² On the contrary, the *Dominicans*, who were the enemies of the Franciscans and the friends of the pontiff, the emperor treated with great severity, banishing them from many cities with disgrace.³

§ 32. This great, and, to the pontiffs, formidable controversy began to subside in the year 1329. For in this year the pontiff directed the convention of the Franciscan order to be held at Paris; and by means of cardinal *Bertrand*, who presided in the assembly, and was assisted by the doctors of Paris, the pontiff so far soothed the majority of the brethren, that they ceased from supporting *Michael Cesenas* and his followers; allowed another general to be chosen in his place, *Gerard Odilonis*; acknowledged *John* to be the true and legitimate pontiff; and terminated the contest respecting the poverty of Christ, in such a way as not to impeach the constitutions and decrees of *Nicolas III.* and *John XXII.*⁴ But great numbers in

books of Sentences; several works on logic, metaphysics, and philosophy; a Dialogue between a clergyman and a soldier on ecclesiastical and secular power; a tract on the jurisdiction of the emperors in matrimonial causes; eight questions on the power and majesty of the pontiffs; *Centiloquium Theologicum*, or 100 propositions, on nearly all points in speculative theology; a Dialogue between a master and his scholar, in three parts (a large work relating chiefly to the constitution and discipline of the church, in opposition to the pontifical claims); a compendium of the errors of *John XXII.*; *Opus nonaginta dierum* (against *John's* positions in regard to the

Franciscans); *Quodlibeta VII.*; a tract on the Eucharist; another on the body of Christ; a tract against *Benedict XII.*, and a letter to the Franciscans. *Tr.*]

¹ See the *Processus Ludovici contra Johannem*, A.D. 1328, die 12 Dec. datus; in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, ii. 522, &c. and his *Appellatio*; *ibid.* p. 494, &c.

² I have in my possession many proofs of this fact, which were never published.

³ Mart. Diefenbach. *de Mortis Genere*, quo *Henricus VII.* obiit, p. 145; and others. *Eccard's Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi*, i. 2103. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 220, &c.

⁴ Wadding's *Annal. Minor.* vii. 94. D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, iii. 91.

Germany, Spain, and Italy, could not be persuaded to admit this pacification. After the death of *John, Benedict XII.* and *Clement VI.* endeavoured to heal the schism by mildness and clemency towards those Franciscans who had greater veneration for the rule of their founder than for the decrees of the pontiffs: nor were they unsuccessful. For many returned to the fraternity from which they had receded; and among these were some of the most inveterate opposers of *John*; such as *Francis de Esculo*, and others.¹ Those who would not return, did not insult the pontiffs, but lived quietly in obedience to the laws of their founder; nor would they hold intercourse with the *Fratricelli*, and their *Tertiarii*, in Italy, Spain, and Germany, who openly contemned the authority of the pontiffs.²

§ 33. The Germans, whom the emperor *Lewis* protected, resisted longer than the others. But at his death, A.D. 1348, the golden age of the Franciscan *Spirituals*, and of the *Beghards* or *Tertiarii* connected with them, expired in Germany. For *Charles IV.*, who had been created emperor by the influence of the pontiff, in 1345, and now succeeded to the empire, seconded the desires and wishes of the church, supported by edicts and by arms the Inquisitors, who were sent by the pontiff against his enemies, and allowed them to seize and put to death all whom they could. They accordingly proceeded, first in the provinces of Magdeburg, Bremen, Thuringia, Saxony, and Hesse, to extirpate all the *Beghards* and *Beguins*; that is, the associates or *Tertiarii* of those Franciscans who maintained that Christ and his apostles had no property. On learning this, *Charles IV.*, then residing at Lucca, in Italy, issued very severe mandates to all the princes in Germany, in the year 1369, to expel, and to aid the Inquisitors in extirpating, as enemies to the church and to the Roman empire, the *Beghards* and *Beguins*, or, as the emperor himself interprets the name, the *voluntary mendicants*.³ By another edict, a little after, he gave the houses of the *Beghards* to the tribunal of the *Inquisition*, ordering them to be converted into prisons for *heretics*; but the houses of the *Beguins* he ordered to be sold, and the proceeds to be distributed equally among the *Inquisitors*, the poor, and the magistrates of the towns.⁴ The *Beghards* being reduced to extremities by these mandates of the emperor, and by the edicts

¹ Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de novis erroribus*, i. 343. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 281. Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* vii. 313.

² Wadding's *Ann.* vii. 116, 126. Argentre, l. c. i. 343, &c.

³ In the German, *Die wilgen Armen*.

⁴ I have in my possession this edict, with other laws of Charles IV., relating to this subject, and also many of the pontifical constitutions, and other documents which illustrate this affair, and which, in my judgment, are not unworthy of publication. Charles IV., in his edicts and laws, accurately describes the persons whom he calls *Beghards* and *Beguins*; so that there can

be no doubt we are to understand them to be Franciscan Tertiaries of the class that disagreed with the pontiffs. *They are* (says the emperor, in his edict dated at Lucca, on the 15th of the Kalends of June, A.D. 1369,) *a pernicious sect, who pretend to a sacrilegious and heretical poverty, and make vows or professions, that they will possess nothing, and ought not, either individually or in common; (this is the poverty of the Franciscan institute, which John XXII. so strenuously opposed:) which they also exhibit externally by their vile garments.* (Such was the practice of the *Spirituals* and of their associates.)

of the pontiffs, fled into Switzerland, into the provinces along the Rhine, into Holland and Brabant, and also into Pomerania.¹ But there also the laws and mandates of the emperor, the decrees of the pontiffs, and the Inquisitors, followed them. And thus, under *Charles IV.*, the greatest part of Germany, with the exception of Switzerland, and the provinces adjacent to Switzerland, was purged of the rebellious Franciscans, as well the perfect sort as the imperfect, or *Beghards*.

§ 34. But neither edicts nor Inquisitors could entirely pluck up the roots of this inveterate evil and discord. For the wish to observe perfectly the rule of *St. Francis* was so deeply infixed in the minds of many of the brethren, that there were persons everywhere who either directly resisted the general of the order, or obeyed him with feelings of reluctance. In order, therefore, to satisfy both parties, the more lax, and the more rigid, various measures having been tried in vain, recurrence was had to a division of the order. Accordingly, in the year 1368, the general of the order gave liberty to *Paulutius Fulginas*, the leader of the more rigid Franciscans in Italy, and his associates, who were considerably numerous, to live detached from the rest of the brethren, and, according to their own customs and regulations, observing the rule of their founder more religiously and sacredly. To this party, gradually, came over such as remained, here and there, of the *Spirituals*, and of the followers of *Oliva*. And the number of the lovers of the severer discipline being increased, and the party extending itself over many provinces, the pontiffs sanctioned the association by their authority. Thus the Franciscan order was split into two sects, which have continued down to the present times, that of the *Conventual Brethren*, and the *Brethren of the observance*, or *regular observance*. The first name is given to those who have receded further from the literal sense of the rule of their founder, and who adopt the interpretation of it by the pontiffs; the latter name was given by the council of Constance to those who chose to follow the words of the rule, rather than the interpretation given to it.² But this reconciliation was rejected by the *Fratricelli* and their *Beghards*, who have been so often mentioned; and who, in this and the following century, did not cease to disturb the church in the march of Ancona, and in other places.

§ 35. In this century also there were new religious associations formed; of which some were of short continuance, and others acquired no great notoriety or fame. In the year 1367, *John Colombini*, a nobleman of Siena, instituted the order of the *Apostolic Clerks*; who were afterwards called *Jesuates*, because they pronounced so very frequently the name of *Jesus*. This order was confirmed by *Urban V.* in the year 1368; but it was abolished by *Clement IX.* in the seventeenth century, or A.D. 1668. Its members followed the

¹ This I learn from Odor. Raynald, *Anales Eccles.* ad ann. 1372, § 34, p. 513, and from the writings of Felix Malleolus, composed in the following century against the

Beghards in Switzerland.

² See Wadding's *Ann. Minorum*, viii. 209, 298, 326, 336; ix. 59, 65, 78, &c.

rule of *St. Augustine*; but they were not in holy orders, and only gave themselves to prayer, to pious offices, administering to the poor, and were themselves without property. They also prepared medicines, and administered them gratis among the needy.¹ But these regulations had been nearly abandoned when *Clement* dissolved the order.

§ 36. Not long after the commencement of the century, there arose at Antwerp the sect of the *Cellite Brethren and Sisters*; who were also called the *Brethren and Sisters of Alexius*, because they had *St. Alexius* for their patron saint. The name *Cellites* (*Cellite*) was derived from the *cells* in which they resided. As the priests in that age paid almost no attention to the sick and the dying, and wholly forsook and abandoned those infected by pestilential diseases, which then were very prevalent, certain pious persons at Antwerp formed themselves into an association for performing these pious offices. While the clergy, therefore, fled from the danger and hid themselves, these persons visited and comforted the sick, conversed and prayed with them when dying, attended to the burial of such as died with the plague, and accompanied their remains to the grave with mournful singing. From the last of these offices they acquired among the people the common appellation of *Lollhards*.² The

¹ Hip. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, iii. 411, &c. Francis Pagi, *Breviarium Pontif.* iv. 189, &c. Bonanni, and the other writers on the monastic orders.

² Concerning the name and the sect of the Lollhards, there are many disquisitions and narrations; but no one has so written on the subject as to deserve commendation, either for good faith, or for diligence and accuracy. On this subject, I make assertions with the more confidence, because I have made special investigations respecting the Lollhards, and have collected copious materials from printed and unprinted documents, from which a history of them might be compiled. Very many writers, both of the Lutheran and other communities, tell us that the Lollhards were a peculiar sect, dissenting on many points of religion from the Roman church; and that Walter Lollhard, who was burnt at Cologne in this century, was the father of it. From what source so many learned men could derive these facts, I confess myself unable to comprehend. They refer, indeed, to the authority of John Trithemius: but he certainly has left us nothing of the kind in his writings. I will endeavour, with all the brevity I can, to put the student of ecclesiastical history upon a right course of thinking on this subject.

The term *Lollhardus* or *Lullhardus*, or, as the ancient Germans wrote it, *Lollert*, or *Lullert*, is compounded of the old German word *lullen*, *lollen*, or *lallen*, and the well-known termination *hard*, which is subjoined

to so many German words. *Lollen* or *lullen* signifies to sing with a low voice. It is still used in this sense by the English, who say, to *lull asleep*; that is, to sing any one into a slumber, with a sweet and slender voice. See Francis Junius, *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, published by Edward Lye, Oxon, 1743, fol. on the word *Lollard*. The word is also used in the same sense by the Flemings, the Swedes, and other nations; as their *dictionaries* will show. Among the Germans, both the signification and the sound have undergone some change. For they pronounce it *lallen*; and denote by it, to utter indistinctly, to stammer. A Lollhard, therefore, is a *singer*, or one who sings much and often. But as the word *beggen*, which signified in general to *beg earnestly* for any thing, was transferred to religious supplications or prayers addressed to God, and thus came to denote, in its more limited sense, to *pray earnestly to God*; so also the verb *lollen* or *lullen* was transferred to sacred singing, and in its limited sense, denoted, to *sing sacred songs*. In the vulgar language of the old Germans, therefore, a Lollhard was a man who was continually praising God with sacred songs, or was singing hymns. The import of the word was most accurately apprehended and expressed by a writer of that age, named Hocsemius, a canon of Liege, in his *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*, lib. i. cap. 31, (in Jo. Chapeville, *Gesta Pontificum Tungrensiū et Leodiensium*, ii. 350, &c.) who says: *In the same year*

example of these good people was followed by many others; and in a short time, over the greater part of Germany and the Netherlands,

(1309) *certain strolling hypocrites, who were called Lollhards, or praisers of God, (qui Lollhardi sive Deum laudantes vocabantur,) deceived some women of quality in Hainault and Brabant.* And because those who praised God, generally did it in verse, hence, in the style of the middle ages, *to praise God*, was the same as *to sing*; and the persons who praised God, were religious singers, who continually celebrated the divine majesty and goodness in sacred hymns. Moreover, as praying and singing were the most manifest external indications of piety, therefore all who affected more than ordinary piety and devotion, and of course praised God and prayed to him more than others, were in the popular language called Lollhards. Thus this term acquired the same import with the term Beghard, or denoted a person distinguished for piety. And these two words are used as synonymous in the ancient writings of the eleventh and following centuries; so that the same persons are at one time called Beghards, and at another Lollhards. This might be proved, unanswerably, by numerous examples; and is sufficiently manifest from the writings of Felix Malleolus alone, against the Beghards. There were then, as many species of Lollhards as there were of Beghards. Those whom the monks now call Lay Brothers were formerly called Lollard Brothers; as is well observed by Barthol. Schobinger, on Joach. Vadianus *de Collegiis Monasterisque Germanie veteris*, l. i. p. 24. (in Goldast, *Scriptores Rerum Alemannicarum*, t. iii.) *The Brethren of the free spirit*, of whom we have already spoken, were by some called Beghards, and by others Lollhards. The disciples of Gerhard Groote, or the *priests of common life*, were very often called Lollhard Brethren. The honest Walter, who was burnt at Cologne, and whom so many of the learned improperly regard as the founder of the sect of Lollhards, was by some called a Beghard, by others a Lollhard, and by others a *Fratricellus*. The Franciscan *Tertiarii*, who distinguished themselves above the common people by their prayers and other religious observances, are often designated by the term Lollhards. But especially were the Cellite Brethren, or the Alexians, whose piety was so conspicuous, as soon as they appeared in Belgium, near the beginning of this century, designated by the common people with the familiar appellation of Lollhards. In this case, however, there was a special reason for the people to bestow on them this name. For they attended to their graves those who died of

the pestilence, singing in a low voice solemn funeral dirges, and were therefore public singers. Out of many testimonies, I will adduce only some from Jo. Bapt. Gramaye, a man well versed in the history of his country. In his *Antwerpia*, l. ii. c. vi. p. 16, he says: *The Alexians who employed themselves about funerals, had their rise at Antwerp; where, soon after the year 1300, some honest and pious laymen associated together; and were called, from their frugality and their unassuming and plain manner of life, Matemanni; and from their devotedness to funerals, Lollhards (a funerum obsequiis, Lollhardi); from their cells, Cellite Brethren.* In his *Lozanium*, p. 18, b, which is in his *Antiquit. Belgica*, published splendidly in fol., Louvain, 1708, he says: *The Alexians, who took the charge of funerals as a business, began to appear. They were laymen, that devoted themselves to works of mercy, and were then called Lollhards and Matemans. Their attention to the care of the sick, the delirious, and the dead, both in public and in private, was pleasing to all.* This learned author tells us, that he transcribed a part of these facts from an ancient Flemish diary, written in rhyme. Hence, in the *Annals of Holland and Utrecht*, (in Ant. Matthæus, *Analecta Veter. Aevi*, i. 431,) we read: *Die Lollardtjes die brochten de dooden by een.* [i. e. *the Lollards, who collected the dead bodies.* Maccl.] which Matthæus thus explains: *The managers of funerals, and carriers of the dead, of whom there was a regular body, were vile, worthless fellows, who usually spoke in mournful tones, as if bewailing the dead. And hence the name of a street at Utrecht, in which most of them lived, was called (de Lollestract) the Lollard street.* Compare also the same *Analecta*, &c. ii. 345, 643. The same cause that changed the reputable appellation of Beghard into a term of reproach, effected a similar change in the name of Lollhard; namely, the fact, that among those persons who would be thought superior to others in piety, and who spent their time in prayer and praise, and religious exercises, base hypocrites were found, who pretended to piety, in order to conceal their vicious conduct and their absurd religious tenets. Especially after the rise of the *Alexiani*, or Cellites, the term Lollhard became reproachful and base. For the priests and monks being very inimical to this honest sort of people, studiously propagated injurious suspicions respecting them, and represented these Lollhards, who appeared so spotless and so benevolent, as in reality vile cha-

societies were formed of such *Lollhards*, of both sexes, who were supported partly by their own labour, and partly by the munificence of those whom they served, and of other pious persons. By the magistrates and citizens of the places where they lived these brethren and sisters were highly esteemed, on account of the kind offices which they performed for the sick and distressed. But the priests, whose reputation they injured not a little, and the mendicant monks, whose resources they diminished, persecuted them violently, and accused them before the pontiffs of many faults and of the most grievous errors: and in consequence of their exertions, the term *Lollhard*, which before implied no reproach, became a reproachful epithet, denoting one who conceals great vices and pernicious sentiments, under the mask of piety. But the magistrates, by their commendations and their testimony, supported the *Lollhards* against their rivals, and procured for them various decrees of the pontiffs, approving of their institution, exempting them from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, and subjecting them only to the bishops. Yet even this did not enable them to live in safety. Hence *Charles*, duke of Burgundy, obtained a decree from *Sixtus IV.*, in the year 1472, by which the *Cellites* or *Lollhards* were admitted among the religious orders, and were withdrawn even from the jurisdiction of the bishops: and *Julius II.*, in the year 1506, conferred on them still greater privileges. Many societies of their kind still exist at Cologne and in the cities of the Netherlands, though they have essentially departed from their ancient manner of life.¹

§ 37. Among the Greek writers the following were the most distinguished. *Nicephorus Callistus*, whose Ecclesiastical History has already been mentioned.² *Matthew Blastares*, who expounded and illustrated the ecclesiastical law of the Greek church.³ *Barlaam*, a strenuous defender of the cause of the Greeks against the Latins.⁴ *Gregory Acindynus*, who warmly opposed the sect of the Palamites, of which notice will be taken hereafter.⁵ *John Cantacuzenus*,

racters, infected with abominable principles, and addicted to vices and crimes. Thus gradually the term *Lollhard*, in its common application, came to designate one who conceals either heretical principles or vicious conduct under the mask of piety. It is therefore certain, that this appellation was not anciently appropriated to any one sect, but was common to all sects and persons, in whom impiety towards God and the church was supposed to be concealed under an external appearance of the contrary. [Dr. Maitland, *Eight Essays*, p. 203, thinks that the English Lollards derived their name from their attachment to the prophecies of one Reynhard Lollhardus, who may have been a German Lollard. *Ed.*]

¹ Besides many others who cannot be here cited, see *Ægid. Gelenius de admiranda sacra et civili Magnitudine urbis Coloniae*, lib. iii. syntagm. li. p. 534, &c. 598, 603, &c. Jo. Bapt. Gramaye, *Antiq.*

Belgiæ; Anton. Sanderus, *Brabantia et Flandria illustratæ*; Aub. Miræus, *Opera Diplomatica*; in many passages, and many other writers of those times. I will add, that those who were called Lollhards, were also called by many, in German, *die Nollbrüder*, from the obsolete word *Nollen*.

² [See above, c. i. § 1, note. *Tr.*]

³ [Matthew Blastares was a Greek monk and jurist, who flourished about 1335. His *Alphabeticon Canonum Syntagma*, or Alphabetical synopsis of the matter contained in the sacred canons, was published, Gr. and Lat., in Beveridge's *Pandectæ Canonum*, Oxon. 1672, t. ii. pt. ii. p. 1. His tract on matrimonial causes and questions, is extant, Gr. and Lat. in Leunclav. *Jus. Gr. Rom.* lib. viii. p. 478. He also translated the fictitious donation of Constantine into Greek. *Tr.*]

⁴ [See above, c. i. § 2, note. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Gregory Acindynus was a follower of

distinguished for the history he composed, and for his confutation of Mahumedanism.¹ *Nicephorus Gregoras*, who has left us a history of the Greek empire, and some other products of his genius.² *Theophanes*, bishop of Nice, who maintained the truth of Christianity against the Jews and other enemies of it.³ *Nilus Cabasilas*, *Nilus Rhodius*, and *Nilus Damyla*, all of whom zealously supported the cause of the Greeks against the Latins.⁴ *Philotheus*, who has left various tracts calculated to excite pious emotions.⁵ *Gregory Palamas*, of whom more will be said hereafter.⁶

Barlaam, and assisted him in the council of Constantinople against Palamas and the Hesychists; and, together with Barlaam, was laid under censure by that council. Not ceasing to harass the Hesychists, he was arraigned by the patriarch, A.D. 1341, and ordered to keep silence, or he would be excommunicated. In 1347, he was actually excommunicated; and afterwards lived in obscurity. His Iambic poem on the heresy of Gregory Palamas, is extant, Gr. and Lat., in Leo. Allat. *Gr. Orthod.* i. 756—770, and his two books, *de Essentia et Operatione Dei*, against Palamas, and others, were published, Gr. and Lat., by Gretser, Ingolst. 1616, 4to. *Tr.*]

¹ [See above, c. i. § 1, note. *Tr.*]

² [See above, c. i. § 1, note. *Tr.*]

³ [Theophanes, archbishop of Nice, flourished A.D. 1347, and wrote *Adversus Judæos libri ii.* also *Concordia Vet. et Novi Testam.* proving *Jesus* to be the Messiah; besides some Epistles. A full analysis of the two first works is given by Possevin, *Apparat.* ii. 470. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Nilus Cabasilas was archbishop of Thessalonica, under John Cantacuzenus, about 1340. His tract, *de Causis Divisionum in Ecclesia*; and another, *de Primatu Papæ*, have been repeatedly published, particularly by Salmasius, Gr. and Lat., with notes, subjoined to his work on the Primacy of the Pope, Leyden, 1645, 4to. He is reported to have written 49 books, *de Processione Sp. S. adversus Latinos*.—Nilus Rhodius was metropolitan of Rhodes, perhaps about A.D. 1360. He took sides with the Palamites against Barlaam; and wrote *Enarratio Synoptica de Sanctis et Ecumenicis Synodis IX*, which is extant in Justell's *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* ii. 1155.—Nilus Damyla was a native of Italy, a monk in Crete, a violent opposer of the Latins, and flourished A.D. 1400. His works, from which only extracts have been published, are, *de Ordine in Divina Triade*, *et de Processione Spir. S. Collectanea adversus eos qui contradicunt Spiritum S. non ex Patre, sed ex Patre et Filio procedere*; *de Damaso Papa et fide antiquæ Romæ*; and, *de Synodo duabus Photianis*: all of which exist in MS. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Philotheus was a Greek monk, prior

of the Laura of Mount Athos, metropolitan of Heraclea A.D. 1354; patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 1355; and died in 1371, greatly distinguished for reputed piety and for eloquence. His *Liturgia et Ordo instituendi Diaconum*, and his Eulogy on the hierarchs, Basil, Gregory Theologus, and John Chrysostom, are given in a Latin translation in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxvi. and the last, Greek and Latin, in Fronto Ducæus, *Auctuar. Patrum*, t. ii. His *Oratio de Cruce*, and *Oratio in Tertiam Sejunior. Dominicam*, Greek and Latin, are in Gretser, *de Cruce*, t. ii. He wrote 17 books, on Christ's transfiguration, in defence of Palamas against Barlaam; also discourses against Barlaam; a confession of faith; homilies on the Gospels for the year, and on all the saints; and some other things, which are preserved in manuscript. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Gregory Palamas, an Asiatic, educated at court, who renounced the world, gave up all his property, and became a monk. He spent 10 years at Mount Athos, and 10 more at Berrhæa; and then went to Thessalonica, to recover his health, injured by his austerities. He now became the successful leader of the monks against Barlaam for a series of years, and was much at court and in councils. In 1347 he was imprisoned by a faction, but soon afterwards liberated by another faction, and nominated, but not ordained, patriarch. About 1354, by order of the emperor Cantacuzenus, he was consecrated archbishop of Thessalonica, but the magistrates there would not admit him to his see, and he retired to Lemnos, where he was supported by the emperor's bounty. His works are, two orations on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, against the Latins; a refutation of the statements of John Veccus; *Prosopopeia*, or two judicial pleas of the body and the soul, each against the other; two orations on the transfiguration of Christ; besides some pieces never published.

Besides those hitherto mentioned, there were the following Greek writers in this century.

Haiton, or Aiton, an Armenian prince, who served long in the wars of Palestine against the Saracens, and then, about A.D. 1290, became a Præmonstratensian in

§ 38. Of the vast host of Latin writers, we shall select only the most eminent. Among the scholastic doctors, who united theology with philosophy, *John Duns Scotus*, the great antagonist of *Thomas*, and a Franciscan monk, holds the first rank; and, if deficient in candour and ingenuousness of mind, he certainly was second to none of his age in subtilty.¹ After him, the more distinguished in this

Cyprus, and spent his life in retirement and devotion. About 1307, while resident at Poitiers, in France, he dictated a history of the Tartars, their customs, and their wars, which Nicolaus Falconius translated from the French into barbarous Latin, entitled *Itinerarium et Flos Historiarum Orientis*; with an Appendix, entitled *Passagium Terræ Sanctæ*. It was printed repeatedly; e.g. by Reineccius, Helmst. 1585, and in Italian, Venice, 1553.

Georgius Lecapenus, a monk, in Thessaly, was intimate with Gregory Palamas, and flourished about 1354. He wrote *de Constructione Verborum*, published in Gr., Venice and Florence, 1526, 8vo; also many epistles, and grammatical works, which exist in manuscript.

Callistus, a monk of mount Athos, sent to court by his monastery, and made patriarch of Constantinople, by Cantacuzenus, A.D. 1354, retired after two years; again resumed the chair, and died on an embassy to the Serbian princess Elizabeth. To him is ascribed a homily on the exaltation of the cross, in Gretser *de Cruce*, ii. 1347, and some others, which exist in manuscript.

Demetrius Cydonius, a native of Constantinople, and one of the principal counsellors of Cantacuzenus. He retired with that emperor to a monastery; and afterwards, leaving Greece, studied theology and the Latin writers at Milan; and then, selling his property, spent his life in a monastery in Crete. He has left a tract on the execrable doctrines of Gregory Palamas; another on the Procession of the Holy Spirit; two deliberative orations on public political affairs; an oration on contempt of death; and an epistle to Barlaam, against the procession of the Spirit from the Son; all of which have been printed; as also his Greek translation of Richard's confutation of the Koran. He also translated into Greek St. Thomas's *Summa Theologiæ*, and some other of St. Thomas's works, as well as some of St. Anselm of Canterbury; which exist in manuscript.

John the Wise, surnamed Cyparissiota, of an uncertain age, but supposed to have flourished about 1360. His *Expositio materialiarum quæ de Deo a theologis dicuntur*, in x. decades, is extant in a Latin translation, *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxi. and two of his discourses, Greek and Latin, in Combefis, *Auctuar. Noviss.*

Mannel Caleca, a Greek, who is reported to have become a Dominican monk, and who lived about 1360. His four books against the Greeks, in regard to the procession of the Holy Spirit, in a Latin translation, are in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxvi. and his two tracts, one against the Palamites, and the other, *de Principiis Fidei Christianæ*, Greek and Latin, are in Combefis, *Auctuar. Noviss.*

Isaac Argyrus, a Greek monk, who flourished about 1373, whose *Computus* was published, Greek and Latin, by J. Christmann, Heidelb. 1611, 4to, and by Dionys. Petavius, *de Doctrina Temporum*, iii. 359.

Manuel II., Paleologus, created Cæsar A.D. 1384, and emperor A.D. 1391–1425. His works were published, Greek and Latin, by Leunclavius, Basil, 1578, 8vo, comprising one hundred precepts for the education of a prince; seven addresses to his son, on virtues and vices, and learning; two prolix morning prayers, and several other tracts.

Joseph, called Alshaher Biltabib, a native of Alexandria, and minister of the Catholic church of the Holy Virgin, A.D. 1390, and ordained a presbyter A.D. 1398. He translated paraphrastically nearly all the canons received by the Greek church into Arabic. The whole work, in manuscript, is in the Bodleian library. The canons of the first four general councils, Arabic and Latin, were printed in Beveridge's *Pandecta Canonum*, Oxon. 1671, ii. 681. *Tr.*]

¹ The works of Scotus were first published, accurately, in the 17th century, by Lu. Wadding, a very laborious man, Lyons, 1639, 12 vols. fol. See Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* i. 86, &c. but especially Wadding's *Annales Min. Fratr.* vi. 40, 107. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 70, &c. [John Duns Scotus was probably born about A.D. 1265; but whether in England, Scotland, or Ireland, is uncertain. He studied first in a Franciscan monastery, in Newcastle, and then at Merton College, Oxford, where he became a fellow, and, A.D. 1301, professor of theology. He greatly distinguished himself as a disputant, and was learned in philosophy, mathematics, civil and canon law, and theology. His lectures on the Sentences of Lombard were greatly admired, and very fully attended, by the 30,000 students then said to be at Oxford. They are since printed, with notes, and fill six folio volumes. In 1304 the general of his order com-

class were, *Durand* of St. Porçain, who attacked the received doctrine respecting the co-operation of God in human actions;¹ *Antony Andrea*;² *Hervæus Natalis*;³ *Francis Mayron*;⁴ *Thomas Bradwardine*, an acute and ingenious man;⁵ *Peter Aureolus*;⁶ *John Bacon*,⁷ *William Occam*;⁸ *Walter Burley*,⁹ *Peter de Alliaco*,¹⁰ *Thomas* of Stras-

manded him to remove to Paris, and there defend his doctrine of the immaculate conception of Mary, which he did with great success and applause. In 1308, his general sent him from Paris to Cologne, to defend his doctrine of Mary's sinless birth. He died soon after his arrival, Nov. 8, 1308, aged 43 years. His works embrace, besides his commentaries on Lombard's Sentences, commentaries on some works of Aristotle, and numerous tracts, theological, metaphysical, and philosophical. *Tr.*]

¹ See Jo. Launoi's tract, entitled *Syllabus Rationum, quibus Durandica causa defenditur*: Opp. t. i. *Gallia Christiana*, ii. 723. [Durand of St. Porçain, was born in the village of St. Porçain, in Auvergne, France; was a Dominican friar, and a distinguished theologian at Paris, called *Doctor resolutissimus*. In 1323 he went to Italy, became master of the Apostolic palace, bishop of Meaux, in 1326, and of Le Puy in 1327, and died A.D. 1333. He wrote commentaries on the four books of Sentences, often printed; *de Origine Jurisdictionum, seu de Ecclesiastica Jurisdictione*; and a tract, *de Legibus*. *Tr.*]

² [Antonius Andreas was a Spaniard of Arragon, a disciple of John Duns Scotus, and a Franciscan; flourished A.D. 1308, and died, it is said, A.D. 1320. His works are commentaries on the Sentences, and on the works of Gilbert Porretanus, Aristotle, and Boethius, with some law tracts. *Tr.*]

³ [Hervæus Natalis, a native of Brittany, a student and doctor at Paris, a Dominican, and, A.D. 1318, general of the order. He flourished A.D. 1312, and died A.D. 1323. He wrote commentaries on the Sentences, printed Paris, 1647, fol.; *Quodlibeta Majora et Minora*; Tracts on the power of the popes against the Franciscans; and on various theological, philosophical, and practical subjects; a commentary on St. Paul's Epistles; and a treatise on Logic. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Francis Mayron was born in Provence, studied under Duns Scotus at Paris, where he became a noted doctor. He was a Franciscan, and died at Placentia, A.D. 1325. His commentaries on the Sentences, *Quodlibeta varia, de formalitatibus liber, de primo principio, de expositione divinorum nominum, et de univocatione entis*, were published at Venice, 1520, fol. and his sermons, and various theological tracts, Basil, 1498. He also wrote commentaries on the Ten Commandments, on Genesis, on Augustine's

Civitas Dei, and on some books of Aristotle. *Tr.*]

⁵ See Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, iv. 232, and his *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiast.* par M. du Pin, i. 360, and Steph. Souciet's notes on this passage, p. 703. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Critique*, ii. 500, &c.—[also c. i. § 5, and note there. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Peter Aureolus was a Frenchman, born at Verberie on the Oise, a Dominican theologian, became a public teacher in the university of Paris, A.D. 1318, and lectured on the Sentences, became archbishop of Aix in Provence A.D. 1321, and died after 1345. He wrote commentaries on the four books of Sentences; *Quodlibeta varia*; *Breviarium Bibliorum*, or Epitome of the Scriptures; a tract on the immaculate conception of Mary; besides other tracts and sermons. *Tr.*]

⁷ [John Bacon, or Baconthorp, an Englishman, born at the obscure village of Baconthorp, in Norfolk. He early became a Carmelite; was sent to Oxford, and then to Paris, to study; became celebrated as a jurist and theologian, returned to England, and was soon after made provincial of his order for England, A.D. 1329. Four years after he was called to Rome, to give his opinion on some difficult matrimonial questions; and died at London A.D. 1346. He wrote commentaries on the Sentences; a Compendium of the law of Christ; *Quodlibeta*; on the rule of the Carmelites; and a historical defence of it, which have been published: also commentaries on the whole Bible, and on Augustine's *Civitas Dei*; a tract against the Jews; sermons, &c., never published. *Tr.*]

⁸ [See above, § 30, note. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Walter Burley, an English secular priest, or, as some say, a Franciscan, called *Doctor planus et perspicuus*. He was of Merton College, Oxford, and afterwards studied at Paris. In both, he heard Duns Scotus; but on his return to Oxford, he dissented from Scotus. He was preceptor to king Edward III., and flourished A.D. 1337, being then 62 years old. He wrote commentaries on the Sentences, and a great number of philosophical works, comments on Aristotle and others, lives of the philosophers, tracts on philosophical questions, &c. Only a part of his works have been printed. *Tr.*]

¹⁰ [Peter d'Ailly, or de Alliaco, born of slender parentage, at Compiègne, on the

burg,¹ and *Gregory of Rimini*.² Among the mystics, *John Tauler* and *John Ruysbrock* excelled the others in wisdom and integrity, though they were not free from all errors.³ Of *Raymund Lully*, we have already spoken.⁴ *Nicolaus Lyranus* obtained great reputation by his concise exposition of the whole Bible.⁵ *Raynerius Pisanus* is

Oise, 48 miles N.E. Paris, A.D. 1350; after a good previous education, he was admitted a bursar in the college of Navarre, Paris, 1372; began to lecture on the Sentences and to preach in public in 1375; was created D.D. 1380, and head of the college of Navarre in 1384; pleaded the cause of the immaculate conception of Mary, before the pope, at Avignon, in 1387; became chancellor of the university, and confessor to the king, in 1389; treasurer of the royal chapel, and royal envoy to the pope in 1394; was appointed bishop of Le Puy in 1395, and of Cambrai in 1396; attended the council of Pisa in 1409; was made cardinal in 1411, and papal legate to Germany in 1414; at the close of which year he repaired to the council of Constance, presided in the third session, and was very active during the three years of the sitting of that council, and often preached in it to the fathers. He died in 1425; and was called *the eagle of France, and the mallet of errorists*. He was strenuous for condemning John Huss, and also for restraining the ambition of the popes, and reforming the church and preserving its liberties. His writings are very numerous and various; comprising commentaries on the Sentences of Lombard, on the study of the Scriptures, on the power of the popes, pious meditations, sermons, expositions of Scripture, the mode of electing popes, the authority of cardinals, the reformation of the church, the connexion of astrology with theology, on the calendar, comments on Aristotle, &c. many of which have been published. *Tr.*

¹ [Thomas of Strasburg was a German, born at Strasburg, an Augustinian Eremit, a theologian of Paris; was made prior general of his order in 1345, and died at Vienne A.D. 1357. He wrote commentaries on the four Books of Sentences; the constitution of his order, and some other tracts. *Tr.*]

² Of all these [scholastic doctors] there is an account given in the *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, xiv. 11, 12, &c. [Gregory of Rimini was an Italian, born at Rimini, an Augustinian Eremit, a Parisian doctor of theology, general of his order A.D. 1357, and died the year after at Vienne. He wrote on the first two Books of the Sentences, commentaries on the epistles of Paul and on the epistle of James, a tract on usury, and some others. *Tr.*]

³ [John Tauler was a German Dominican, and a popular preacher at Cologne and

Strasburg. He died at the latter place A.D. 1360. Luther and Melancthon frequently quoted his writings, particularly his sermons. He left in German, Postills, or sermons for all the Sundays and festivals of the year (highly commended by Luther); Imitation of Christ in his poverty; Marrow of the Soul, or perfection in all the virtues; Spiritual Contemplation on the life and sufferings of Christ; the Noble Little Book, or the way to become in earnest, hearty, spiritual, and devout (the preceding were published, Francf. 1604 and 1703, 4to); also, The Soul-enlightening Mirror; with plates, 1713, 8vo. The other works ascribed to him, are letters, hymns, prayers, dialogues, and other tracts; several of which are not his.—John Ruysbrock was born at Ruysbrock in Brabant, A.D. 1293; was presbyter of the great church at Brussels; became a regular canon of St. Augustine; and established and presided over the convent of Grünthal, two miles from Brussels, A.D. 1360, and died A.D. 1381, aged 88. He was at the head of the mystics, and was called a *second Dionysius Areopagita*. His writings were all in Dutch: but Laur. Surius translated most of them into Latin; in which form they were published, Cologne, 1552, fol. 1609, 4to, and 1692, fol. These are, a Summary of the spiritual life; the Mirror of salvation; Remarks on the tabernacle of Moses, and its furniture; on the Principal Virtues; on Faith and the Judgment; on the four Temptations; on the Seven Guards of the Spiritual School; on the Seven Degrees of Love; on Spiritual Nuptials, three books; the Perfections of the sons of God; the Kingdom of the friends of God; on True Contemplation; twelve Useful Epistles; two Spiritual Cautions; Samuel, or deep contemplation; a short prayer. Several of the Protestants have commended his writings for their pious spirit. John Gerson accused him of heresy after his death; but Surius defends him. He was severe upon the vicious monks and clergy. See the *Unpartheische Kirchenhistorie*, Jena, 1735, vol. i. p. 1329, 1331. *Tr.*]

⁴ [See c. i. § 9, above. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Nicolaus Lyranus, or de Lyra, was born at Lire, in Normandy, and, as some say, of Jewish parentage. He became a Franciscan about 1292; was master in theology at Paris, A.D. 1320; expounded the Scriptures there, in the Franciscan convent, and died A.D. 1340. His great work is, *Postillæ per-*

known for his *Summa Theologiæ*,¹ and *Astesanus* for his *Summa Casuum Conscientiæ*.²

petuæ, sive brevia Commentaria in universa Biblia, libris lxxxv. which he commenced A.D. 1293, and completed A.D. 1330. After several incorrect editions, in six vols. fol. it was published at Lyons, 1590, Douay, 1617, and Antwerp, 1634, in the *Biblia Glossata*, and Paris, 1660, in the *Biblia Maxima*. His other works are, *Postillæ Minores, seu Enarrationes in Epistolas, et Evang. Dominicalia Totius Anni*; Venice, 1588, 8vo.; *Tractatus de Idoneo Ministrante et Suscipiente S. Altaris Sacramentum*; *Disputatio contra Perfidiam Judæorum*; *Tractatus contra Judæum quendam*; and *Contemplatio de Vita et Gestis S. Francisci*. His expositions of the Scriptures far exceeded all others of that age, and contributed so much to advance the knowledge of the Bible, that some have attributed the Reformation, in no small degree, to it: it was said,

*Si Lyra non lyrasset,
Lutherus non saltasset;*

i.e. Lyra's lyre enabled Luther to dance. *Tr.*]

¹ [Rayner was a native of Pisa, a Dominican, and an eminent theologian and jurist. He lived in the former part of this century, but the precise time is not ascertained. His *Pantheologia*, or *Summa Universæ Theologiæ*, alphabetically arranged, has been repeatedly printed, though greatly interpolated and altered. *Tr.*]

² [Astesanus, or Astensis, a Franciscan, born at Asti, who died about A.D. 1330. His eight books, entitled, *Summa de Casibus Conscientiæ*, were printed at Venice, 1519, fol.

Besides those already mentioned, the following Latin writers lived in this century; according to Henry Wharton's continuation of Cave's *Historia Literaria*.

Andrew, an English Dominican, of Newcastle, and doctor of theology, A.D. 1301. He wrote a commentary on the *first Book of the Sentences*, Paris, 1514, fol. and on Boethius, *de Consolatione Philosophiæ*.

William of Nangis, a French Benedictine monk of St. Denys, Paris, who flourished A.D. 1301. He wrote a chronology, from the creation to 1301, which others continued to 1368. (D'Achery's *Spicileg.* xi. 405.), Chronicle of the kings of France, to A.D. 1301, (in Pitheus' *Scriptores Francici*), and history of St. Lewis, king of France, and of his sons, Philip and Robert (also in Pitheus, l. c.).

William Mandagot, a French cardinal, whom Boniface VIII. employed to compile the *Liber Sextus Decretalium*. He also wrote a tract on the election of new prelates; printed, Cologne, 1573, 8vo.

Henry Stero, a German Benedictine, who

wrote, about A.D. 1301, *Annals of Germany*, from 1152 to 1273 (*inter Scriptor. Germanicos*, and in Canisius' *Lectiones Antiq.* t. i.), also, *History of Rudolph of Hapsburg*, Adolphus of Nassau, and Albert of Austria, from 1266 to 1300 (extant in Freher's *Scriptores German.*).

Dinus Mugellanus, an Italian jurist, and professor at Bologna, A.D. 1301. He wrote several comments and tracts on different portions and subjects of the canon law.

Jacobus de Benedictis, an Italian Franciscan, A.D. 1301, renowned for courting contempt and abuse, as the means of sanctification. He composed many uncouth religious poems in Italian; published, Venice, 1617, 4to.

John of Fribourg, in the Brisgau, a Dominican, and bishop of Osseero, in Hungary, distinguished, A.D. 1302, for his eloquence in preaching. He wrote *Summa Prædicatorum* (Reutling, 1487), and *Summa Major, seu Confessoriorum*, in four books (Lyons, 1518), and some other things.

Ptolemy of Lucca, disciple of Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican, confessor to the pope, and, A.D. 1318, bishop of Torcello, in the Venetian territory. He wrote *Annals*, civil and eccles., from 1060 to 1303, and a *Chronicle* of the popes and emperors (both printed, Lyons, 1619, and the *Annals* in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxv.). His *Historia Eccles.* in 24 books, was never published.

Eberardus, a German Benedictine, Archdeacon of Ratisbon. He wrote, about 1305, *Annals of the Dukes of Austria, Bavaria, and Swabia*, from 1273 to 1305; extant in Canisius, *Lect. Antiq.* t. i.

Clement V., pope A.D. 1305-1314, author of the *Clementina*, or *Liber Septimus Decretalium*, and of numerous epistles and bulls.

Thomas Joyce, or Jorsius, D.D., a Dominican of London, who taught theology at Paris and London, was provincial of his order, confessor to the king, became a cardinal in 1305, was sent legate to the emperor in 1311, and died on the way at Lyons. He wrote commentaries on Genesis, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, the books of Maccabees, Lamentations, the canonical epistles, the Apocalypse; and on Boethius, and on Aristotle's *Logic*; all of which are printed as the works of Thomas Aquinas. His work on 27 Psalms, and explanations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, have been published. Many others are in manuscript.

William of Paris, a Dominican, created general censor of the faith in France, by the pope, A.D. 1305, and commissioner to try the cause of the Templars, A.D. 1308. He was

probably the author of the Dialogues on the eight Sacraments, published as the work of William of Auvergne, Paris, 1587.

Philip of Eichstadt, D.D., a native of Alsace, abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Paris, in Alsace, sent to Rome by the emperor A.D. 1305, and then made bishop of Eichstadt, where he died A.D. 1322. At the request of Anna, queen of Hungary, he wrote the life of St. Walpurgis; in Canisius, *Lect. Antiquæ*, t. iv.

Siffrid, a presbyter of Meissen in Saxony, A.D. 1307. He wrote a Chronicle, from the creation to 1307; a large part of which is in Pistorius, *Scriptores Germanici*.

Nicolaus Trivet, an English Dominican, born in Norfolk, studied at London, Oxford, and Paris, and was a prior of his order in London, where he died A.D. 1326, nearly 70 years old. He wrote Annals of England, from 1135 to 1307 (in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, t. viii.), [several times published. Ed.] and commentaries on Augustine's *Civitas Dei*; published, Toulouse, 1488, and Venice, 1489.

Malachias, an Irish Franciscan, and theologian of Oxford, A.D. 1310, and chaplain to the king. He wrote *de Veneno Peccatorum Mortalium deque Remediis ipsorum*; published, Paris, 1518.

William Durant, nephew to *Durandus Speculator*, bishop of Mende in France, by whom he was educated. He was distinguished as a theologian and jurist; and was made canon, archdeacon, and A.D. 1296, bishop of Mende. In the year 1311, he wrote his famous tract, *de Modo celebrandi Generalis Concilii*; ed. Paris, 1635, 4to, and 1671, 8vo. He expelled the Jews from his diocese in 1312, and died in 1328.

Marinus Sanutus, or Sanudo, surnamed Torsellus, a Venetian patrician. He first constructed the organ called in Italian *Torsello*, whence his surname. He was a great traveller; and visited Cyprus, Armenia, Alexandria, Rhodes, Palestine, and was at various European courts. He wrote, between A.D. 1306 and 1322, *Secreta Fidelium Crucis super Terræ Sanctæ Recuperatione et Conservatione*, in three parts: in the first he proposes means for subduing the Saracens; in the second, the manner in which the Christian crusaders should conduct a sacred war; and in the third, the way to preserve Palestine when conquered, and also gives the history and geography of that country. This work, with 22 epistles of Marinus, nearly fills the second volume of Jac. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanau, 1611, fol.

Alexander de St. Elpidio, D.D., an Italian, and Augustinian friar, general of his order, from 1312 to 1325, when he was made archbishop of Ravenna. He wrote, by order of the pope, a tract, *de Jurisdictione*

Imperii et Auctoritate summi Pontificis; published, Rimini, 1624.

Vitalis à Furno, a Frenchman, a Franciscan, cardinal A.D. 1312; died at Avignon, A.D. 1327. He opposed the Spirituals, and wrote mystical expositions of the Proverbs, the Gospels, the Apocalypse, and various portions of the Bible.

Hugo Pratensis, or de Prato Florido, born near Florence, a Dominican and a celebrated preacher. He died A.D. 1322; and left sermons for the Sundays, and others for the holy days, through the year; also Lent Sermons.

Porchetus Salvaticus, a Carthusian, of noble Italian birth, supposed to have lived about 1315. He wrote a confutation of the Jews, borrowing much from Raymund Martini's *Pugio Fidei*; Paris, 1520, fol.

Ubertinus de Cassalis, an Italian Franciscan, leader of the Spirituals from 1312 to 1317; then became a Benedictine in Brabant; and at last, it is said, a Carthusian. In 1321, he gave to the pope his famous *Responsio circa Questionem de Paupertate Christi et Apostolorum*; namely, that to say, Christ possessed any property in the common and worldly manner, was heretical; but not so to say, he held possessions in the usual spiritual manner. It is extant in Wadding's *Annales Minor.* t. iii. ad. ann. 1321, and better in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, i. 292, 307.

John of Naples, a Dominican divine, doctor of theology at Paris, and a zealous follower of Thomas Aquinas, A.D. 1315. His *Questiones variæ Philosophicæ et Theologicæ* were printed at Naples, 1618, fol.

John XXII. pope, A.D. 1316 to 1334, has left us more than 400 epistles and bulls, besides his *Extravagantes*, which are in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*.

Albert of Padua, an Augustinian eremite, teacher of theology, and preacher at Paris, where he died, A.D. 1328. He has left many sermons, printed; and extensive MS. commentaries on the Scriptures.

James of Lausanne, a French Dominican friar, theologian of Paris, A.D. 1317, provincial of his order for France, and bishop of Lausanne: a voluminous and diffuse writer. His twelve books of Morals, and various sermons, have been printed. His commentaries on the Scriptures remain in MS.

Bertrand de Turre, a French Franciscan friar, archbishop of Salerno 1319; a cardinal 1320, general of his order by papal appointment in 1328, died 1334. Several of his sermons were printed; but others, as well as his commentaries on the Sentences of Lombard, slumber in MS.

Thomas Morus, or de la Moor, an English knight, of the household of king Edward II., under whom he served in the Scotch wars.

He flourished about A.D. 1320, and wrote a history of the reign of Edward II., from A.D. 1307 to 1326. He composed in French, and had it translated into Latin by Geoffrey Baker. It is printed among the *Scriptores Anglici*, Frankf. 1602.

Albertinus Mussatus, an Italian historian and poet of Padua, who died A.D. 1329. He wrote *de Gestis Henrici VII. libri xvi.*; and several poems; printed, Venice, 1635, fol.

John Bassolis, a Scotch Franciscan and disciple of Duns Scotus. He lectured on the Sentences, at Rheims, A.D. 1313, and at Mechlin A.D. 1322. His commentaries or lectures on the four books of Sentences, and some miscellaneous pieces, were printed, Paris, 1517, fol.

Bernard Guido, a French Dominican, born near Limoges, 1261; became a friar 1280, was successively prior of Albi 1294, of Carcassone 1297, of Castres 1299, and of Limoges 1303: was appointed Inquisitor against the Albigenses 1305; represented his order at the papal court 1312; was papal legate to Italy 1316; bishop of Tuy 1323; and of Lodeve 1324; and died 1331. He wrote a concise history of the establishment of the Grandimontensians and some others (in Labbé's *Biblioth. Nov. MS. t. ii.*), *Gesta Comitum Tholosanorum* (Toulouse, 1623, fol.), Lives of various saints, lives of popes, &c. never printed.

Peter Bertrand, a distinguished French jurist, counsellor, bishop, and cardinal, who died A.D. 1349. He composed a tract, *de Jurisdictione Ecclesiasticâ* (defending the rights of the Gallic church against Peter de Cugneris; ed. Paris, 1495, 4to), and another, *de Origine et Usu Jurisdictionum*. Both are in the *Biblioth. Patr. t. xxvi.*

Peter de Dusbürg, a priest and a Teutonic knight. He composed, A.D. 1326, his *Chronicon Prussie*; or, History of the Teutonic order, from its foundation A.D. 1190 to 1326; edited with notes and dissertations, by Christoph. Hartknoch, Frankf. 1679, 4to.

Gerhard Odonis, a French Franciscan, general of his order in 1329; died in 1349. He wrote commentaries on Aristotle's *Ethics*; and the *Officium de Stigmatibus S. Francis*; still used by that fraternity.

John Canon, or Canonicus, an English Franciscan theologian, who studied at Oxford and Paris under Scotus, and lectured at Oxford till his death. He flourished A.D. 1329; and wrote commentaries on the Sentences; *Lecturæ Magistrales*; *Questiones Disputatæ*; and eight books on Aristotle's *Physics*; all printed, Venice, 1492 and 1516.

Petrus Paludanus, a French Dominican theologian and preacher; became a licentiate at Paris, 1314, was made titular patriarch of Jerusalem about A.D. 1330, and died in 1342. He wrote commentaries on the

four books of Sentences; of which, those on the third and fourth books were printed at Paris, 1530, 2 vols. fol.; also sermons; a treatise on ecclesiastical power; and another, on the right of the Franciscans to hold property; besides several works never published.

Guido of Perpignan, D.D., a Spanish Carmelite, studied at Paris, became general of his order 1318, bishop of Majorca 1321, and afterwards of Perpignan. He wrote *Summa de Hæresibus omnibus et earum Confutationibus* (ed. Paris, 1528, fol. and Cologne, 1631); a *Harmony and Commentary on the Decretum of Gratian*, yet in MS.

Adamus Goddamus, or Woddeham, D.D., an English Franciscan of Norwich, professor at Oxford, died 1358. His commentary on the Sentences was published, Paris, A.D. 1512.

Walter Hemingburgh, an English Augustinian Canon of Guisborough, in Cleveland, Yorkshire, where he died. He wrote history of the kings of England A.D. 1066 to 1313; ed. among the *Historiæ Anglicæ Scriptores quinque*, Oxon. 1687, fol. and by Hearne and others.

Ludolphus Saxo, of Saxon origin, a Dominican, and then a Carthusian; a pious man and good writer; flourished A.D. 1340. His life of Christ has been often printed; e. g. Paris, 1589, and also his commentary on the Psalms of David, in which he follows the spiritual sense; ed. Lyons, 1540.

Monaldus, a Dalmatian, of Justinianople, a Franciscan, and archbishop of Benevento; died about 1332. His *Summa Casuum Conscientiæ*, called *Aurea*, and *Monaldina*, was published, Lyons, 1516, 8vo.

Bartholomew of S. Concordia, a Dominican of Pisa, died 1347. His *Summa Casuum Conscientiæ* (written in 1318) and his *Sermones Quadragesimales* were both printed, Lyons, 1519, 8vo.

Thomas Walleis, a Welchman, Dominican, and theologian of Oxford; often confounded with Thomas Jorsius, an Englishman and cardinal, who died in 1311. He maintained before the papal court at Avignon, A.D. 1332, that deceased saints are admitted to the immediate vision of God; and accused John XXII. of heresy on this subject. His *Articuli Hæreticales*, and *Libellus de Theoria Prædicandi*, have been published.

Richard of Bury, born at Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk, educated at Oxford, tutor to Edward III., bishop of Durham A.D. 1333; chancellor of England 1334; lord treasurer 1336; died 1345, aged 59. He founded a library at Oxford; and wrote, A.D. 1344, *Philobiblion, seu Liber de Amore Librorum, et Bibliothecarum Institutione*; frequently printed, e. g. Oxon. 1699, 4to.

Benedict XII., pope A.D. 1334—1342, has left us many epistles and bulls,

Simon Fidatus de Cassia, an Italian Augustinian eremite, abbot at Florence, A.D. 1335, till his death in 1348. Distinguished for sanctity, and as a preacher; he wrote *Enarrationum Evangelicæ Veritatis libri xv. seu de Gestis Domini Salvatoris*; ed. Cologne, 1540, fol.; a tract *de B. Virgine*; another *de Speculo Crucis*, and several epistles.

Gulielmus de Baldensel, a knight of Jerusalem, composed A.D. 1337 his *Hodæporicon*, or Journey of his travels in the Holy Land; published by Canisius, *Lectiones Antiq. t. v. pt. ii. p. 96*.

Arnaldus Cescomes, archbishop of Tarragona, A.D. 1337; wrote *Epistolæ Duæ de Saracenis ab Hispania pellendis*: extant in Baluze, *Miscell. t. ii*.

Richard Rolle of Hampole, D.D., an Augustinian eremite of Yorkshire, who died A.D. 1349. He wrote a tract on Repentance, and brief expositions of the Psalter; the Canticles of the old Testament included in the public offices; on the 20th Psalm; on the Lord's prayer; the Apostles' and the Athanasian Creeds; some parts of Solomon's Song; the Lamentations; some chapters of Job, &c. which are in the *Biblioth. Patr. t. xxvi*.

Robert Holkot of Northampton, a Dominican, and professor of theology at Oxford; died A.D. 1349. He wrote a commentary on the Sentences (ed. Lyons, 1497, fol. 1510, 4to); *Moralitates Pulchræ Historiarum* (ed. Paris, 8vo); 213 Lectures on the book of the Wisdom of Solomon (ed. Venice, 1509, 1586, fol.); Lectures on the Canticles and seven chapters of Ecclesiastes (ed. Venice, 1509); Commentaries on the book of Proverbs (ed. Paris, 1516); a tract on the imputability of sin; and conferences on the Sentences, &c. (ed. Lyons, 1497, fol. 1518.) Several other of his works are still in MS.

Philip de Monte Calerio, a Franciscan, first at Toulouse, and then at Padua; flourished A.D. 1340. His *Conciones Dominicales totius anni* (abridged), and *Quadragesimale, Conciones de Eucharistia and Sermones de Sanctis*, were published, Lyons, 1515.

Henry de Urimaria, or de Frimaria, a German Augustinian eremite, and doctor of theology at Paris; flourished A.D. 1340, and was distinguished for his piety and for his liberality. He wrote additions to the books of Sentences; on a fourfold Instinct; and several sermons; published, Cologne, 1513, Paris, 1514.

Lupoldus Babenbergius, a noble German, a jurist, professor of civil and canon law, and bishop of Bamberg, A.D. 1340. His tracts, *de Zelo Veterum Regum Galliæ et Germaniæ Principum*, and *de Juribus Regni et Imperii*, were published, Paris, 1540, Cologne, 1564, 8vo. &c. often.

Alvarus Pelagius, or Pelagius Alvarus, a

Spanish Franciscan, who studied at Bologna, Pisa, and Paris, A.D. 1304; was papal penitentiary in 1332, and afterwards a bishop in Portugal. He wrote *de Planctu Ecclesiæ libri ii*. (ed. Venice, 1560); *Summa Theologiæ* (ed. Ulm, 1474); and other works, never printed.

Bartholomew of Urbino, an Italian Augustinian eremite, and bishop of Urbino; died A.D. 1350. He collected flowers of Augustine and of Ambrose, which he published, each under the title of *Millelogivium*. Both were printed at Lyons; the former in 1555, and the latter in 1556.

John Honsemius, a canon and teacher at Liege, A.D. 1348. He continued *Ægidius' History of the bishops of Liege*, from 1247 to 1348.

John de Beka, a canon of the church of Utrecht, A.D. 1350. He wrote a chronicle of the church and bishops of Utrecht, and of the counts of Holland, from St. Willibrod to A.D. 1346; which was continued by William Heda, dean of Haarlem, to 1524; both printed, Utrecht, 1643, fol.

Albericus de Rosate, an Italian doctor of canon law, A.D. 1350. He wrote *Dictionarium Juris Civilis et Canonici*, ed. Venice, 1573, 1601; commentaries on the *Liber sextus Decretalium; de Testibus*; and other tracts.

Roger of Conway, or Connovius, D.D., an English Franciscan, educated at Oxford, and provincial of his order for England. In the dispute between the mendicants and the regular clergy, respecting the right to hear confessions, A.D. 1350, Roger appeared in behalf of his order, in a work *de Confessionibus per Regulares Audiendis*; published by Goldast, *Monarch. t. ii*.

Petrus de Columbario, cardinal bishop of Ostia; sent by the pope to anoint and crown the emperor Charles IV. at Rome; of which mission he wrote the history, entitled *Historia Itineris Romani*; in Labbé's *Biblioth. Nov. MSS. i. 354*.

Nicolaus Eymericus, a Spanish Dominican, inquisitor general for Arragon, 1356; chaplain, and supreme Judge at Avignon, in 1371; died in 1399. His *Directorium Inquisitorum*, in three parts, with the notes of Francis Pegna, was published, Venice, 1595, fol. Rome, 1578 and 1587.

Ranulph Higden, or Hikeden, an English Benedictine of Chester, who died A.D. 1363, having been a monk 64 years. He compiled a universal history, from the creation to A.D. 1357, entitled *Polychronicon*, in eight parts or books. His history John de Trevisa translated into English, A.D. 1387; and that translation, with some amendment of the style, was printed by William Caxton, Lond. 1482, fol.

Alphonsus Vargas, a Spanish Augustinian eremite, a doctor of Paris, bishop of Badajoz,

and archbishop of Seville, where he died A.D. 1359. His commentary on the *first* book of the Sentences, was printed, Venice, 1490; and his *Questiones in Aristotelis Libros tres de Anima*; Venice, 1666.

Thomas Stubbs, or Stobæus, D.D., an English Dominican of York, who flourished A.D. 1360, and died after 1373. He wrote the lives, or a chronicle, of the archbishops of York, from St. Paulinus, the first archbishop, to 1373; published among the *Scriptores X. Angliæ*, Lond. 1652, fol.

John Calderinus, a famous canonist of Bologna, A.D. 1360, who wrote several works on canon law, published in the 16th century.

Peter Berchorius, a Benedictine, born at Poitiers, and prior at Paris, where he died A.D. 1362. He wrote *Dictionarium, seu Repertorium morale Biblicum* (containing numerous biblical words and phrases, alphabetically arranged and explained, for the use of practical religion); *Reductorium Morale utriusque Testamenti, libris xiv.* (containing tropological and allegorical expositions of nearly the whole Bible); and *Inductorium Morale*. The three works have been frequently printed, e. g. Cologne, 1620, 3 vols. fol.

Bartholomew de Glanvilla, an English Franciscan, who studied at Oxford, Paris, and Rome, flourished A.D. 1360, and wrote *Opus de Proprietatibus Rerum, seu Allegoriarum ac Tropologiarum in utrumque Testamentum*; published with some other pieces frequently; e. g. Paris, 1574, 4to.

Nicolaus Oresmius, or Orem, the *corypheus* of the Parisian doctors in his times; tutor to the dauphin; rector of the *Gymnasium* of Navarre; dean of Rouen in 1361, and bishop of Lisieux in 1377. He died about 1384. In 1363, he preached a sermon before the pope and cardinals, in which he boldly attacked their vices (ed. by Illyricus, *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, p. 512). He wrote *de Mutatione Monetæ liber*; *de Sphæra*; and translated the Scriptures into French, and also Aristotle's *Ethics*, some works of Cicero, and some of Petrarch.

Hainricus, a German monk of Rebdorf, about 1362, wrote *Annals* of Germany, from 1295 to 1363; published by Marq. Freher, *Historici Germaniæ*, Frankf. 1600, t. i.

Saint Brigitta, a Swedish lady, who had visions from her childhood. She persuaded her husband to become a monk, while she became a nun in Spain; established the new order of St. Saviour. She had many visions and revelations. These led her to Rome, to Palestine, Sicily, &c. She died A.D. 1373, and was canonised A.D. 1391. She wrote *Revelationum Libri viii.* a Rule for her order, dictated by Christ himself; several discourses and orations; besides

additional revelations; all printed frequently, e. g. Cologne, 1628, 2 vols. fol.

St. Catharina, of Siena, an Italian lady, who early became a Dominican nun, was famed for her visions and revelations, by which she guided even popes and cardinals, whom she addressed with freedom. She died A.D. 1380, aged 33, and was canonised A.D. 1461. She wrote *Dialogues* on Providence (ed. Venice, 1611, 8vo); 364 epistles (printed in Italian, Venice, 1506, fol. and in French, Paris, 1644, 4to); several discourses, translated into Latin, published, Ingolst. 1583; and *Divina Doctrina data per Personam Æterni Patris Intellectui loquentis*, translated into Latin, by Raymond de Vineis, and published, Cologne, 1553, fol.

Philip Ribotus, a Spanish Carmelite who flourished A.D. 1268, was provincial of his order for Catalonia, and died A.D. 1391. He wrote *Speculum Carmelitarum*, in 10 books; in which he describes the establishment, progress, privileges, and history of his order; printed Antw. 1680, fol. He also wrote sermons and epistles.

Philip de Leidis, a Dutch jurist, counsellor to the count of Holland, vicar to the bishop of Utrecht, died 1386; wrote *Tractatus de Reipublicæ Cura et Sorte Principantium*; printed, Leyden, 1516, fol.

Gerhard Magnus, or Groot, in his native language, born at Deventer, studied theology at Paris, was a canon of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle; became a regular canon, and established several houses of that order. He died A.D. 1384, aged 44. His three tracts, *Protestatio de Veridica Prædicatione*; *Conclusa et Proposita*; and *de Studio Sacror. Librorum*; are usually published with the works of Thomas à Kempis.

Philotheus Achillinus, a fictitious name, assumed by some pious counsellor of Charles V., king of France, A.D. 1370; who wrote against the ambition and tyranny of the pope, a work entitled *Somnium Viridarii*, or *Libri II. de Potestate Regia et Sacerdotali*; in form of a dialogue between a clergyman and a soldier; printed in Guldastus, *Monarchia*, i. 58.

Gallus, a German Cistercian, abbot of a monastery near Prague, A.D. 1370. He wrote a prolix work for the edification of his monks, entitled *Malogranatum*, in three books; printed 1481, 4to, and 1487, fol.

Bartholomew Albizi, a native of Pisa, and a Franciscan, who flourished A.D. 1372, and died very aged, A.D. 1401. His book, entitled *The Conformities of St. Francis with the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ*, was presented to the general convention of the Franciscans at Assisi, A.D. 1399, and approved by a unanimous vote; and the author was rewarded with the entire wardrobe of St. Francis. The work

was printed at Bologna, 1590, fol. He also wrote *The Conformities of the Blessed Virgin with our Lord Jesus Christ*, or her life and praises, in six books; printed, Venice, 1596, fol. likewise *Sermones Quadragesimales*; Milan, 1488, 4to.

Bonaventura Baduarius, an Italian of Padua, who studied at Paris, became an Augustinian Eremit, general of his order in 1377, a cardinal in 1378, was often a papal legate, and was murdered at Rome A.D. 1386, or somewhat later. He wrote *Speculum Beatæ Mariæ*; printed, Augsburg, 1476, 4 vols.; also, commentaries on the four books of Sentences; Meditations on the life of Christ, &c.

Matthew, called *Florilegus*, a Benedictine monk of Westminster, the reputed author of *Historiarum Flores*, or annals from the creation to A.D. 1307, in two books, taken much from Matthew Paris; printed, Lond. 1567, fol.

Albertus de Argentina, or of Strasburg, where he was a doctor of divinity, and perhaps a presbyter, and the bishop's legate to the pope. He wrote a Chronicle from 1270 to 1378, published (imperfect at Bâle) entire, by Urstisius, among the *Scriptores Germanici*, Frankf. 1585 and 1670, ii. 97; also the life of Berthold, bishop of Strasburg, from 1318 to 1353; printed with his Chronicle.

William Thorn, an English Benedictine of Canterbury, A.D. 1380. He wrote a chronicle of the abbots of Canterbury from St. Augustine to A.D. 1397; printed with the *Scriptores X. Historiæ Anglicanæ*, Lond. 1652, fol.

Michael Angrianus, a Carmelite of Bologna, who studied at Paris, was general of his order from 1381 to 1386, and died at Bologna A.D. 1416. He wrote a tolerable commentary on the Psalms, in five books, often printed; e.g. Lyons, 1673; also commentaries on the Sentences, and some other works.

Raymund Jordan, an Augustinian canon, in the diocese of Bourges, who concealed himself under the name of *Idiotes*. He flourished A.D. 1381, and wrote seven books of contemplations (devotional), and several ascetic tracts; published, Paris, 1654, 4to.

John Tambacus, a German Dominican of Strasburg, then rector of the school at Prague, master of the palace to the pope A.D. 1366, died at the age of 80, the year unknown. He wrote *Speculum Patientiæ*, or *de Consolatione Theologiæ*, lib. xv. printed, Paris, 1493, &c. often.

Marsilius ab Ingen, doctor at Paris, a canon at Cologne, and founder and first rector of the gymnasium of Heidelberg; flourished A.D. 1384, and died in 1394. He wrote commentaries on the Sentences, printed at Strasburg, A.D. 1501.

John de Burgo, D.D., chancellor of the university of Cambridge, flourished A.D. 1385. He wrote *Pupilla Oculi*, a book of instructions for clergymen in their functions; printed, Paris, 1510, and elsewhere, repeatedly.

Peter Herentalius, or de Herentalis, a canon, and prior of a Præmonstratensian convent in Brabant; flourished A.D. 1390. He compiled a *Catena* on the Psalms; printed Rouen, 1504, 4to, and elsewhere, repeatedly; also a prolix commentary on the four Gospels, never printed.

Radulphus de Rivo, of Breda in Brabant, dean of Tongres, flourished A.D. 1390, and died at Rome A.D. 1401. He wrote *de Canonum Observantia Propositiones* xxiii. (in the *Biblioth. Patr.* t. xxvi.) and *Historia de Rebus Gestis Trium Pontificum Leodiensium* (from A.D. 1347 to 1386), in J. Chapeville's *Rerum Leodiens. Historia*, Liege, 1616, 4to, t. iii.

Gerhard of Zutphen, a regular clerk of St. Jerome, and distinguished for his piety; died A.D. 1398, aged 31, leaving two ascetic tracts, *de Reformatione Interiori*, and *de Spiritualibus Ascensionibus*; in the *Biblioth. Patr.* t. xxvi.

William Wodford, or Wilford, an English Franciscan, appointed by the council of London, A.D. 1396, to answer Wickliffe's *Trialogus*; which he did in his *Liber ad Thomam Archiep. Cantuariensem adversus Articulos xviii. ex Wickliffi Trialogo Extractos*; extant in the *Fasciculus Rerum Expertendarum*, Cologne, 1535, fol. p. 96. Several other tracts of his exist in MS.

John Bromyard, of Herefordshire, an English Dominican, theologian, and jurist, a doctor at Oxford, and professor of theology at Cambridge. He strenuously opposed Wickliffe in the council of London A.D. 1382, flourished A.D. 1390, and died after 1419. His *Summa Prædicatorum*, in two parts, treats of nearly every subject in ecclesiastical discipline, in alphabetic order; printed Venice, 1586, 4to. Several other works of his exist in MS.

Henry Knighton, a canon regular of Leicester, who flourished A.D. 1395. His *Chronicon de Eventibus Angliæ Libris V.* from A.D. 950 to 1395 (the second, third, and fourth books, from A.D. 1066 to 1377, are copied from Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*), [and the fifth is wrongly attributed to Knighton, vide Shirley's *Fascic. Zizaniorum*, p. 524. *Ed.*], and his History of the deposition of king Richard II., A.D. 1399, are extant among the *Scriptores X. Historiæ Anglicanæ*, Lond. 1652.

Antonius de Butrio, a famous jurist of Bologna and Ferrara, who flourished A.D. 1398, and died at Bologna A.D. 1408. He wrote commentaries on the five books of the Decretals (ed. Venice, 1578, 7 vols. fol.)

and several other works on canon and civil law.

Nicolas de Gorham, of Hertfordshire, studied at Merton College, Oxford, became a Dominican, went to Paris, was eminent both for learning and piety, and was provincial of his order for France. He probably lived about 1400. He wrote commentaries on the books of the New Testament, and sermons for the whole year; all printed by John Keerberg. Antw. 1617, 1620, in two vols. fol.

Jacobus Magni, an Augustinian eremite of Toledo, distinguished for his knowledge of the Scriptures and of the ancient theologians, confessor to Charles VII. king of France, and refused the archbishopric of Bourdeaux. He flourished about A.D. 1400.

His *Sophologium, seu opus de Sermone et Inquisitione Divinæ Sapientiæ*, in 10 books, was printed Lyons, 1495, 8vo.

Franciscus Ximenes, of Catalonia, bishop of Perpignan, and titular patriarch of Jerusalem, A.D. 1400. He wrote several works of mystic divinity.

Franciscus Zabarella, an Italian of Padua, LL.D., a man of great respectability. He rejected two bishoprics and one rich abbacy, but was made cardinal A.D. 1411, and presided through the council of Constance, and died at its close, A.D. 1417. He wrote comments on the Decretals, and several other works on canon law; and a tract, *de Schismatibus Authoritate Imperatoris Tollendis*, which the *Index Expurgatorius* prohibits being read till it is expurgated. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. Corruption of religion — § 2. Exegetical theology — § 3. Dogmatic theology — § 4. Opposers of the scholastics. Biblical theologians — § 5. Contest among the scholastics. Scotists and Thomists — § 6. The Mystics — § 7. Moral or practical writers — § 8. Polemic writers — § 9. Controversies between the Greeks and Latins — § 10. Contest of the university of Paris with the Dominicans. Montesonus.

§ 1. ALL those who are well acquainted with the history of these times must acknowledge the corrupt state of religion, both as taught in the schools, and as presented to the people to regulate their lives and actions. Scarcely any part of the Christian doctrine retained its native form and comeliness. And hence the *Waldenses*, and all those who desired a reformation in religion, and who separated from the Roman pontiff, though nowhere safe from the fury of the *Inquisitors* and the monks, yet could not be suppressed by any means whatever. Many of these people, after witnessing the destruction of an immense number of their brethren at the stake and by other forms of execution, fled from Italy, France, and Germany, into Bohemia and the neighbouring countries; and afterwards became amalgamated with the Hussites and other dissentients from the Romish community.

§ 2. At the head of the expositors of the Bible, stands *Nicolas de Lyra*; who explained the books of both the Old Testament and the New far better than was usual in that age; yet he succeeded better on the Old Testament than on the New, because he was familiar with Hebrew, but not with Greek.¹ The others who undertook this

¹ Rich. Simon, *Hist. des Principaux Commentateurs du N. T.* p. 477, and *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclés. par*

M. du Pin, i. 352. Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* v. 264, &c.

office were servile imitators of their predecessors; for they either collected flowers from the ancient doctors, or, neglecting the literal import of the Scriptures, drew from them, by forced interpretations, occult spiritual meanings. Those who desire to become acquainted with this exegetical art, may consult the *Moral Mirror* of the whole Scriptures, by *Vitalis a Furno*, or the *Psalter spiritualised*, by *Ludolphus Saxo*. The philosophic divines, who commented on the Scriptures, often proposed, and scientifically resolved, questions of the most profound erudition, according to the views of that age.

§ 3. In explaining and inculcating the doctrines of religion, most of the Greeks and Latins followed the principles of the Peripatetic philosophy. And the Greeks, by their intercourse with the Latins, seem to have become acquainted with the modes of teaching adopted in the schools of the Latins. The Greeks now read *Thomas Aquinas*, and other distinguished scholastics, in their own language;¹ *Demetrius Cydonius*, and others, having in this age translated them from Latin into Greek. The Latins, who adopted this mode of theologizing, were immensely numerous: the most distinguished of them for acumen were, *John Scotus*, *Durand de St. Porçain*, *William Occam*, and a few others. Here and there an individual, also, applied the light of *Scripture* and of *tradition* to the explanation of Divine truth; but these were overpowered and nearly silenced by the immense throng of the dialecticians.

§ 4. Yet there were not wanting pious and good men, not only among the mystics, but others likewise, who censured this bold manner of philosophizing on religious subjects; and who endeavoured to draw the attention of students in theology to the Holy Scriptures and to the writings of the ancient fathers. Hence there were fierce disputes everywhere, especially in the more distinguished universities, as those of Paris and Oxford, between the *biblical* theologians and the *philosophical*. The *biblical* party, though greatly inferior in numbers, sometimes gained the victory. For the *philosophical* divines, the most eminent of whom were mendicant friars, Dominicans and Franciscans, by philosophizing indiscreetly, not unfrequently so distorted and misrepresented the principal doctrines of revealed religion, as to subvert them, and to advance opinions manifestly impious and absurd. The consequence was, that some had to abjure their errors; others sought their safety by flight; the books of some were publicly burnt; others were thrown into prison.² But as soon as the storm subsided, most of them returned to their former views,

¹ Rich. Simon, *Créance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstantiation*, p. 166.

² See Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*. t. iv. in many passages. In 1340, various opinions of the scholastic tribe, respecting the Trinity and other subjects, were condemned: p. 266, A. D. 1347, M. Jo. de Mercuria and Nic. de Ultricuria had to abjure their opinions, p. 298, 308, A. D. 1348, one Simon

was convicted of very great errors, p. 322. A. D. 1354, Guido, an Augustinian, shared the same fate, p. 329; and likewise, A. D. 1362, one Lewis, p. 374, and Jo. de Calore, p. 377; and A. D. 1366, Dionys. Soullechat, p. 382. The same scenes took place at Oxford. See Ant. Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* i. 153, 183, &c.

and oppressed their adversaries by various arts, and deprived them of their influence, their profits, and their number of pupils.

§ 5. Moreover, the *scholastic* doctors, or the *philosophical* divines, had great controversies among themselves on various subjects. For these contests, abundant matter was supplied by that very acute man, of the Franciscan order, *John Duns Scotus*, an Englishman, who, being envious of the Dominicans, attacked certain doctrines of *Thomas Aquinas*, and maintained that they were untrue. The Dominicans united to defend the brother of their order, who was the oracle of the schools; and, on the other hand, the Franciscans gathered around *Scotus*, as a doctor that descended from heaven. Thus the two most powerful orders, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, were again pitted against each other; and those famous sects of the *Scotists* and *Thomists* were produced, which still divide the schools of the Latins. These schools disagree respecting the *nature of Divine co-operation*, the *measure of Divine grace* necessary to a man's salvation, the *unity of form in man*,¹ and many other subjects, which cannot be here enumerated. But nothing procured *Scotus* greater glory than his defence and demonstration, in opposition to the Dominicans, of what is called the *immaculate conception* of the Virgin *Mary*.²

§ 6. A great multitude of those called *mystics* lived and inculcated their doctrines in nearly every country of Europe. Some of these were good men and lovers of piety, who laboured to withdraw the minds of people from ceremonies, to guide them to real virtue and the love of God. Such were (though not all of them equally wise) *Jo. Tauler*, *Jo. Ruysbrock*, *Henry Suso*, and *Gerhard* of Zutphen;³ who must be acknowledged to have left us a considerable number of writings, suited to awake pious emotions, and to draw forth the soul towards God; though they all laboured under some infirmity of judgment, and were inclined to indulge their imaginations too far. But others of this kind were moving about everywhere, people bereft of reason, and fanatical, who dreamed of an unintelligible extinction of all the powers and faculties of the soul, and a transition of the mind into the Divine nature; and who led away their adherents into a senseless kind of piety that bordered on licentiousness. So great was the extravagance of these people, that the more sober *mystics* themselves detested their doctrine, and warned their followers against it.⁴

§ 7. Concerning those who gave particular attention to moral theology, it is not necessary to say much; since their merits and those of the parties already mentioned are very closely on a par.

¹ [Or personal identity. *Tr.*]

² See Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* vi. 52, &c.

³ Concerning these, the reader may consult Peter Poiret's *Bibliotheca Mysticorum*, [p. 108, 111, 146, *Schl.*] and Godfrey Arnold's History and Description of Mystic Theology [written in German, p. 395, 404, 414, 421]. Of Tauler and Suso, Jac.

Echard treats particularly, *Scriptor. Prædicator.* i. 653, 677. See also the *Acta Sanctor.* Januar., ii. 652.

⁴ John Ruysbrock inveighs strongly against them; in his works, published by Lau. Surius, p. 50. 378; and *de Vera Contemplat.* c. xviii. p. 608.

Two things, however, may be noticed as illustrative of the state of this branch of theology. First, in this age, a greater number than before, collected and discussed what are called *cases of conscience*. The most noted of this class, were *Astesanus*, an Italian, *Monaldus*, and *Bartholomew* of St. Concordia. This species of writing accorded well with the education given in the schools; which taught men, not so much what to *believe*, and how to *live*, as to query, to dispute, and to wrangle. Secondly, those who treated of the duties men owe to themselves and others, and exhorted to the practice of them, were accustomed to derive arguments and illustrations from the brutes. For they first explained the prominent characteristics of some animal; and then applied them to the life and conduct of men. Of this description are *John Nieder's Formicarius*, *Thomas* of Brabant's treatise *de Apibus*, *Hugo* of S. Victor's *Bestiarium*, *Thomas Waleys* *de Natura Bestiarum cum moralizatione*, and some others.¹

§ 8. In most of the defenders of Christianity we find nothing perspicuous, elegant, and praiseworthy. *Thomas Bradwardine*, in his Books *de Providentia*, advances many ingenious and pertinent arguments in confirmation of the truth of religion in general. *The Eye-salve of faith against the heretics*,² by *Alvarus Pelagius*, does not come up to the magnitude of the subject; though it shows him to be an honest and well-disposed man. Against the Jews, came forth *Porchetus Salvaticus*, in his *Victory of the Faith*, transcribed in great measure from *Raymund Martini*; and also *Nicolaus à Lyra*. They were both excelled by *Theophanes*, a Greek; in whose Books against the Jews, and his Agreement between the Old Testament and the New, are many things that are not contemptible.

§ 9. The contests between the Greeks and the Latins seemed at times to come near to an adjustment. For the Greeks, finding themselves to need the aid of the Latins, in repelling the continually increasing power of the Turks, manifested occasionally a pretended willingness to subject themselves to the demands of the Latins. In the year 1339, *Andronicus Junior* sent *Barlaam* into the West, to negotiate a peace in his name. In the year 1349, other Greek envoys came to *Clement VI.* to negotiate a treaty. In 1356, a similar embassy was sent to *Innocent VI.*, at Avignon. In the year 1367, the Grecian patriarch came in person to Rome to press the business; and in the year 1369, the emperor, *John Palæologus*, came himself into Italy,

¹ [John Nieder belonged to the following century. He was a German of Suabia, a Dominican, prior of Basle, an Inquisitor, and rector of the gymnasium of Vienne. He flourished A. D. 1431; and died A. D. 1438. His works are, *Consolatorium Timorate Conscientiæ* (ed. Rome, 1604, 8vo). *Formicarius, seu Dialogus ad Vitam Christianam Exemplo Conditionum Formicæ incitativus*, (ed. Duaci, 1604, 8vo). *Præceptorium*, (on the ten commandments; ed. Duaci, 1612, 8vo). *Alphabetum Divini Amoris*; *De Modo Bene Vivendi* (ed. Rome,

1604, 8vo). *De Reformatione Religiosorum*, libri iii. Antw. 1611, 8vo. *De Contractibus Mercatorum Liber*; and Sermons for the year.—For Thomas of Brabant, or Cantipratensis, see above, cent. xiii. p. ii. c. 2, § 44, note. He flourished about the middle of the preceding century.—Hugo de S. Victor lived in the 12th century. See cent. xii. p. ii. c. 2, § 23, note. His work, *De Bestiis*, is in his *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 418 (ed. Rouen, 1648, fol.).

² *Collyrium Fidei contra hæreticos*.

published a confession of faith accordant with the views of the pontiff, and laboured to conciliate the friendship of the Latins. But the majority of the Greeks could never be persuaded to be silent and to submit themselves to the Romans; though some, from interested motives, manifested a disposition to yield to the terms imposed on them. Hence this century was spent amidst contests and vain negotiations for peace.¹

§ 10. In the year 1384, a violent contest arose at Paris, between the university and the Dominican fraternity. *John de Montesono*, a native of Arragon, a Dominican and professor of theology, by direction and in the name of his order, publicly denied that the Virgin *Mary* was conceived without sin or stain; and maintained that such as believed in her *immaculate conception* sinned against religion and the *faith*. The commotions that arose from this transaction would doubtless have subsided, if *John* had not renewed his asseverations, in stronger and bolder language, in a public discussion, A.D. 1387. The consequence was, that first the college of theologians, and then the whole university, condemned both this and some other opinions of *Montesono*. For the university of Paris, influenced especially by the arguments of *John Duns Scotus*, had, almost from the beginning of the century, publicly adopted the doctrine of the sinless conception of the Holy Virgin.² The Dominicans, with *Montesono*, appealed from the decision of the university to *Clement VII.*, resident at Avignon: for they maintained that *St. Thomas* himself was condemned in the person of his fellow Dominican. But before the pontiff had passed sentence, the accused fled from the court of Avignon, and revolted to the party of the rival pontiff, *Urban VI.*, who resided at Rome; and hence he was excommunicated in his absence. Whether the pontiff approved the judgment of the university of Paris is uncertain. The Dominicans deny it; and maintain, that *Montesono* was excluded from the church merely on account of his flight:³ though there are many who assert that his sentiments were also condemned. As the Dominicans would not abide by the decision of the university respecting their companion, they were, in the year 1389, excluded from the university, and were not restored to their former honours till the year 1404.⁴

¹ Henry Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, iv. 369. Leo Allatius, *de Perpetua Consensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* l. ii. c. 16, 17, p. 782, &c. Lu. Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* viii. 29, 40, 107, 201, 289, 303, 312. Steph. Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* i. 348, 380, 388, 403, 407, 410, 772.

² See Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* vi. 52. &c.

³ See Jac. Echard's *Script. Prædicator.* i. 691.

⁴ Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* iv. 599, 618, 638. S. Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* i. 521, ii. 992, &c. Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de Novis Errorib.* i. 61. Jac. de Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, xiv. 347, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Alteration of the Jubilee.—§ 2. Feast days. Prayers.

§ 1. THE alterations and enlargements of the sacred rites will here be despatched in a few words, since the subject affords matter far too extensive to be compressed into the narrow space that can be given to it. The first thing worthy of notice is, that *Clement VI.*, in the year 1350, in compliance with the request of the citizens of Rome, altered the period of the year of *Jubilee*, which *Boniface VIII.* directed to be kept every hundredth year, limiting the period to fifty years.¹ He could give a plausible reason to such as might ask one. For the Jews, it is well known, kept every fiftieth year as a sacred jubilee; and the Roman pontiffs always copied from them, readily, in whatever related to the hierarchy and to magnificence. But *Urban VI.*, *Sixtus IV.*, and others, who subsequently assigned a much shorter period for the recurrence of this salutary and gainful year, would have found more difficulty in satisfying the demand for sufficient reasons for such inconstancy.²

§ 2. *Innocent V.* commanded Christians to observe festal days, in memory of the *spear* that pierced the Saviour's side, of the *nails* that fastened him to the cross, and of the *crown of thorns* which he wore at his death.³ This was indeed irrational; yet it may in some measure be overlooked, considering the ignorance of the times. But no honest and well-informed man can readily excuse the conduct of *Benedict XII.* in giving his sanction to the senseless fable of the Franciscans, respecting the impressment upon the body of their chief

¹ Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* i. 247, 287, 312, 387. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 344, 481, &c. [Clement alleged, that few persons lived so long as a hundred years; and too many Christians had to forego the privilege of this full indulgence. *Von Ein.*]

² [Gregory XI. thought of shortening the period still more; notwithstanding the anathema, pronounced by his predecessors, against such as should make innovations upon it. He wished to limit the jubilee to every thirty-third year; but death frustrated his purpose. Urban VI. intended to execute this design; but he also died before he had accomplished it. Boniface IX. first attained the object. The concourse of people, however, was not great at this jubilee, because the adherents of his rival pope would not go to Rome. But he devised a remedy. He first instituted the

secondary jubilee; and also sent out hawkers of indulgences everywhere, offering his indulgences cheap to such as were unable to come to Rome. The regular jubilee was fixed to every 33rd year, on the ostensible ground that Christ, in making atonement for the human race, lived 33 years on the earth. But the period of 33 years was still a long time. Paul II., therefore, ordered that the festival should be kept every 25 years. Yet the benefit of his alteration he was compelled by death to resign to his successor, Sixtus IV. A more frequent recurrence of the jubilee no one has ventured to ordain. See Cramer's *Bossuet's History*, v. 426, &c. *Von Ein.*]

³ See Jo. Henr. a Seelen's *Diss. de festo Lanceæ et Clavorum Christi*. Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* i. 328, and his *Miscellanea*, i. 417.

and founder, by the almighty power of God, of the marks of the wounds of Christ, by ordaining a festival to commemorate the event. *John XXII.*, besides sanctioning many other superstitious things, ordered Christians to annex to their prayers the words in which *Gabriel* saluted the Virgin *Mary*.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1. Controversies of the Hesychasts — § 2. State of the question between the Hesychasts and the Barlaamites — § 3. Severities of the Inquisition among the Latins — § 4. Severe edicts against the *Cathari*, the *Beghardi*, *Beghinæ*, &c. — § 5. Yet the Brethren of the free spirit could not be extirpated — § 6. Persecution of the Beguins. Its tragical issue — § 7. The sect of Flagellants again appears — § 8. The Dancers — § 9. The Knights Templars are extirpated — § 10. The alleged cause of the severity was the extreme impiety of the Knights. An estimate of their guilt.

§ 1. THE *Hesychasts*, or, as they may be called in Latin, the *Quietists*, gave the Greeks much employment. *Barlaam*, a native of Calabria, a monk of the order of St. Basil, and afterwards bishop of Geraci in Calabria, travelled over Greece to inspect the conduct of the monks; and he found not a few things among them that were reprehensible; but in none of them more than in the *Hesychasts*, at Mount Athos, in Thessaly, who were *mystics*, or more perfect monks, that sought for tranquillity of mind and the extinction of all the passions, by means of contemplation. For these *Quietists*, in accordance with the prescription of their early teachers, who said that there was a divine light hidden in the soul, seated themselves daily in some retired corner, and fixed their eyes stedfastly, for a considerable time, upon the middle of their belly, or navel; and in that situation they boasted that a sort of divine illumination beamed forth upon them from the mind itself, which diffused through their souls wonderful delight.¹

¹ There is no reason for any to be surprised at this account, or to question its correctness. For among the precepts and rules of all those in the East who teach men how to withdraw the mind from the body and to unite it with God, or inculcate what the Latins call a *contemplative* and *mystic life*, whether they are Christians, or Mahomedans, or pagans, there is this precept, viz. that the eyes must be steadily fixed every day for some hours, upon some particular object; and that whoever does this, will be rapt into a kind of ecstasy, and being thus united to God, will see wonderful things, and will enjoy pleasures which words cannot express. See what Engelb.

Kaempfer states concerning the monks and mystics of Siam, in his *Historia Japoniæ*, i. 30; and the account of those of India, by Francis Bernier, *Voyages*, ii. 127. Indeed, I can easily believe, that those who continue long in such a posture of the body will see and perceive what no sane and sober person can see and feel. For they must necessarily fall into a disordered and bewildered state of mind; and the images represented by the imagination, in this unnatural state, will form strange combinations. And this will be the more certain effect, because the same injunction that requires the eyes to be long fixed immoveably on one object forbids these people, who wish to behold God, all use of

When asked what kind of illumination this was, they answered that it was the *glory of God*; and they appealed, for illustration, to the light which appeared at the *transfiguration* of Christ. *Barlaam*, who was ignorant of the customs of mystics, regarded this as absurd and fanatical; and to the monks who followed this practice he applied the names of *Massalians* and *Euchites*, and also the new name of *Ὁμφαλόψυχοι*, *Navel-souls*. On the other hand, *Gregory Palamas*, archbishop of Thessalonica, defended the cause of the monks against *Barlaam*.¹

§ 2. To put an end to this contest, a council was held at Constantinople, A.D. 1341, in which the emperor *Andronicus* junior and the patriarch presided. Here the monks, with *Palamas* at their head, were victorious: *Barlaam* was condemned; and leaving Greece, he returned to Italy. Not long after, another monk, *Gregory Acindynus*, renewed the controversy, and denied what *Palamas* had maintained, namely, that God dwells in an eternal light, distinct from his essence; and that this was the light seen by the disciples on Mount Tabor. The dispute was now no longer concerning the monks, [or the *Hesychasts*], but concerning the Taboritic light, and the nature of God. This *Gregory* [*Acindynus*] was also condemned, as being a follower of *Barlaam*, in another council at Constantinople. There were several subsequent councils on this subject: among which was the distinguished one, held in 1351, in which the *Barlaamites* and their friends were so severely censured, that they gradually became silent, and left *Palamas* victorious. It was the opinion of *Palamas*, who came off conqueror in this combat, that God is surrounded by an eternal light, which is distinct from his nature or essence, and which he called his *ἐνέργεια*, or *operation*; and that it was this light which he permitted the three disciples to behold on Mount Tabor. Hence he concluded, that the divine *operation* is really distinct from his *substance*; and he added, that no one can become a partaker of the divine *essence* or *substance* itself; but it is possible for finite natures to become partakers of this divine *light* or *operation*. Those called *Barlaamites*, on the contrary, denied these positions, and maintained that the divine operations or attributes do not differ from the divine *essence*; and that there is no difference in fact, but only in our modes of conceiving of them, or in our thoughts, among all the things that are said to be in God.²

their reason during the time. I have said that those in the *eastern* countries, who seek such intercourse with God, enjoin upon themselves this singular suspension of intellect and reason; but I might add, that very many of the Latins of the mystic class observe the same, and enjoin the observance of it on their disciples. And hence it is, that persons of this description sometimes relate to us so many visions, destitute of all rationality and truth. But this is not the place to enlarge on these prodigies.

¹ Concerning both of these famous men, *Barlaam* and *Gregory Palamas*, see, besides

others, Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, v. 247, &c. and 454, &c.

² See Jo. Cantacuzenus, *Hist.* l. ii. c. 39, &c. p. 263, &c., and the notes there of *Gregory* [James] Pontanus. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Hist. Byzantina*, l. xi. c. 10, p. 277, and in various other passages. But these two writers differ in many particulars. Many documents relating to this controversy remain unpublished. See Bernh. Montfaucon's *Biblioth. Coisliniana*, p. 150, 174, 404. Nor have we as yet a well-digested and accurate history of this controversy. Till we have, may be consulted

§ 3. In the Latin church, those papal ministers and judges, the Inquisitors, most industriously hunted out everywhere the remains of the sects that opposed the Roman religion, namely, the *Waldenses*, the *Cathari*, the *Apostoli*, and many others. Hence innumerable examples occur, in the monuments of those times, of persons who were burnt, or otherwise cruelly put to death by them. But none of these enemies to the church gave more trouble to the *Inquisitors* and the bishops than the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*; who, in Germany and the Low-countries, went by the common name of *Beghardi* and *Beghine*, and in other provinces were called by other names. For this class of people professing a sublime and austere kind of piety, and calling off men's attention from all external and sensible objects to an internal worship of God, easily gained the confidence of the honest, simple, and devout, and everywhere brought over multitudes to their views. And hence it was that so many persons of this character perished on the blazing pyre in Italy, France, and Germany, during this century.

§ 4. In no part of Germany were there greater numbers of this sect than in the cities on the Rhine, and especially in Cologne. Therefore *Henry I.*, archbishop of Cologne, published a severe ordinance against them, A.D. 1306:¹ and his example was followed by the prelates of Mentz, Treves, Worms, and Strasburg.² And as there were acute and subtle men among this class of people, the very acute *John Duns Scotus* was sent to Cologne, in the year 1308, to dispute against them and confute them.³ In the year 1310, *Margaret Porretta*, a celebrated leader of this sect, was burnt at Paris, with one of the brethren. She had undertaken to demonstrate in a book she published, *that the soul, when absorbed in the love of God, is free from all laws, and may gratify every natural propensity without guilt*.⁴ Influenced by these, and numerous other examples, the sovereign pontiff *Clement V.*, in the general council of Vienne, A.D. 1311, published a special decree against the *Beghardi* and *Beghine* of Germany; in which he states the opinions held by this party, imperfectly indeed, yet so far as to render it clear, they were *mystics*, and *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*.⁵ *Clement* published another decree, in the same council, in which he suppressed the *Beghine* of a far different class, namely, those who had previously been approved, and who lived everywhere in established houses.⁶

Leo Allatius, *De Perpetua Consensione Orient. et Occident. Ecclesiarum*, l. ii. c. 22, p. 824. Henr. Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, iv. 361. Dion. Petavius, *Dogmat. Theol.* t. i. l. i. c. 12, p. 76. Steph. de Altamura, *Panoplia contra Schisma Græcorum*, p. 381, &c. and others. [Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* xxxiv. 431, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ See the *Statuta Coloniensia*, Colon. 1554, 4to, p. 58. [Harzheim, *Concilia German.* iv. 99. *Schl.*]

² John's *Scriptores Rerum Moguntinarum*, iii. 298. Martene's *Thesaur. Anecdotorum*, iv.

250, &c. [Harzheim, *Concil. German.* iv. 139, 200, 234, 235, 407, 436, 438, 482, &c. *Schl.*]

³ Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* vi. 103, &c.

⁴ Luc. D'Achery, *Spicilegium Veter. Scriptorum*, iii. 63. Jo. Baleus, *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, cent. iv. No. 88, p. 367. Basil, 1557, fol.

⁵ It is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* among the Clementine, l. v. tit. iii. *De Hereticis*, c. iii. p. 1088.

⁶ In the *Corpus Juris Canon. Clementine*, l. iii. tit. xi. *De Religiosis Domibus*, c. i. p. 1075, ed. Boehmer.

For the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit* had crept into most of the convents of the *Beguine*, and inculcated their mysterious and sublime views on those women, who, being captivated with these novelties, prated absurdly and impiously about the mysteries and the true worship of God.¹

§ 5. The *Brethren of the free spirit*, oppressed by so many decrees and ordinances, endeavoured to descend from upper to lower Germany, and they actually migrated to several provinces of the latter. Westphalia alone they were not able to disquiet. For *Henry*, the archbishop of Cologne, assembled a council in 1322, and warned the bishops in his province of the impending danger; and they, by their great vigilance, prevented the entrance of any of these people into Westphalia.² About the same time, also, the leader and champion of the *Begharli* (as they were then called) living on the Rhine, *Walter*, a Hollander, an eloquent man, and distinguished for his writings, having come from Mentz to Cologne, was there seized and burnt.³ The death of this man was a great loss to the *Brethren of the free spirit*; yet it by no means effected their ruin. For it appears from numberless testimonies that this class of people held clandestine meetings for a long time at Cologne, and in many other provinces of Germany; and that there were men among them distinguished for their learning and weight of character, among whom, besides others, was the celebrated *Henry Aycard*, or *Eccard*, a Dominican of Saxony, and provincial of his order for Saxony, an acute man, who taught theology at Paris with applause.⁴ *John XXII.*, in the year 1330, sought to remedy this evil by a new and severe ordinance, in which the errors of the sect of the *free spirit* were more distinctly and precisely stated than in the ordinance of

¹ Hence, in the German monuments of this age, we may often notice a distinction made between the *reputable and approved Beguine*, and the *Beguine of the sublime or free spirit*; of whom the former adhered to the public religion, and the latter were corrupted by *mystical* opinions.

² Nicol. Schaten's *Annales Paderbornenses*, ii. 249.

³ Jo. Trithemius, *Annales Hirsaugens.* ii. 155. Schaten's *Annales Paderborn.* ii. 250. This was the celebrated *Walter*, who so many ecclesiastical historians tell us was the founder of the sect of *Lollhards*, and a distinguished witness for the truth. These and other conclusions the learned writers deduce from the language of Trithemius: *Lohareus* (thus it reads in my copy: but I believe the true reading to be *Lollhardus*; which term Trithemius often uses, in the manner common in his age, while treating of the sects that dissented from the church) *autem iste Waltherus, natione Hollandinus, Latini sermonis parvam habebat notitiam.* From these words, I say, those learned men infer that the name of the man was *Walter*, and his surname *Lollhard*; and hence they infer,

farther, that the sect of the *Lollhards* derived its name from him as being its founder. But it is clear, from this and other passages of Trithemius, that *Lollhardus* was not his surname, but an *epithet* of reproach, which was applied to all heretics who concealed the poison of error under the cloak of piety. This same *Walter* is called by Trithemius, a little before, *Fratricellorum princeps*. Yet the name *Fratricelli* he uses in a broader sense, or to include various sects. This *Walter* was a man devoted to mystic views, and a principal teacher among the *Brethren of the free spirit* along the Rhine.

⁴ See Jac. Echard's *Script. Prædicator.* i. 507. Odor. Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* t. xv. ad ann. 1329, § 70, p. 389 [and Harzheim's *Concilia German.* t. iv. in the *Digressio ad Sæcul.* xiv. p. 635, &c., where we find the bull of John XXII. sent to the archbishop of Cologne, in which the 26 articles which *Eccard* taught, but afterwards had to retract, are stated; and are, almost word for word, the same as those propositions quoted in the history of the preceding century (part ii. ch. v. § 11, above), from the book *De Novem Rubricis.* Schl.]

Clement;¹ but he could not by any means extirpate it. Both the Inquisitors and the bishops fought against it, quite to the end of the century, over the greater part of Europe.

§ 6. From the ordinance of *Clement*, or of the council of Vienne, against the *Beguines*, or those females who associated in regular houses for united prayer and labour, originated that great persecution of the *Beguines*, which continued down to the times of the reformation by *Luther*, and proved ruinous to both *Beguines* and *Beghards* in several countries. For although the pontiff, at the close of that ordinance, had allowed pious females to lead a life of celibacy, whether under a vow or not, and only forbidden the toleration of such females as were corrupted with the opinions of the *Brethren of the free spirit*, yet the enemies of the *Beguines* and *Beghards*, who were very numerous, both among the mechanics, especially the weavers, and among the priests and monks, took occasion from that ordinance of *Clement* to expel the *Beguines* from their houses, seize and carry off their goods, and to offer them many other insults and injuries. Nor were the *Beghards* treated with more indulgence. *John XXII.* first succoured the *Beguines* in the year 1324, by a special ordinance, in which he explained that of *Clement*, and commanded their houses and goods to be left to them unmolested. And other pontiffs afterwards extended to them relief. Moreover the *Beguines* themselves, in order to escape more easily the machinations and violence of their enemies, embraced in many places the third rule of *St. Francis*, and of the Augustinians. But all these guards could not prevent them from suffering great injury, both as to character and property, from this time onward; and in many places they were oppressed both by the magistrates and by the monks and clergy, who were eager for their property.²

§ 7. Some years before the middle of the century, while Germany, France, and other countries of Europe, were afflicted with various calamities, the *Flagellants*, a sect long since forgotten, especially in Germany, appeared again, and, roaming through various countries, produced excitement among the people. These new *Flagellants*, who were of every order, sex, and age, were worse than the old ones. For they not only supposed that God might be won over to compassion by self-inflicted pains, but also circulated other doctrines adverse to religion: for example, that *flagellation* was of equal efficacy with baptism and the other sacraments; that by it might be obtained from

¹ This new constitution of *John XXII.* has never been published entire. Its first words were, *In agro Domini*; and its inscription was, *Contra singularia, dubia, suspecta et temeraria, quæ Beghardi et Beghine prædicant et observant.* A summary of it is given by Herman Coerner, *Chronicon*; *Eccard's Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi*, ii. 1035, 1036. It is also mentioned by Paul Langius, *Chronicon Citizense*; in *Jo. Pistorius' Scriptores Rerum German.* i. 1206.

² I have made very extensive collections

respecting this long and eventful conflict of the *Beguins*. The most copious of all the printed histories of it, and especially of the conflict at Bâle, and of that most bitter enemy of the *Beguins*, *John Mülberg*, a priest of Bâle, is that of *Christian Wurtsisen* or *Urstisius*, in his *Chronicle of Bâle*, written in German, l. iv. c. ix. p. 201, &c. Bâle, 1580, fol. The writings of *Mülberg*, so famous in the following century for his assaults on the *Beguins*, are before me in manuscript, and are preserved in many old libraries.

God the forgiveness of all sins, without the merits of Christ; that the old law of Christ was soon to be abolished, and a new law (of baptism with blood by means of the whip) was to be substituted in its place; with other principles, of which some were better, and some worse. On these accounts *Clement VII.* anathematized Flagellants, and some of them were burnt by the *Inquisitors* in various places. But the coercion of them was found just as difficult as that of other bodies which held erroneous opinions.¹

§ 8. Directly the opposite of this melancholy sect was the merry one of the *Dancers*, which originated in the year 1373, at Aix-la-Chapelle, and thence spread through the district of Liege, Hainault, and other Belgic provinces. Persons of both sexes, publicly and in private houses, suddenly broke into a dance, and holding each other by the hand, danced with great violence till they fell down nearly suffocated. Amidst those violent movements they declared themselves to be favoured with wonderful visions. These also wandered about, like the *Flagellants*, and lived by begging; they esteemed the public worship of the church and of the priesthood of little value, and held secret assemblies. This appears to have been a singular species of disease; but the ignorant priests of that age supposed these people to be possessed by some evil spirit; and at Liege they endeavoured to cast him out by singing hymns and using incense. And it is reported, that the evil spirit was dislodged by these means.²

§ 9. The *Knights Templars*, established near 200 years before this in Palestine, were far worse than all the heretics, and were the enemies and deriders of all religion, if the crimes and enormities charged upon them were real. Their accuser before the pontiff, *Clement V.*, was no less than the king of France, *Philip the Fair*, an avaricious prince, extremely vindictive and fiery. The pontiff had to yield to the wishes of the king, although at first he made some resistance. Therefore in the year 1307, and afterwards, all the Knights, dispersed over the whole of Europe, while apprehending no such thing, were seized on a day appointed: many, who refused to confess the crimes and enormities charged upon them, were put to death; others, who, being compelled by tortures and allured by promises, confessed the crimes, were dismissed. The whole order, in the year 1311, was extinguished by the council of Vienne. Its very ample possessions were transferred, in part, to other orders, especially to the Knights of *St. John*, now of Malta, and in part were confiscated by the reigning sovereigns.

¹ See Baluze, *Vitæ Pontiff. Avenion.* i. 160, 316, 319; and *Miscellanea*, i. 50. Matthæus, *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, i. 50, iii. 241, iv. 145. Herm. Gyges, *Flores Tempor.* p. 139.

² See Baluze, *Vitæ Pontiff. Avenion.* i. 485. Ant. Matthæus, *Analecta Veter. Ævi*, i. 51, where the *Chronicon Belgicum*, ad ann. 1374, obscurely says: *gingen de Dansers. Gens impacata cadit, cruciata salvat.* [These

people fell down, if unexorcised, but the sign of the cross restored them.] These *Dancing brothers and sisters* were very much like the French *Convulsionists* [or Prophets] who in our age have produced so much disturbance. [Mosheim's age has passed away, and with it many of its names. The things represented by them are of immortal mould, as in this case the modern *Jumpers* testify. S.]

§ 10. The *Knights Templars*, if we may believe their judges, were a society of men who turned God and Christ, with everything sacred, into ridicule, and trampled upon all law and decency. Candidates for admission to the order were required to renounce Christ, and to spit upon his image; and when initiated, they paid divine honours to a gilded head of wood, or to a cat; were required to practise sodomy; burnt such children as happened to be the fruit of their commerce with women; and committed other crimes too horrid to be mentioned or even thought of. That there were impious and flagitious men in this, as well as in all other religious orders of the day, no one will deny. But that this whole order was so abominably corrupt, is so far from being proved by the records of the trials, which are now publicly extant, that the contrary rather is manifest from them. And if to this we add, that the accusations are evidently contradictory, and that many of these unhappy people most firmly attested their own innocence, and the innocence of their order, amidst the severest tortures, and even with their dying breath, it will appear most probable that king *Philip* set on foot this bloody tragedy to gratify his hatred against the order, and particularly against its general, who had offended him, and to satisfy his avarice.¹

¹ We have Peter Puteanus's *Histoire de la Condamnation des Templiers*, with the records of the trial annexed; which, with his other writings, relating to the history of France, was published at Paris, 1654, 4to. A second edition of the work appeared at Paris, 1685, 8vo, and a third at Brussels, 1713, 2 vols. 8vo. The fourth and most ample was printed at Brussels, 1751, 4to, to which a great number of documents of different kinds were added. Any one, by candidly examining the records and documents annexed to this book, will clearly perceive that injustice was done to the *Templars*.

There is, also, Nicolaus Gürtler's *Hist. Templariorum*, Amstelod. 1703, 8vo; and the reader may likewise consult Stephen Baluze, *Vitæ Pontiff. Avenion.* i. 8, 11, 12, &c. Gerh. du Bois, *Hist. de l'Eglise de Paris*, ii. 540. The principal cause of king Philip's implacable hatred of the Templars was, that in his war with Boniface VIII. these knights took side with the pontiff, and furnished the pontiff with money to carry on the war. This was an offence which Philip could never overlook. More cannot be added in the present work.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. The Moors and Jews — § 2. The Samogetæ and Indians converted.

§ 1. THE new subjects added to the kingdom of Christ were altogether unworthy the name of Christians, unless we apply the appellation to all that make any kind of profession of Christianity. *Ferdinand* the Catholic, king of Spain, by the conquest of Granada, in 1492,¹ entirely subverted the dominion of the Moors or Saracens in Spain. Not long after he ordered an immense multitude of Jews into banishment; and to escape this evil, a great number of them made an insincere profession of Christianity.² It is generally known, that to this present time Spain and Portugal are full of Jews, who pretend to be Christians. The Saracens, who remained in vast numbers, were at first solicited by exhortations and discourses to embrace the Christian religion. But as few would yield to these efforts, the great *Ximenes*, archbishop of Toledo, and prime minister of the kingdom, deemed it

¹ [The terms on which Granada capitulated, were definitively settled and ratified on the 25th of November, 1491. Uneasiness within the city rather expedited the actual surrender, which took place on the 2nd of January, 1492. Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, Lond. 1839, ii. 84, 86. S.]

² Jo. de Ferreras, *Histoire Générale d'Espagne*, viii. 123, &c. 132, *et alibi*. [The edict for expelling the Jews was signed by Ferdinand and Isabella, at Granada, on the 30th of March, 1492. It orders all unbaptized Jews to leave the kingdom by the end of July next following, under pain of death and confiscation. They were, however, to be allowed to dispose of their effects, and to take the proceeds with them in bills of

exchange, or merchandise not prohibited. This exception rendered the seeming indulgence of little value. Purchasers were not to be found, upon anything like fair terms, for the enormous mass of property suddenly forced into the market; and bills of exchange to meet such an unforeseen emergency were hopeless, to any adequate extent, in an age but imperfectly commercial. As usual, therefore, dishonesty was linked with cruelty. The numbers who suffered under the combined operations of these odious vices, have been estimated at eight hundred thousand. They seem really to have been about one hundred and sixty thousand. Prescott, ii. 126, 129, 135. S.]

necessary to employ civil penalties. But even this severity induced only a small part of the nation to renounce Mahumed.¹

§ 2. The light of Christianity was also carried among the inhabitants of Samogitia, and the neighbouring provinces, but with very little success.² Near the end of the century, the Portuguese navigators penetrated to India and Ethiopia; and soon after, A.D. 1492, *Christopher Columbus* opened a passage to America, and discovered the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and some others.³ *Americus Vespuccius*, a citizen of Florence, now reached the [American] continent.⁴ These new Argonauts thought it their duty to impart the light of Christian truth to the inhabitants of these regions, which were before unknown to the Europeans. The first attempt of

¹ Esprit Flechier, *Hist. du Cardinal Ximenes*, p. 89, &c. Mich. Geddes, *History of the expulsion of the Moriscoes*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, i. 8, &c. [This last assertion is erroneous, if it mean an outward renunciation. After the conquest of Granada, Ferdinand de Talavera, confessor to both Ferdinand and Isabella, was translated from the see of Avila to the archbishopate of Granada. He was a mild, liberal, and zealous prelate, whose sterling qualities proved an over-match for the Mahumedan prejudices of many among his new flock. The great majority, however, merely respected the man; pitying and abhorring, no less heartily than ever, the priest and his opinions. The fiery zeal of Ximenes de Cisneros, the famous archbishop of Toledo, who followed the court to Granada, in the autumn of 1499, was violently excited by this unpromising aspect of missionary affairs, and remaining behind, when the court removed to Seville, in November, he tried every expedient for the extirpation of Mahumedanism. Among his endeavours was a liberality so profuse, as materially to cripple his ample resources for several years, and this policy was, of course, found irresistible in many cases. The bulk remained immoveable, and even regarded the archbishop's proceedings as a virtual infringement of that article in the capitulation which guaranteed full liberty of conscience to the people of Granada. At length, two of his servants were killed in the Moorish quarter of the city, and a tumult following, advantage of it was readily taken to force the alternative of receiving baptism, or leaving the country. About fifty thousand seem to have been baptized in consequence, and their former appellation of Moors was changed into that of Moriscoes; an unhappy class of persons, whose secret Mahumedanism was continually discovered by the Inquisition, until their final expulsion from the loved soil of Spain. Prescott, ii. 372, 376, 388. S.]

² John Henry Hottinger's *Historia Ecclesiast.* sæc. xv. p. 856. [In these countries the *Teutonic knights* distinguished themselves by their zeal to convert pagans: but their zeal was neither so pure, nor so disinterested, as it should be to deserve commendation. We have in Von der Hardt's *Acta Concil. Constant.* iii. 9, &c., Pauli Voladimiri, de Cracovia, academ. Cracov. Rectoris, legati regis ad concilium, *Demonstratio, Cruciferis de Prusia opposita: infideles armis et bello non esse ad Christianam fidem convertendos, nec eorum bona invadenda; in Constant. Concil. 1415, die 6 Julii proposita.* In the first chapter of this paper is a confutation of the opinion, that, since the advent of Christ, the unbelieving have no rights, no honours, and no legitimate dominion over their lands. The second chapter treats of the *devices and pretexts of the Teutonic order, for subjecting to themselves various countries, under the plea of religion.* And the writer says: 'The pagans have now ceased to invade us: but these, twice a year, invade the territories of the infidels, whom they call *Reisas* (giants).—The most powerful of the pagan princes have received baptism through the ministry of the Poles, and a great multitude are still receiving it: yet the Crossbearers invade still the new converts, lest the object of their inroads should fail.' *Schl.*]

³ See Charlevoix, *Hist. de l'Isle de St. Domingo*, i. 64, &c. [Hispaniola, or St. Domingo, was not the first American land seen by Columbus. He sailed from Palos, in Andalusia, August 3, 1492, and descried *San Salvador*, or St. Saviour, as he piously called it, one of the Bahamas, Oct. 12, next following. He discovered Hispaniola in December. He did not discover the mainland of America until his third voyage, on which, Aug. 1st, 1498, he reached *Terra Firma*. Prescott, ii. 119, 428. S.]

⁴ See Angelo Maria Bandini's *Life of Americus Vespuccius*; written in Italian, but translated into German.

the kind was made by the Portuguese among the Africans of the kingdom of Congo, whose king, with all his subjects, instantly received the Roman religion.¹ But all good and considerate men must necessarily smile, or rather be grieved, at this so sudden abandonment of long-established errors. Afterwards, when the sovereign pontiff, *Alexander VI.*, divided America between the Spaniards and the Portuguese, he strongly exhorted both nations not to suffer the inhabitants of the islands and the continent to continue longer in ignorance of the true religion.² And many of the Franciscans and Dominicans were sent to those countries to convert the natives to Christ. With what degree of zeal and success they performed the service is very generally known.³

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Sinking of Christianity in the East—§ 2. Constantinople taken.

§ 1. In the countries of the East, Christianity daily suffered a diminution of its glory and prevalence by the inroads of the Mahumedans, both the Turks, and likewise the Tartars who had embraced the Koran. In Asiatic Tartary, among the Moguls, the inhabitants of Tangut, and the adjacent nations, the ground, which had long been occupied by the religion of Christ, was now the seat of the vilest superstitions. Nor were even the vestiges of Christianity anywhere visible in those vast countries, except in China, where some feeble remains of the Nestorians glimmered faintly amidst the thick surrounding darkness. For it appears, that so late as this century the Nestorian patriarch in Chaldea sent certain men to Cathai and China, to preside as bishops over the churches existing, or rather lying concealed, in the remoter provinces.⁴ Yet even this little handful of Christians must have become wholly extinct in the course of the century.

§ 2. The lamentable overthrow of the Greek empire brought incalculable evils upon the Christian religion in a large part of both Asia and Europe. For after the Turks under *Mahumed II.* (a great prince, religion only excepted) had captured Constantinople, in the year 1453, the glory of the Greek church was at an end; nor had the

¹ Jo. Bapt. Labat's *Relation de l'Ethiopie Occidentale*, ii. 366. Jo. Franc. Lafitau's *Hist. des Découvertes et Conquêtes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde*, i. 71, &c.

² See the Bull, in the *Bullarium Romanum*, i. 466.

³ See Thom. Maria Mamachi, *Origines*

et Antiquitt. Christianæ, ii. 326, &c., where the gradual introduction of Christianity into America is described. Luke Wadding's *Annales Minor.* xv. 1, 10, &c.

⁴ This is from the letters of Theoph. Sigfr. Bayer, which he addressed to me.

Christians any protection against the daily oppressions and wrongs of the victors, or any means of resisting the torrent of ignorance and barbarism that rushed in upon them. One part of the city of Constantinople the Turks took by storm; but another part of it surrendered upon terms of capitulation.¹ Hence, in the former, all public profession of Christianity was at once suppressed; but in the latter, during the whole century, the Christians retained all their temples, and freely worshipped in them according to their usages. This liberty, however, was taken away in the times of *Selim I.*, and Christian worship was confined within very narrow limits.² The outward form and organisation of the Christian church was indeed left untouched by the Turks, but in everything else the Greek church was gradually so straitened, that from that time onward it lost pretty completely its vigour and efficiency. The Roman pontiff, *Pius II.*, addressed a letter to *Mahumed II.*, exhorting him to embrace Christianity, but in a strain of little piety and prudence.³

¹ [In this account Dr. Mosheim has followed the Turkish writers. And, indeed, their account is much more probable than that of the Latin and Greek historians, who suppose that the whole city was taken by force, and not by capitulation. The Turkish relation diminishes the glory of their conquest, and therefore probably would not have been adopted, had it not been true. *Macl.*]

² Demetr. Cantemir. *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, i. 11, 46, 54, 55.

³ Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, iii. 1872.

[Art. *Mahomet II.* The letter is the 396th of the printed letters of Pius II.; and occasioned a debate between the French Protestants and French Catholics, as to its piety and discretion. The pope promised to confirm the dominion of the sultan over the Greek empire, and assured him of the respect and esteem of the Christian world, by which he would become the greatest prince on earth, if he would only be baptized, and make a profession of Christianity. *Tr.*]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

§ 1. Learning flourishes among the Latins — § 2. The Greeks aid its progress in the West — § 3. Elegant literature and languages — § 4. Philosophy, the Aristotelian and the Platonic — § 5. The Platonic Syneretists — § 6. The Aristotelian has still the preponderance — § 7. The contests of the Nominalists and Realists continue.

§ 1. THE tyranny of the Mahumedans well-nigh imposed silence on the Grecian and Oriental muses. Among the Latins, on the contrary, literature and the liberal arts returned under most favourable auspices to their long-lost lustre and glory. Some of the pontiffs themselves encouraged them, among whom *Nicolas V.* stands prominent: also many of the kings and princes aided literary men, by their protection and by extraordinary munificence; among whom the illustrious family of *Medici*, in Italy,¹ *Alphonsus VI.*, king of Naples, and the other Neapolitan sovereigns of the house of Arragon,² acquired permanent fame by their liberality and their attachment to learning. Hence universities were erected in Germany, France, and Italy; libraries were collected at great expense, and young men were excited to study by proffered rewards and honours. To all these means was added the incomparable advantage resulting from the art of printing, first with wooden blocks, and then with metal types, which was invented at Mentz, about the year 1440, by *John Guttenberg*. For in consequence of this, the best Greek and Latin authors, who before had lain concealed in the libraries of the monks, were now put into the hands of the people, and awakened in very many a laudable desire of emulating their excellences, and purified the taste of innumerable individuals of a literary turn.³

¹ A direct treatise on the great merits of the house of Medici, in regard to all the liberal arts and sciences, is given us by Joseph Bianchini del Prato, *Dei Gran-Duchi di Toscana della reale Casa de Medici, Protettori delle lettere et delle belle arti, Ragionamenti Historici*. Venice, 1741, fol.

² See Giannone, *Hist. Civile du Royaume de Naples*, iii. 500, 628, &c. Anton. Pannormitanus, *Dicta et Facta Memorabilia*

Alphonsi I. second ed. by Jo. Gerh. Meuschen, *Vitæ Eruditor. Viror.* ii. 1, &c.

³ Mich. Maittaire's *Annales Typographici*. Prosper Marchand's *Histoire de l'Imprimerie*, à la Haye, 1740, 4to, &c. [Jo. Dan. Schöpfung's *Vindiciæ Typographicæ*, Hagæ Comit. 1763, 2 vols. 4to. Breitkopf, *über der Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst*, Lips. 1779, 4to. There has been much debate, where, and by whom, printing was first performed.

§ 2. The fall of the Greek empire likewise contributed much to the promotion of learning in the West. For the most learned men of that nation, after the capture of Constantinople, emigrated to Italy; and thence a part of them dispersed into the other countries of Europe. These men faithfully taught the Greek language and Grecian learning everywhere for their own support; and they diffused a taste for literature and science over nearly the whole Latin world. Hence there was no considerable city or university, in this age, in which some one or more of the Greeks were not employed as teachers of the liberal arts.¹ But they were nowhere more numerous than in Italy, where they were encouraged and honoured by the munificence and ardent zeal for useful learning, as well of the Medicean family, as of several cities; which occasioned a great resort from other countries, of those who thirsted for knowledge, into the Italian peninsula.²

§ 3. The greater part of the learned men in Italy, which was the chief seat of learning, were engaged in publishing, correcting, and elucidating the Greek and Latin authors; in forming both a prose and poetic style after their model; and in illustrating antiquities. And in these departments many attained such eminence, that it is very difficult to come up to their standard. Nor were the other languages and sciences neglected. In the university of Paris, a public teacher of the Greek and Hebrew languages was now established.³ In Spain and Italy there were many who were distinguished for their knowledge of Hebrew and oriental literature.⁴ Germany was renowned for *John Reuchlin* or *Capnio*, *John Trithemius*, and others, eminent both in those languages, and in other branches of learning.⁵ Latin poetry was revived, especially by *Antony* of Palermo, who had many followers.⁶ The principal collector of ancient monuments, coins, gems, and inscriptions, among the Italians, was

Haarlem, Mentz, and Strasburg, each claims the honour of being the first seat of the art; and Laurence Coster, John Gensfleisch, or Guttenberg, and John Faust, besides others, have been honoured as inventors of the art. The probability is, that Coster first printed at Haarlem with carved wooden blocks (much in the Chinese manner), in or before the year 1430; that Guttenberg invented forged metal types at Strasburg, A.D. 1436, or later; and that afterwards, on his forming a partnership with Faust and others, at Mentz, Faust invented the cast types, one Peter Schoeffer having devised the iron matrixes and punches to facilitate the casting of the types; and the company began to print in 1450; and in 1459, printed Durant's *Rationale Divinor. Officior.* at Mentz. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* xxx. 175, and Rees's *Cyclopædia*, art. *Printing*. Tr.—Laurence Coster is evidently the inventor of printing; the others only rendered the art more perfect. *Macl.*]

¹ Jo. Henr. Maius, *Vita Reuchlini*, p. 11, 13, 19, 28, 152, 153, 165, &c. Caspar Barth, on *Statius*, ii. 1008. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* v. 691.

² Happily illustrative of these facts is Humphrey Hody's *Libër de Græcis illustribus Litterarum Instauratoribus*, edited by Sam. Jebb, Lond. 1742, 8vo. Very interesting and accurate is Christ. Fred. Boerner, *de Doctis Hominibus Græcis Litterarum Græcarum in Italia Instauratoribus*, Lips. 1750, 8vo. Sam. Battier, *Oratio de Instauratoribus Græcar. Litterarum*, in the *Museum Helveticum*, iv. 163, &c.

³ Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclès. par M. du Pin*, i. 502, 512, &c. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* v. 852, &c.

⁴ Paul Colomesius, *Italia Orientalis*, p. 4, &c., and *Hispania Orientalis*, p. 212.

⁵ Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choiesies*, i. 262; iv. 131, &c. p. 140, and in other passages.

⁶ Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Panormitanus*, iii. 2162.

Cyriacus of Ancona, whose example prompted others to do the same.¹

§ 4. It is not necessary here to be particular respecting the other departments of erudition, but the state of philosophy deserves to be briefly noticed. Before the Greeks came into Italy, *Aristotle* alone was the admiration of all; he was extolled immoderately, and many were not ashamed to compare him, foolishly, with the precursor of Jesus Christ.² But about the time of the council of Florence some of the Greeks, and especially the celebrated *Gemistius Pletho*, recommended to certain great men of Italy, instead of the contentious philosophy of the Peripatetics, what they called the divine and mild wisdom of *Plato*. And these Italians being charmed with it, took pains to have a number of noble youths imbued with it. The most distinguished among them was *Cosmo de Medicis*, who, after hearing *Pletho*, formed the design of establishing a Platonic school at Florence. For this purpose, he caused *Marsilius Ficinus*, the son of his physician, to be carefully educated and instructed in order to translate the works of *Plato* from the Greek into Latin. He therefore first published a Latin version of *Hermes Trismegistus*, and then of *Plo-tinus*, and finally of *Plato*. This same *Cosmo* prompted other learned men, as *Ambrosio* of Camalduli, *Leonard Bruno*, *Poggio*, and others, to engage in similar labours; that is, to translate Greek authors into Latin. In consequence of these efforts, there soon appeared two schools of philosophy in Italy, which for a long time contended zealously with each other whether *Plato* or *Aristotle* ought to hold the pre-eminence in philosophy.³

§ 5. A middle course between the two parties was taken by certain eminent men among both the Greeks and the Latins, such as *John Francis Picus*, *Bessarion*, *Hermolaus Barbarus*, and others, who indeed honoured *Plato* as a kind of oracle in philosophy, yet did not wish to see *Aristotle* trodden under foot and despised, but contemplated a union of the two. These followed, both in their manner of teaching and in their doctrines or principles, the later Platonic school, which originated with *Ammonius*.⁴ This kind of philosophy was for a long time held in high estimation, and was especially prized by the mystic theologians; but the scholastic and disputatious divines were better pleased with the Peripatetic school. Yet these Platonists were not truly wise; they were not only infected with anile superstitions, but they likewise abandoned themselves wholly to the guidance of a wanton fancy.

¹ See the *Itinerarium* of *Cyriacus Anconitanus*, published from a manuscript, with a preface, notes, and the epistles of this first antiquary, by Laur. Mehus, Florence, 1742, 8vo. Add Leonard Aretin's *Epistles*, t. ii. l. ix. p. 149, recent edition, Florence.

² See Christ. August. Heumann's *Acta Philosophorum*, in German, iii. 345.

³ John Boivin, in the *Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscript. et des Belles Lettres*, iv. 381. Jo. Launoï, de *Varia Fortuna Aristotelis*, p.

225. Leo Allatius, de *Georgiis*, p. 391. Matur. Veiss. la Croze, *Entretiens sur Divers Sujets*, p. 384, &c. Joseph Bianchini, in his Italian work above quoted, On the merits of the house of Medici in regard to learning, the Preface. Jac. Brücker's *Historia Critica Philos.* tom. iv. p. 62, &c.

⁴ See Bessarion's Letter, in the *Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, v. 456. Jac. Thomasius, de *Syncretismo Peripatetico*, in his *Orationes*, p. 340.

§ 6. These Platonists, however, were not so bad as their adversaries, the Aristotelians, who had the upper hand in Italy, and instructed the youth in all the universities. For these, and especially the followers of *Averroes*, who maintained (according to the opinion of that philosopher) that all men have one common soul, cunningly subverted the foundations of all religion, both natural and revealed, and approximated very near to the impious tenets of the pantheists, who hold that the universe, as consisting of *infinite matter* and *infinite power of thought*, is the deity. The most noted among this class was *Peter Pomponatius*, a philosopher of Mantua, a crafty and arrogant man, who has left us many writings prejudicial to religion;¹ yet nearly all the professors of philosophy in the Italian universities coincided with him in sentiment. When pressed by the Inquisitors, these philosophers craftily discriminated between philosophical truth and theological; and said that their doctrines were only philosophically true, that is, accordant with sound reason; but that nevertheless they considered them liable, when viewed theologically, to be accounted false. On this impudent subterfuge, *Leo X.*, in the Lateran council held in the following century, at length laid restrictions.

§ 7. In France and Germany the philosophical sects of *Realists* and *Nominalists* everywhere had fierce contests with each other; in which they employed not only ratiocination and argument, but also accusations, penal laws, and the force of arms. There was scarcely a university that was undisturbed by this war. In most places, however, the *Realists* were more powerful than the *Nominalists*, or the *Terminists*, as they were also called.² In the university of Paris, so long as *John Gerson* lived, and his immediate pupils, the *Nominalists* were in high authority; but when these were dead, A.D. 1473, *Lewis XI.*, the king of France, at the instigation of the bishop of Avranches, who was his confessor, prohibited the doctrine of the *Nominalists* by a severe edict, and ordered all books composed by men of that sect to be seized and locked up from the public.³ But he mitigated his decree in the year 1474, and allowed *some* books of the *Nominalists* to be let out of prison.⁴ And in the year 1481 he restored *all* the books of the *Nominalists* to liberty, and reinstated the sect in its former privileges and honours in the university.⁵

¹ See Jac. Brücker's *Hist. Crit. Philos.* iv. 158, &c.

² See Jac. Brücker's *Hist. Crit. Philos.* v. 904. Jo. Salabert's *Philosophia Nominalium Vindicata*, c. i. Steph. Baluze, *Miscellanea*, iv. 531, &c. Argentre, *Collectio Documentor. de Novis Erroribus*, i. 220, &c.

³ Gabr. Naudé, *Additions à l'Hist. de*

Louis XI. p. 203. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* v. 678, 705, 708, &c. John Launoi, *Hist. Gymnasii Navarr. Opp.* iv. pt. i. p. 201, 378.

⁴ Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* v. 710.

⁵ The documents are published by Jo. Salabert, *Philosophia Nominal. Vindicata*, c. i. p. 104. Add Boulay, l. c. v. 739, 747.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Vices of the clergy—§ 2. Continuance of the schism of the West—§ 3. The council of Constance called by the emperor Sigismund—§ 4. Its proceedings and issue—§ 5. John Huss—§ 6. Causes of hatred against him—§ 7. John Huss is burnt. Jerome of Prague—§ 8. Decree of the council against the books and the ashes of Wickliffe—§ 9. Sentence against John Petit—§ 10. The Reformation of the church—§ 11. Council of Basil. Reformation of the Church again attempted in vain—§ 12. Decrees and acts of this council—§ 13. Council of Ferrara under Eugene IV.—§ 14. Schism of the Church renewed—§ 15. Schism terminates under Nicolas V.—§ 16. Pius II.—§ 17. Paul II.—§ 18. Alexander VI.—§ 19. The monks—§ 20. The mendicants—§ 21. Condition of the *Fratricelli*—§ 22. New orders. Brethren and Clerks of the common life—§ 23. Greek writers—§ 24. Latin writers.

§ 1. No teacher or writer of any eminence can be named in this age, who does not plainly and greatly lament the miserable state of the Christian church, and anticipate its ruin unless God should interpose for its rescue. The disorders both of the pontiffs, and of others in holy orders, were so manifest, that no one dared to censure such complaints. And even prelates of the highest rank, who spent their lives in idleness and vice of every kind, were obliged to hear with a placid countenance, and even to commend, those bold orators who publicly maintained that there was nothing sound in either the head or the members of the church, and who called for the amputation of the infected parts. And indeed he only was accounted an honest and useful man who, fearlessly and vehemently, declaimed against the court of Rome, the pontiff, and all his train.¹

§ 2. At the commencement of the century, the Latin church was two-headed, or had two pontiffs, *Boniface IX.*, at Rome, and *Benedict XIII.*, resident at Avignon. On the death of *Boniface*, the cardinals of his party elected, A.D. 1404, *Cosmato dei Meliorati*, who took the

¹ [Flacius (Matthias Flacius Illyricus, or Matthias Francowitz), in his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, has collected many such testimonies. Still more may be found in Peter de Alliaco's tract, *de Reformatione Ecclesiæ*; and in the tract of Matthew of Cracovia, bishop of Worms, *de Squaloribus Romanæ Curie*: both of which tracts were published by Wolfgang Weissemburg, at Basil, 1551; likewise in the same Weissemburg's *Antilogia Romana*, Basil, 1555, 8vo, in John Wolf's *Lectiones Memorabiles*, t. i. and especially in the *Monumenta Medii Ævi*, by Dr. Walch, of Göttingen, where we have tom. i. fascic. i. p. 1, the tracts *de Squaloribus Curie Romanæ*; and, p. 101, the *Gravamina*

Nationis German. adversus Curiam Romanam, Joanni Cardinali S. Angeli, Nicolai V. Pontificis Rom. Legato, exhibita; and, p. 156, James Junterberg's tract, *de Negligentia Prælatorum*; besides many of the speeches made in the council of Constance, which are in the second fasciculus, and are of a similar import. Even at the council of Constance itself, which assembled to reform the church, and in which so many testimonies were exhibited of the corrupt state of the church, there were present a great number of buffoons, prostitutes, and public girls. See the *Diarium Belli Hussitici*, in Ludewig's *Reliquiæ Manuscrip.* iv. 127. *Schl.*]

name of *Innocent VII.*¹ And he dying after two years, or A.D. 1406, his place was filled by *Angelo Corrurio*, a Venetian, who assumed the name of *Gregory XII.* Both of them promised, under oath, that they would voluntarily resign the pontificate if the interests of the church should require it; and each of them violated his pledge. *Benedict XIII.*, being besieged at Avignon by the king of France, A.D. 1408, fled into Catalonia, his native province, and thence removed to Perpignan. Hence eight or nine cardinals of his party, finding themselves deserted by their pontiff, joined the cardinals of the party of *Gregory XII.*, and in conjunction with them, for the purpose of ending at last the protracted schism, appointed a council of the whole church to be held at Pisa, on the 25th of March, A.D. 1409. But this council, which was designed to heal the wounds of the divided church, unexpectedly inflicted upon her a new wound. On the 5th of June, it passed a heavy sentence on each of the pontiffs; for it declared them both to be heretical, perjured, contumacious, unworthy of any honour, and no longer members of the church. As the next step, the council created *Peter de Candia* sovereign pontiff, in their place, on the 26th of June; and he assumed the name of *Alexander V.*² But the two pontiffs spurned the decrees of this council; and continued still to perform their functions. *Benedict* held a council at Perpignan; and *Gregory* assembled another at Austria,³ near Aquileia; but fearing the resentment of the Venetians, he went first to Gaeta, where he threw himself upon the protection of *Ladislaus*, king of Naples; and then fled, A.D. 1412, to Rimini.

§ 3. The church was thus divided among three pontiffs; who fiercely assailed each other with reciprocal excommunications, reproaches, and maledictions. *Alexander V.*, who was elected in the council of Pisa, died at Bologna, A.D. 1410.⁴ The sixteen cardinals, who were present in the city, immediately filled his place with *Balthasar Cossa*, a Neapolitan, who took the name of *John XXIII.*, a man destitute of principle and of piety.⁵ From this war of the pontiffs,

¹ Besides the common writers, see especially, in regard to Innocent VII., Leonh. Aretinus, *Epistolar.* l. i. ep. 4, 5, p. 6, 19, 21, l. ii. ep. 2, p. 30, and Collucius Salutatius, *Epistolar.* l. ii. ep. i. p. 1, or p. 18, ed. Florence; in regard to Gregory, the same Aretinus, *Epistolar.* l. ii. ep. 3, p. 32, ep. 7, p. 39, 41, 51, l. ii. ep. 17, p. 54, 56, 59. John Lamy, *Deliciæ Eruditor.* x. 494.

² See Jac. Lenfant's *Hist. du Concile de Pise*, Amsterd. 1724, 4to. Franc. Pagi, *Breviarium Pontiff. Romanor.* iv. 350. Jac. Benign. Bossuet, *Defensio Decreti Cleri Gallicani de Potestate Eccles.* ii. 17, &c., and elsewhere.

³ [In civitatem Austriæ et Utinum.] Labbé, xi. 2102; Udine, and the neighbouring city. Cividale di Friuli is twelve miles from Udine. *Ed.*]

⁴ [Alexander committed two faults, which very much injured his cause. He published

a bull for the advantage of the mendicants, in regard to hearing confessions, which was so offensive to the secular clergy, and particularly to the university of Paris, that under the countenance of the king they set themselves against it; and his successor, John XXIII., found it necessary to repeal it. In the next place, by the advice of the cardinal legate of Bologna, Balthasar of Cossa, he ventured to go to Rome, which prepared the way for Lewis, king of Naples, to gain the victory over his enemy, king Ladislaus. Under him, likewise, a cardinal was allowed to hold many benefices, three or four deaneries, as many presbyterships, besides several bishoprics. *Schl.*]

⁵ [History represents him as a great villain; and in the council of Constance he was accused, among other crimes, of procuring the death of his predecessor with poison. His persecution of Ladislaus, whom he very

vast evils arose, which afflicted both the church and the state. Hence the emperor *Sigismund*, the king of France, and other kings and princes of Europe, spared no pains or expense to restore harmony, and bring the church again under one head. From the pontiffs, it was found quite impossible to obtain any personal sacrifice for the peace of the church: so that no course remained, but to assemble a general council of the whole church, to take cognisance of this great controversy. Such an assembly *John XXIII.*, being prevailed on by the entreaties of *Sigismund*, and hoping that it would favour his cause, appointed to be held at Constance, A.D. 1414. In this council, were present, the pontiff *John*, the emperor *Sigismund*, many princes of Germany, and ambassadors from the absent kings and princes of Europe, and from the republics.¹

§ 4. The principal object of this great council was to extinguish the discord between the pontiffs; and this business was accomplished successfully. For having established by two solemn decrees, in the fourth and fifth sessions, that a pontiff is subject to a council of the whole church; and having most carefully substantiated the authority of councils,² the fathers, on the 29th of May, A.D. 1415, removed *John XXIII.* from the pontificate, on account of various offences and crimes:³ for he had pledged himself to the council, to resign the

unseasonably excommunicated, and offended still more by proclaiming a crusade against him, obliged him to court the friendship of the emperor *Sigismund*, who, by a masterpiece of policy, induced him to call the council of Constance. *Schl.*]

¹ The Acts of this celebrated council were published in six volumes, fol. by Herm. von der Hardt, Frankfort, 1700; an elaborate work, yet imperfect; for very many Acts are wanting in it; while many Acts are inserted which might have been omitted. James Lenfant composed an elegant history of this council in French, which was printed, 2nd ed. Amsterd. 1728, 4to [also in English, 2 vols. 4to. *Tr.*] A Supplement to it, composed, however, with little judgment, was added by Bourgeois du Chastenot, an advocate of Paris, entitled *Nouvelle Histoire du Concile de Constance, où l'on fait voir combien la France a contribué à l'Extinction du Schisme.* Paris, 1718, 4to.

² Concerning these two celebrated decrees, which are extremely hateful to the pontiffs, see Natalis Alexander's *Historia Eccles. sæc.* xv. diss. iv. Jac. Benign. Bossuet's *Defensio Sententiæ Clari Gallicani de Potestate Eccles.* ii. 2, 23, &c. and Jac. Lenfant's *Diss. Historique et Apologetique pour Jean Gerson et le Concile de Constance*, annexed to his history of that council. [The second decree of the 6th of April repeats the most essential parts of the first, or that of the 30th of March, and is as follows: 'Hæc sancta synodus Constantiensis generale concilium faciens, pro extirpatione ipsius schismatis,

et unione et reformatione ecclesiæ Dei in capite et in membris, &c. ordinat, definit, decernit, et declarat, ut sequitur.

'Et primo declarat, quod ipsa in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata, concilium generale faciens, et ecclesiam catholicam representans, potestatem a Christo immediate habet, cui quilibet ejusque status vel dignitatis, etiam si papalis existat, obedire tenetur in his quæ pertinent ad fidem et extirpationem dicti schismatis, et reformationem dictæ ecclesiæ in capite et in membris.

'Item declarat, quod quicumque ejusque conditionis, status, dignitatis, etiam si papalis, qui mandatis, statutis seu ordinationibus, aut præceptis hujus sacre synod et ejusque alterius concilii generalis legitime congregati, super premissis, seu ad ea pertinentibus, factis, vel faciendis, obedire contumaciter contempserit, nisi resipuerit, condignæ penitentię subiciatur, et debite puniatur, etiam ad alia juris subsidia (si opus fuerit) recurrendo.'—The decree then goes on to forbid pope John from dissolving or removing the council to any other place without its consent; or from withdrawing any of his officers and servants from attending on the council so long as it shall remain at Constance. It further declares null and void all censures, deprivations of office, &c. passed, or that might be passed by the said pope, upon any persons whatever to the prejudice of the council. See Harduin's *Concilia*, viii. 258, 259. *Tr.*]

³ [The crimes of this pope are laid down

pontificate; and yet withdrew himself by flight. *Gregory XII.* voluntarily resigned his pontificate, on the 4th of July, in the same year, through *Charles de Malatesta*. And *Benedict XIII.*, on the 26th of July, 1417, was deprived of his rank as a pontiff, by a solemn decree of the council. After these transactions, on the 11th of November, A.D. 1417, *Otto de Colonna* was elected pontiff by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, and assumed the name of *Martin V.* *Benedict XIII.*, who resided at Perpignan, resisted indeed, and claimed the rights and the dignity of a pontiff, till his death, A.D. 1423: and after the death of this obstinate man, under the auspices of *Alphonsus*, king of Sicily, *Giles Muñoz*, a Spaniard, was appointed to succeed him, by only two cardinals. He assumed the name of *Clement VIII.*, and wished to be regarded as the legitimate pontiff; but in the year 1429, he was persuaded to resign the government of the church entirely to *Martin V.*

§ 5. The things done in this council for the repression and extirpation of *Heretics*, are not equally commendable; some of them, indeed, are quite inexcusable. Before the council sat, great religious commotions had arisen in several countries, but especially in Bohemia. There lived and taught at Prague, with much applause, an eloquent and learned man, by name *John Huss*, who acted as a professor of theology in the university, and as a minister of holy things in the church. Vehemently did he declaim against priestly vices of every kind; which was generally done in that age, and no good man disapproved it. He likewise endeavoured, after the year 1408, to detach the university from acknowledging as pontiff *Gregory XII.*, whom Bohemia had hitherto obeyed. This gave great offence to the archbishop of Prague, and to the rest of the clergy, who were devoted partisans of *Gregory*. Hence arose great hostility between *Huss* and the archbishop; which the former kept up and increased, by his discourses against the Roman court and the vices of the clergy.

§ 6. To these first causes of hatred against *Huss*, which might easily have been surmounted, others were added of greater magnitude. First, he took the side of the *Realists* in philosophy, and, therefore, according to the usage of the age, goaded and pressed the *Nominalists* to the utmost of his power: yet their number was very considerable in the university of Prague, and their influence was not small.¹ Afterwards, in the year 1408, he brought it about, that in a controversy between the Germans and the Bohemians, respecting the

in certain articles in Von der Hardt's *Acta Conc. Constant.* iv. 196, among which are the following: Simony, extortion, poisoning, adultery, incest, the sale of ecclesiastical offices and bulls, &c. *Schl.*—Harduin's *Concilia*, viii. 343, &c. and the judgment of the council upon them; *ibid.* p. 376. *Tr.*]

¹ There is a letter of the Nominalists to Lewis XI., king of France, in Steph. Baluze's *Miscellanæ*, iv. 534, which says, 'Legimus

Nominales expulsos de Bohemia eo tempore, quo hæretici voluerunt Bohemicum regnum suis hæresibus inficere.—Quum dicti hæretici non possent disputando superare, impetraverunt ab Abbisseslao (Wenceslao) principe Bohemiæ, ut gubernarentur studia Pragensia ritu Parisiensium. Quo edicto coacti sunt supradicti Nominales Pragæ civitatem relinquere, et se transtulerunt ad Lipzicam civitatem, et ibidem universitatem erexerunt solemnissimam.'

number of votes, the decision was in favour of the Bohemians. By the laws of the university, it was ordained, that in academic discussions, the Bohemians should have *three* votes, and the other three nations but *one*. The university was then divided into four nations, but the Bavarian, Polish, and Saxon were comprehended under the general name of the *German nation*. The usage had been, that the Germans, who far exceeded the Bohemians in numbers, gave three votes, and the Bohemians but one. *Huss*, therefore, either from partiality to his country, or from hatred of the *Nominalists*, whom the greatest part of the Germans preferred to the *Realists*, obtained, by means of the vast influence at court, which his eloquence gave him, a decree that the Germans should be deprived of the three votes, and should be bidden to content themselves with one. This result of a long contest so offended the Germans, that a great multitude of them, with the rector of the university, *John Hofmann*, at their head, left the university of Prague, and retired to Leipzig; where *Frederic* the Wise, elector of Saxony,¹ founded a university on their account, in the year 1409. This event contributed much to increase the odium against *Huss*, and to work his ruin. The Germans being ejected from Prague, *Huss* inveighed more freely than before against the vices of the clergy, and also publicly preached and recommended the opinions and the books of *John Wickliffe*, the Englishman. Being accused before *John XXIII.*, in the year 1410, he was excommunicated by that pontiff. Spurning this thunderbolt, he continued, with general applause, first by word of mouth, afterwards in various writings, to lash the sores of the Roman church, and of the priests of every degree.²

§ 7. This good man, who was in love with real piety, but perhaps had sometimes too much warmth, and not sufficient prudence, being summoned to the council of Constance, went thither on the faith of a safe-conduct, given by the emperor *Sigismund*, with a view to demonstrate his innocence, and prove them liars, who talked of him as an apostate from the Roman church. And certainly he had not departed in things of any moment from the religion of his times; but had only inveighed severely against the pontiffs, the court of Rome, the more considerable clergy, and the monks; which, in fact, had the sanction of his times, and was daily done in the council of Constance itself. Yet his enemies, who were numerous both in Bohemia and in the council, managed the procedure against him so artfully and successfully, that, in violation of the public faith, he was cast into prison; and when he would not, according to the council's order, confess him-

¹ [Mosheim says, that *Fredericus Sapiens*, *Saxonia Septemvir*, established the university of Leipzig in 1409. This was certainly a slip of memory. It was *Frederic* the Warlike that established the university of Leipzig; and when he instituted it he was only Margrave of Meissen and Landgrave of Thuringia; not Elector, to which dignity he did not attain till the death of Albert III., duke of Wittenberg, without issue, A.D. 1423.

Schl.—‘Historians differ much in their accounts of the number of Germans that retired from the university of Prague upon this occasion. *Æneas Sylvius* reckons 5,000, *Trithemius* and others 2,000, *Dubravius* 24,000, *Lupacius* 44,000, *Lauda*, a contemporary writer, 36,000.’ *Macl.*]

² See *Laur. Byzinius*, *Diarium Belli Hussitici*; in *Jo. Pet. de Ludewig's Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, vi. 127, &c.

self guilty, he was adjudged a heretic, and burnt alive, on the 6th day of July, A.D. 1415. Full of faith and the love of God, he sustained this punishment with admirable constancy.¹ The same unhappy fate

¹ Learned men have searched for the causes of so cruel a sentence being passed upon John Huss and his companion; nor do they find them either in his opinions or in his life and conduct. Hence they conclude that he was unrighteously oppressed by his enemies. And the conclusion of these excellent men is most just; for it is not difficult to show whence arose the readiness of the Fathers assembled at Constance to inflict the punishment of a heretic on this good man, who by no means merited it. I. By his discourses and his writings, Huss had produced very great commotion in Bohemia, and had excited vast odium against the whole sacred order among the people. And the bishops, the priests, and the monks could readily see, that if this man should return to his country, and should go on to write and to teach, they must lose their honours, influence, and emoluments. And therefore they strove to the utmost, and spared neither money nor pains and labour with his judges, to persuade them to destroy so dangerous an enemy. Laur. Byzinius, in his *Diarium Hussiticum* (in Ludewig's *Reliquiæ*, vi. 135), says: 'Clerus perversus præcipue in regno Boëmiae et marchionatu Moraviæ condemnationem ipsius (Hussi) *contributione pecuniarum* et modis aliis diversis procuravit, et ad ipsius consensit interitum.' And in page 150 he says: 'Clerus perversus regni Bohemiæ et marchionatus Moraviæ, et præcipue Episcopi, Abbates, Canonici, plebani et religiosi, ipsius fideles ac salutiferas admonitiones, adhortationes, ipsorum pompam, symoniam, avaritiam, fornicationem, vitæque detestandæ abominationem detegentes, ferre non valendo, *pecuniarum contributiones* ad ipsius extinctionem faciendæ procurarunt.' II. In the council itself there were many individuals of influence and power, who thought themselves greatly injured by Huss; and who were willing to avenge those injuries by the death of the good man. Huss, being a *Realist*, had rendered himself extremely odious to the *Nominalists*. And, unfortunately for him, his principal judges were *Nominalists*; and especially the oracle of the council, John Gerson, was the great champion of the *Nominalists*, and an enemy of Huss. These rejoiced to have, in the person of Huss, a man on whom they could take revenge, more sweet than life itself. The *Nominalists*, in their letter to Lewis, king of France (in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, iv. 534), do not disguise the fact, that Huss fell by the hand and efforts of their sect. 'Suscitavit Deus doctores Catholicos, Petrum de Allyaco, Johannem de Gersonno, et alios quamplures

doctissimos viros *Nominales*, qui convocati ad concilium Constantiense, ad quod citati fuerant hæretici, et nominatim, *Hieronymus* et *Johannes*, — dictos hæreticos per quadraginta dies disputando superaverunt.' That it was really so, the history of the council of Constance shows. The hostility at that time between the *Realists* and the *Nominalists* was deadly. Each sect, on every occasion that offered, accused the other of heresy and impiety, and inflicted punishment accordingly. The *Nominalists* at Constance condemned Huss a *Realist*; and, on the other hand, the *Realists* condemned John de Wesalia a *Nominalist*, in 1479. See the *Examen magistrale ac theologicale* Mag. Joh. de Wesalia, in Ortvin Gratius, *Fasciculus rerum expectandarum et fugiendarum*. Colon. 1535, p. clxiii. I will transcribe from this *Examen* a memorable passage, illustrative of the deadly feud between the *Nominalists* and the *Realists*, p. clxvi. b. 'Quis nisi ipse diabolus seminavit illam zizaniam inter philosophos et inter theologos, ut tanta sit dissensio, etiam animorum, inter diversa opinantes? Adeo ut si universalis quisquam *realia* negaverit, existimetur in Spiritum Sanctum peccavisse, immo summo et maximo peccato plenus creditur contra Deum, contra religionem, contra justitiam, contra omnem politiam graviter deliquisse. Unde hæc cæcitas mentis, nisi a diabolo, qui phantasias nostras illudit?' III. These, in other respects, excellent and devout men, Huss and Jerome, burned with hatred against the Germans. This hatred they publicly professed at Prague; this accompanied them to Constance, and they did not disguise it before the council. Theod. de Niem, *Invectiva in Johan. XXIII.* (in Hardt's *Acta Concilii Constant.* ii. 450), 'Improperabat etiam in publico Alemannis dicendo, quod essent presumptuosi et vellent ubique per orbem dominari.—Sicque factum fuisset sæpe in Boëmia, ubi volentes etiam dominari Alemanni, *violenter* exinde *repulsi* et *male tractati* fuissent.' On the other hand, the Germans, mindful of the injuries they had received at Prague, conceived the most violent hatred against these men. Now, the influence of the Germans was very great in the council. And who can doubt that they exerted that influence against their adversaries? IV. Finally, the very rector of the university of Prague, John Hofmann, who, together with the German nation, had been driven from Prague by Huss, and who was the principal enemy of Huss, was made bishop of Meissen, 1413, and held a high place among the representatives of the Ger-

was borne, with the same pious fortitude and constancy, by *Jerome of Prague*, the companion of *John Huss*, who had come to Constance to support and aid his friend. He yielded at first, through fear of death, to the mandates of the council, and renounced those opinions which the council had condemned in him: but being retained still in prison, he resumed courage, again avowed those opinions, and was, therefore, committed to the flames on the 30th of May, A.D. 1416.¹

§ 8. Before *Huss* and *Jerome* were condemned by the council, *John Wickliffe*, who was considered, and not altogether without reason, as their teacher, had been pronounced infamous, and condemned by a decree of the fathers. For on the 4th day of May, A.D. 1415, the council declared a number of opinions extracted from his writings to be abominable; and ordered all his books to be destroyed, and his bones to be burnt.² Not long after, on the 14th of June, they passed the famous decree, that the sacred supper should be administered to the laity under the kind of bread only, forbidding communion under both kinds. For in the preceding year, 1414, *Jacobellus de Misa*, incumbent of St. Michael's church, at Prague, by the instigation of a Parisian master, *Peter* of Dresden, had begun to celebrate the

man church in this council, and undoubtedly he was an unlucky star to Huss in it.

Although these were the real causes of the condemnation of Huss, yet it must be confessed, there appeared *one mark* of a heretic in him; for which, in the judgment of that age, he might with some colour of justice be condemned. I refer to his inflexible obstinacy; which the Roman church usually regards, even in those who err very little, as the most grievous heresy. Huss was commanded by this council, which was supposed to represent the whole church, to confess his faults and to abjure his errors. He most pertinaciously refused to do this, unless first convinced of error. Thus he resisted the *Catholic church*; he wished the church to show a reason for the sentence passed upon him; and he not obscurely signified that the church might be in an error. This indeed was a great crime and intolerable heresy. For a true son of the church ought to subject his own judgment and pleasure, without reserve, to the will of his mother; and to believe firmly that she could not possibly err. The Roman church, indeed, had for many ages followed Pliny's principle, *Epist. l. x. 97, p. 495*, where he says, 'Perseverantes duci jussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualecunque esset, quod fateantur, pervicaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri.' [Those who persevered, I ordered to execution, for I had no doubt, whatever it might be they professed, such perverse and inflexible obstinacy ought certainly to be punished.—For the Life of Huss, see Wil. Gilpin's *Lives of the Reformers*, vol. i. Middleton's *Biographia*

Evangelica, vol. i. p. 29, &c. *Tr.*—A Bohemian Jesuit, who was far from being favourable to John Huss, and who had the best opportunity of being acquainted with his real character, describes him thus: 'He was more subtle than eloquent, but the gravity and austerity of his manners, his frugal and exemplary life, his pale and meagre countenance, his sweetness of temper, and his uncommon affability towards persons of all ranks and conditions, from the highest to the lowest, were much more persuasive than any eloquence could be.' See Bohus. Balbinus, *Epitom. Rer. Bohem.* l. iv. c. v. p. 431. *Maclaine.*]

¹ [For the history of Jerome of Prague, see Gilpin's *Lives of the Reformers*, t. i. and Middleton's *Biographia Evangel.* i. 47, &c. *Tr.*]

² [The forty-five articles extracted from Wickliffe's writings, and condemned by the council, may be seen in all the collections of councils; e.g. Harduin's, viii. 299, &c. *Tr.*—Wickliffe's 'opinions were not only maintained in England by the *Lollards*, but spread very much in Bohemia. The reason of their reaching thus far was occasioned by a Bohemian gentleman's studying at Oxford in Wickliffe's time. This foreigner, being one of his proselytes, carried his books with him at his return, and propagated his opinions in his own country. Not long after, one Peter Payne, an Englishman, and one of Wickliffe's disciples, travelled into Bohemia, and brought over a great many people to that persuasion.' Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* i. 586. *S.*]

communion under both kinds, at Prague; which example many other churches followed.¹ The subject being brought before the council by one of the Bohemian bishops, it considered a remedy to be required even for this *heresy*. By this decree at Constance, the *communion of the laity under one kind* obtained the force and authority of law in the Roman church.

§ 9. In the same year, the council placed among execrable errors, or heresies, an opinion of *John Petit*, a Parisian theologian, that tyrants might be lawfully slain by any private person. The author, however, from whom this opinion came, was not named, because he was supported by very powerful patrons. *John*, duke of Burgundy, employed assassins, in the year 1407, to murder *Lewis*, duke of Orleans. A great contest now arose, and *Petit*, an eloquent and ingenious man, pleaded the cause of *John* of Burgundy at Paris; and in order to justify his conduct, he maintained that it is no sin to destroy a tyrant, without a trial of his cause, by force, or fraud, or in any other manner, and even if the persons doing it are bound to him by an oath or covenant. By a *tyrant*, however, *Petit* did not understand the sovereign of a nation, but a powerful citizen, who abused his resources to the ruin of his king and country.² The university of Paris passed a stern and severe sentence upon the author of so dangerous an opinion. The council, after several consultations, struck at the opinion, without naming its author. The new pontiff, however, *Martin V.*, from fear of the Burgundian power, would not ratify even this mild sentence.³

§ 10. After these and some other transactions, the council proceeded avowedly to the subject of a *reformation of the church, in its head and members*, as the language of that age was. For all Europe saw the need of such a reformation, and most ardently wished for it. Nor did the council deny that chiefly for this important object it had been called together. But the cardinals and principal men of the Roman court, for whose interest it was, especially, that the disorders of the church should remain untouched, craftily urged, and brought the majority to believe, that a business of such magnitude could not be managed advantageously, until after the election of a new pontiff.

¹ Byzinius, *Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 124. [Peter of Dresden had studied at Prague, and been driven thence with the Germans. He was afterwards driven from Saxony for his Waldensian doctrines, and now returned to Prague. He acted as a schoolmaster there, and was the friend of Huss and Jerome. The proper name of Jacobellus was Jacobus, the first being a nickname. The opposition made to his administering the Communion in both elements only rendered him more zealous; so that his party increased and had numerous adherents, not only at Prague but throughout Bohemia. Yet he was more fortunate than Huss and Jerome; and lived till 1429. His writings are in Von der Hardt's *Acta Concilii Constant.* t. iii. See

Schlegel's Note, here. Tr.]

² This is manifest from the oration of *Petit*, which Jac. Lenfant has subjoined to his *Hist. du Concile de Pise*, ii. 303, &c. See August. Leyserus, *Dissert. qua Memoriam Joh. Burgundi et Doctrinam Joh. Parvi de Cæde Perduellium Vindicat.* Wittemb. 1735, 4to.

³ See Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* v. 113, &c. and many other passages. Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de Novis Erroribus*, t. i. pt. ii. p. 184, &c. The *Opera* of Jo. Gerson, published by Du Pin, t. v. Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, iii. 2268, &c. [Article *Petit*] and nearly all the historians of France [e.g. Gifford's *Hist. of France*, ii. 377. Tr.]

The new head of the church, however, *Martin V.*, abused his power, to elude the design of *reformation*; and manifested by his commands and edicts, that he did not wish the church to be purged and restored to a sound state. The council, accordingly, after deliberating three years and six months, broke up, on the 22nd of April, A.D. 1418, leaving the matter unaccomplished, and putting off that *reformation*, which all good men devoutly wished, to a council which should be called five years afterwards.

§ 11. *Martin V.*, being admonished on the subject, after a long delay, appointed this other council to be held at Pavia; and afterwards removed it to Siena, and lastly to Bâle. But at its very beginning, on the 21st of February, 1431, he died; and was succeeded, in the month of March, by *Gabriel Condolmeri*, a Venetian, and bishop of Siena, who took the name of *Eugene IV.* He sanctioned all that *Martin* had decreed about holding the council at Bâle: and accordingly, it began, on the 23rd of July, 1431, under the presidency of cardinal *Julian*, as representative of the pontiff. Two objects especially were assigned to this celebrated council: first, a union between the Greeks and the Latins; and secondly, the *reformation of the church, both in its head and its members*, according to the resolution adopted in the council of Constance. Now, that the *head*, namely, the sovereign pontiffs, and all the *members* of the church, that is, the bishops, priests, and monks, were in a very unsound state, no one doubted. But when the fathers, by the very form of the council,¹ by its mode and order of proceeding, and by its first decrees, showed an intention of performing in earnest what was expected of them, *Eugene IV.* became uneasy for a corrupt church under such physicians, and twice attempted to dissolve the council. This the fathers most firmly resisted; and they showed by the decrees of the council of Constance, and by other arguments, that the council was superior in authority to a pontiff. This first contest, between the pontiff and the council, was brought to a close in the month of November, A.D. 1433: for the pontiff silently gave up the point; and in the month of December, by letters sent from Rome, gave the council his approbation.²

¹ ['By the *form* of the council, Dr. Mosheim undoubtedly means the division of the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. into four equal classes, without any regard to the nation or province by which they were sent. This prudent arrangement prevented the cabals and intrigues of the Italians, whose bishops were much more numerous than those of other nations, and who, by their number, might have had it in their power to retard or defeat the laudable purpose the council had in view, had things been otherwise ordered.' *Macl.*]

² A history of this great council, which is so worthy of everlasting remembrance, is wanting. One was contemplated by Stephen Baluze. See the *Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, vi. 544.

After him, by James Lenfant also. But neither of them fulfilled his promise. Its Acts were collected by Herm. von der Hardt, with vast labour, at the expense of Rudolph Augustus, duke of Brunswick, out of various archives and libraries, and put into many volumes; and they are said still to exist in the Wolfenbüttel library, and to be most worthy of publication. Till they appear, the more brief *Acta Concilii* may be consulted, which were published in various places, and among others, Paris, 1512, 8vo (which is the edition I have used in this history), also Æneas Sylvius, *Libri Duo de Concilio Basiliensi*; Edm. Richer's *Hist. Concilior. Generalium*, l. iii. c. i. Henry Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, iv. p. 447, and others. [We have indeed Lenfant's *Histoire*

§ 12. After this, the council prosecuted with energy the business upon which it had entered. The legates of the Roman pontiff were now admitted; but not until they had promised, under oath, to obey the decrees of the council, and particularly the decrees of the council of Constance, asserting the dominion and jurisdiction of councils over the pontiffs. These very decrees of Constance, so odious to the pontiffs, were renewed in a public meeting of the fathers, on the 26th of June, 1434. And on the 9th of June, 1435, *annats*, as they were called, were abolished, the pontifical legates in vain opposing it. On the 25th of March, 1436, a profession of faith was read, intended for the pope himself on the day of his election; the number of cardinals was reduced to twenty-four; and *expectatives*, *reservations*, and *provisions* were abolished. As other things were coming on little agreeable to the pontiff, *Eugene* concluded that this very audacious and troublesome council must either be removed into Italy, or be curbed by another council in opposition to it. Therefore, when these fathers decreed, May 7, 1437, that, on account of the Greeks, the council should be held either at Bâle, or Avignon, or in some city of Savoy, the pontiff, on the contrary, by his legates, decided that the council should be held in Italy. Neither party would revoke its decision. Hence a violent conflict, from this time onward, existed between the pontiff and the council. On the 26th of July, 1437, the council ordered the pontiff to appear before them at Bâle, and give account of his conduct. The pontiff, on the other hand, dissolved the council, and appointed another at Ferrara. But the fathers, with the approbation of the emperor, the king of France, and other princes, continued their deliberations at Bâle; and on the 28th of September, of the same year, pronounced the pontiff contumacious, for not obeying the decree of a council.

§ 13. On the 10th of January, of the next year, A. D. 1438, *Eugene IV.*, in person, opened the council which he had summoned to meet at Ferrara; and in the second session of it, excommunicated the fathers assembled at Bâle. The chief business of this council was to negotiate a union between the Greeks and Latins. The Greek emperor himself, *John Palæologus*, the patriarch of Constantinople, *Joseph*, and the principal theologians and bishops of the nation, had come personally to Italy, in order to facilitate the success of this important negotiation. For the Greeks, now reduced to extremities by the Turks, indulged the hope, that if their disagreements with the Roman pontiff were removed, the Latins would afford them succour. The business proceeded tardily, and with little success at Ferrara; but afterwards rather better at Florence. For *Eugene*, in the beginning

de la Guerre des Hussites et du Concile de Basle, in two vols. 4to, Amsterd. 1713. But the larger work expected from him has not appeared. It is also known that the entire Acts of this council still lie concealed in various libraries; e.g. in that of the college of Navarre, at Paris. See Schöpfung's *Com-*

ment. Hist. et Crit. p. 541. Imperfect Acts may be found in Harduin's *Concilia*, viii. 1103, &c. and in Mansi, *Supplem. Concil.* iv. 159, &c. to v. 192, and vi. 573. Extracts from these Acts are given in Semler's *Selecta Hist. Eccl. Capita*, t. iii. sæc. xv, p. 101—140. *Schl.*]

of the year 1439, on account of the pestilence at Ferrara, had ordered the council to remove to Florence. The fathers at Bâle, provoked by these and other acts of *Eugene*, proceeded on the 25th of June, 1439, to deprive him of the pontificate; but this bold procedure of theirs was not approved by the kings and princes of Europe. *Eugene*, on the 4th of September, by a very severe bull, anathematized the Basilian fathers, and rescinded all their acts. Despising these thunders, on the 17th of September, 1439, they elected a new pontiff, *Amadeus*, duke of Savoy, who then led a retired life at Ripailles on the Leman lake. He assumed the name of *Felix V.*

§ 14. Thus the lamentable schism, which had been extinguished after so much labour and toil at Constance, returned with new and greater misfortunes. For there were not only two pontiffs mutually condemning each other, but likewise, what was worse, two opposing councils, that of Bâle, and that of Florence. The greater part of the church, indeed, adhered to *Eugene*; but most of the universities, and particularly the first among them, that of Paris, as well as some kingdoms and provinces, chose to follow *Felix V.* The council of Bâle continued to deliberate and to pass laws and decrees till the year 1443, notwithstanding all the opposition of *Eugene* and his adherents. And although the fathers separated in that year, they nevertheless publicly declared that the council was not at an end, but would assemble again at a proper time, either at Bâle, or Lyons, or Lausanne. The council of Florence was chiefly occupied in settling the disputes between the Latins and the Greeks. This great business was committed to selected individuals of both parties. The principal one, on the part of the Greeks, was *Bessarion*, a very learned man, who was afterwards admitted into the order of cardinals in the Roman church. This man being gained by the favours bestowed on him by the pontiff, exerted his influence, and the pontiff employed rewards, threats, and promises, to induce the other Greeks to accede to the proposed terms of accommodation, and to acknowledge that the Holy Spirit proceeded also from the Son, that departed souls undergo a purgation by fire before they are admitted to the vision of God, that bread which is without leaven may be used in the sacred supper, and lastly, what was most important of all, that the Roman pontiff is the head and the judge of the church universal. One of the Greeks, *Mark* of Ephesus, could not be persuaded, by entreaties or by bribes, to give his assent. After all, this peace, which was extorted by various artifices, was not stable. For the Greeks, on returning to Constantinople, stated to their fellow-citizens that everything had been carried at Florence by fraud, and they resumed their hostility. The council of Florence itself put an end to its deliberations on the 26th of April, A.D. 1442.¹ There were also negotiations in this council for bringing

¹ A history of this council and of its base artifices, was composed by a Greek, Sylvester Sgyropulus, and was published, with a Latin version, apparatus, and notes, by Robert Creighton, an Englishman, at the

Hague, 1660, fol. In opposition to this, Leo Allatius wrote his *Exercitationes in Creightoni Apparatum, Versionem, et Notas ad Historiam Concilii Florentini scriptam a Sgyropulo*, Rome, 1674, 4to. See also

the Armenians, and the Jacobites, but especially the Abyssinians, into union with the Roman church; which were attended with the same result as those respecting the Greeks.

§ 15. The author of this new pontifical schism, *Eugene IV.*, died in the month of February, 1447, and was succeeded, in the month of March, by *Nicolas V.*, who was previously *Thomas de Sarzana*, bishop of Bologna, a man of learning himself, and a great patron of learning, and likewise moderate in temper, and disposed for peace.¹ Under him, by means of the persevering labours and efforts of the kings and princes of Europe, especially of the king of France, tranquillity was restored to the Latin church. For *Felix V.*, on the 9th of April, 1449, resigned himself the supremacy of the church, and retired to his former quiet at Ripailles; and the Basilian fathers, being assembled on the 16th of April, at Lausanne, ratified his voluntary abdication, and by a solemn decree directed the whole church to obey *Nicolas* only. On the 18th of June, *Nicolas* promulged this pacification; and, at the same time, confirmed by his sanction the acts and decrees of the council of Bâle. This *Nicolas* was particularly distinguished for his love of literature and the arts, which he laudably exerted himself to advance and encourage in Italy, especially by means of the Greeks that came from Constantinople.² He died on the 24th of March, 1455, principally from grief, occasioned by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

§ 16. His successor, *Alphonsus Borgia* (*Borja*), a Spaniard, whose pontifical name was *Calixtus III.*, performed nothing great or splendid, if no account be taken of his anxiety to urge Christian princes upon a war against the Turks. He died in the year 1458. Much more celebrated was his successor, *Aneas Sylvius Piccolomini*, bishop of Siena, who ascended the papal throne A.D. 1458, and took the name of *Pius II.*, a man of superior genius, and renowned both for his achievements and for his various writings and publications. Yet posterity would have accounted him a much greater man, if he had not been guilty of gross inconsistency. For after strenuously maintaining the rights of councils against the pontiffs, and boldly defending

his l. iii. c. i. *de Perpetua Consensione Ecclesie Orientalis et Occidentalis*, p. 875, &c. And compare Jo. Mabillon's *Museum Italicum*, i. 243. Fred. Spanheim, *de Perpetua Dissensione Ecclesie Orientalis et Occidentalis*, Opp. ii. 491, &c. Jo. Gottfr. Hermann's *Historia Concertat. de Pane Azymo*, pt. ii. c. v. p. 124, &c. [The acts of the council are in Harduin's *Concilia*, ix. 533, &c. and in Mansi's *Concilia*, v. 197, &c. The most essential things in these acts are stated in a condensed form in Semler's *Selecta Hist. Eccles. Capita*, t. iii. sæc. xv. p. 140—163. *Schl.*]

¹ [Peace-loving as this pope may have been, he did what the chancery style of those times required, and issued a bull to all the faithful, in 1447 (Harduin, ix. 1313), in which he calls Felix *iniquitatis alumnus*,

transfers the duchy of Savoy to the French king, exhorts that monarch or his dauphin to a crusade against the rival pontiff, and denies forgiveness and eternal salvation to all who co-operate with him. Notwithstanding this, he created this same Felix, in 1449, bishop of Sabina, cardinal and vicar of the apostolic see in Savoy, and confirmed all the judicial sentences and acts of grace passed by him; nay, he revoked all that he had angrily written or spoken against Felix and the council of Bâle. *Schl.*]

² See Domin. Georgius, *Vita Nicolai V. ad fidem veterum monumentorum*: to which is annexed, *Disquisitio de Nicolai V. erga litteras et litteratos viros patrocinio*. Rome, 1742, 4to.

the cause of the council of Bâle against *Eugene IV.*, upon being made pontiff, he apostatized from himself; and, January 18th, 1460, denied that a council is superior to a pontiff, and severely prohibited appeals to councils; and in the year 1461 obtained from *Lewis XI.*, king of France, the abrogation of the *pragmatic sanction*, which was favourable to councils;¹ and finally, April 26th, 1463, he expressed a public disapproval of all that he had himself written in favour of the council of Bâle, and decreed that *Pius II.* was to be heard and obeyed, but that *Æneas Sylvius* was to be condemned. After making this declaration, he died in the month of August, A.D. 1464.²

§ 17. *Paul II.*, previously *Peter Barbo*, a Venetian, who was raised to the chair of St. Peter in 1464, and died in 1471, performed some acts not unworthy of commendation, at least, according to the views of that age; but he also did many things that are scarcely excusable, if they are so at all, among the least important of which is that he made a jubilee year come once in every twenty-five years, in 1470. Hence his reputation with posterity is equivocal.³ The two subsequent pontiffs, *Sixtus IV.*, previously *Francis de Albescola*, who died

¹ [Lewis IX., or Saint Lewis, A.D. 1268, published the first *Pragmatic Sanction*, for securing the liberties of the Gallican church against the pontiffs, in six articles. But the Pragmatic Sanction here referred to was enacted by Charles VII. with the concurrence of the greater prelates and the nobles of his kingdom, assembled at Bourges, A.D. 1438, and during the session of the council of Bâle. The king reported 38 decrees of that council, and proposed to adopt the substance of them in 23 articles, which were readily agreed to. The 38 decrees, as reported by the king, are in Harduin's *Concilia*, viii. 1949. The 23 articles were afterwards prohibited to be published, or to be kept anywhere, by authority of the popes. This Pragmatic Sanction, Pius II. prevailed on Lewis XI. to abrogate entirely. But the Parliament of Paris refused to register his decree: and the king soon found he had been duped by the pope, and therefore allowed the Pragmatic Sanction to stand. It was accordingly observed in France till 1517, when Julius II. persuaded Francis I. to substitute in its place the *Concordat*, which was approved by the council of the Lateran then sitting. This *Concordat*, which may be seen at large in Harduin, ix. 1867, &c. was a sort of compromise between the pontiff and the Gallican church, in which the latter yielded up a part of their rights as secured by the Pragmatic Sanction, and had the rest secured to them. The parliament of Paris, however, resolutely refused to register it; and when at length compelled to do it, they expressed, that it was solely by command of the king, that they disapproved of it, and remonstrated

against it. The Pragmatic Sanction of 1438 secured in France the freedom of election to bishoprics and abbacies, the installation by the ordinaries, the abolition of reservations, annats, &c. The Concordat invested the king with the right of nominating bishops and abbots, yet under restrictions, and the pope was to confirm the election. Expectatives and reservations were prohibited. Appealed causes were to be tried where they originated. No mention was made of annats. In other respects the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction were followed in the Concordat. Such has ever since been for substance the ecclesiastical law of France. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. pt. i. p. 3, &c. Tr.]

² Besides the common writers, see the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, t. ii. art. *Enée Sylvius*, p. 26.

³ Paul II. obtained in our times a great and learned patron, in the celebrated Angelo Maria, cardinal Quirinus, distinguished for his numerous writings and achievements. He has written *Pauli II. Vita ex codice Anglicæ Bibliothecæ desumpta, præmissis ipsius vindictis adversus Platinam aliosque obtrectatores*. Rome, 1740, 4to. [Platina, who wrote a history of the popes, was put out of office, and twice imprisoned, by this pope; and these personal collisions may have affected his impartiality. Yet Paul does not seem to have been a very estimable character, take him all in all. He had little regard for learning, was fond of innovations, partial to his friends, persecuted the Hussites, deposed the king of Bohemia, violated sworn compacts, encouraged carnivals, &c. Tr.]

in 1484, and *Innocent VIII.*, previously *John Baptist Cibo*, a Genoese, who died A.D. 1492, were of the middle kind, being distinguished as popes neither for great virtues nor for great faults. Each, fearing both for Italy, and for all Europe, from the power of the Turks, prepared himself for a war upon them, and very earnestly urged one on the kings of Europe. But each met with such obstacles as disappointed an object so dear to his heart. Nothing else was done by them with much pretension to true greatness.¹

§ 18. The pontifical series of this century is closed by *Alexander VI.*, a Spaniard, whose true name was *Roderic Borgia*. He may not improperly be called the *Nero* of pontiffs. For the villanies, crimes, and enormities, recorded of this man, are so many and so great, as to make it seem clear that he was destitute, I will not say, of all religion, but even of decency and shame. Among the things charged upon him, though some may be false, and others overstated by his enemies, yet so many remain which are placed beyond all dispute, as are sufficient to render the memory of *Alexander* execrable in the view of all who have even a moderate share of virtue. A large part of his crimes, however, originated from his excessive partiality for his children; for he had four sons by a concubine, among whom was the notorious *Cæsar Borgia*, infamous for his enormous vices, and likewise one daughter named *Lucretia*; and he was intent solely on bringing forward and enriching these, without regarding honesty, reason, or religion.² *Alexander* died in the year 1503 of poison, which he and his son *Cæsar* had intended for others.³

§ 19. That most of the monastic bodies were herds of ignorant, lazy, dishonest, and debauched people, appears from numerous documents,

¹ [Sixtus IV. carried *nepotism* to the highest pitch; and thus provoked the hatred of the family of the Pazzi in Florence, against that of the Medici; which was the source of oppression, robbery, assassinations, and destructive insurrections; which commenced at Florence, and involved all Italy in a bloody war, in which the pope himself engaged, for the benefit of his nephews, and both laid Florence under an interdict, and himself besieged it. See Muratori, ad ann. 1478.—Innocent VIII. had lived so shamefully before he mounted the Roman throne, that he had sixteen illegitimate children to make provision for. Yet on the papal throne he played the zealot against the Germans, whom he accused of magic, in his bull *Summis desiderantes affectibus*, &c., and also against the Hussites, whom he well-nigh exterminated. *Schl.*]

² The life of this most abominable tyrant has been written by Alexander Gordon, an Englishman [a Scotchman. 1729, fol. *Tr.*], which appeared in a French translation, Amsterd. 1732, 2 vols. 8vo, but with far more moderation, by the learned and ingenious author of the *Histoire du Droit Public*

Eccles. François; to which work are annexed, Lives of Alexander VI. and Leo X. Lond. 1737, 8vo, and 1751, 4to. [Consult also Jo. Burchard's *Diarium*; in Eccard's *Corpus Hist. Medii Ævi*, ii. 2017, &c. *Schl.*—Summary biographies of these monsters, Alexander and his son Cæsar, may be seen in most of the biographical dictionaries. Debauchery, incest, murder, profligacy, faithlessness, &c., are charged upon them. *Tr.*]

³ Thus state all the historians of the highest credibility; but Voltaire, not long since, attempted to show that Alexander died a natural death: [in his *Annales de l'Empire*, t. ii. The common, and probable, statement is, that Alexander and his son, in order to get the wealth of certain cardinals, determined to poison them; and therefore invited them to dine. Before the arrival of the guests, they, by mistake of the servant (who, it is said, had been bribed by the destined victims), drank the poisoned cup themselves. Alexander died almost immediately; but Cæsar recovered in great measure, and lived to perpetrate other crimes. *Tr.*] See Ranke, *Hist. de la Papauté pendant les xvi. et xvii. Siècles*. Ed. Paris, 1838, t. i. 83. *S.*]

and from all the best writers. The opulent monks, as the Benedictines of every sort, and the Augustinians, abused their wealth for the gratification of their lusts; and by the great licentiousness of their lives, in disregard to their rules, rendered themselves extremely odious.¹ Some good and honest men, particularly in France and Germany, perceiving this, formed the purpose of reforming them.² Among the Germans, besides others who were solicitous to effect a reformation in particular monasteries, were *Nicolas of Mazen*, abbot of Moelk in Austria, and *Nicolas Dünkelspühl*, a professor at Vienna, who with great earnestness attempted a reformation of the Benedictines throughout Germany: and they did, in fact, reduce many of the convents in Suabia, Franconia, and Bavaria to some appearance of decency and order.³ In France, there were several individuals intent upon reforming the Benedictine order, among whom *Guido Juvenal*, a man of erudition, gained a name by writing.⁴ But most members of that body, as well there as elsewhere, would hear of no remedies, and did the physicians all the harm they could.

§ 20. The mendicant monks, particularly the Dominicans and Franciscans, were just as offensive from their arrogance, their quarrelsome temper, their invasion of the rights of others, their propagation of superstition,⁵ and their vain and futile disputes about religion, as the opulent monks were from their luxury, their laziness, their hatred of learning and science, and their other vices. Hence the old contests of the bishops and priests with the mendicants, and the complaints of the theologians in most of the universities and provinces, respecting the errors of these orders, and their dangerous opinions on religious subjects, were scarcely ever at rest, and found constant occupation for the pontifical court. All the pontiffs of this century were not equally well disposed towards these friars; hence the fight occasioned by them, varied in its aspects.⁶ The odium that fastened on the mendi-

¹ See Martin Sengling's *Tuitiones Ordinis S. Benedicti*, or Oration delivered in the council of Bâle, A.D. 1433, against the vices of the Benedictines; in Bernh. Pez. *Biblioth. Ascetica*, viii. 517, &c.

² See Leibnitz's *Præfatio* ad t. ii. *Scriptor. Brunsv.* p. 40.

³ See, respecting these men, Martin Kropf, in the *Bibliotheca Mellicensis seu de Vitis et Scriptis Benedictinor. Mellicensium*, p. 143, &c. 163, &c., also p. 203, 206. [John Burch, a regular Augustinian canon, and provost of the cloister of Novum Opus, near Halle, in Saxony, undertook, by command of the famous cardinal and papal legate in Germany, Nicolaus de Cusa, the reformation of the Saxon monasteries, and wrote a history of the matter in 4 Books, *De Reformationibus et Visitationibus diversorum utriusque Sexus Monasteriorum*; an extract from which is in Leibnitz's *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicens.* ii. 476, &c. and the work entire, p. 806, &c. Extracts from it

are given by Semler, *Selecta Eccl. Hist. Capita*, t. iii. sæc. xv. p. 42, &c. *Schl.*]

⁴ See Gabr. Liron's *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires*, iii. 49, &c. [In the *Histoire de Languedoc*, t. v. we are informed that, in 1411, the French parliament sent commissioners into Languedoc, to inquire into the shameful conduct of the Benedictines there; and that the archbishops of Narbonne and Toulouse in vain assembled a synod to excommunicate these commissioners. *Schl.*]

⁵ [The Franciscans preached in Lubeck, that whoever died clad in the Franciscan garb, would certainly be saved; and that St. Francis, every year, descended from heaven, in order to deliver his followers from purgatory, just as Christ descended into hell, to bring up thence the souls of the patriarchs. See Eccard's *Corpus Historic. Medii Ævi*, ii. 1101. *Schl.*]

⁶ See Jo. Launoï's tract, *De Canone, Omnis utriusque Sexus*; in his *Opp.* t. i. pt.

cants was not a little increased by the persecution of the *Beghards*, which continued raging throughout this century. For the *Beghards* and *Lollhards*, being cruelly harassed by their enemies, the priests and others, frequently betook themselves to the *third order* of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, hoping to find security under the protection of these powerful fraternities. Nor were their hopes entirely frustrated. But their persecutors now attacked also their protectors, that is, the *mendicants*; and often caused the latter great trouble, involving them in very arduous contests.¹

§ 21. The rebellious and more rigid Franciscans, who had revolted from the pontiff and the Roman church, that is the *Fratricelli*, as they were commonly called, with their *Tertiaries* or *Beghards*, continued openly at war with the pontiffs. Their principal seat was Italy, and particularly Picenum, or the March of Ancona, and the neighbouring regions; for here the president of the sect resided. They were violently persecuted, about the middle of the century, by *Nicolas V.*, who employed against them the Franciscan monks, soldiers, and judges, and inflicted upon many of them, whose obstinacy could not be overcome, the punishment of burning.² Succeeding pontiffs continued the persecution; and none of them more fiercely and resolutely than *Paul II.*, who, however, is said to have taken vengeance upon their audacity more by imprisonment and exile than by fire and fagot.³ Yet the *Fratricelli*, whose great appearance of piety procured them supporters of much eminence, frequently repelled force by force; they also slew some Inquisitors; and, among others, *Angelo*, a Camaldulensian.⁴ No less commotions were raised by this sect, which made conformity with Christ to consist in mendicity, in Bohemia, and in the adjoining Silesia.⁵ Even the king of Bohemia himself favoured them; whence *Paul II.* excommunicated him.⁶ In France, the Inquisitors condemned to the flames all whom they could lay hands on:⁷ for in the parts about Toulouse, many of these people lay concealed. Some also migrated to England and Ireland.⁸ This party continued to exist, amidst numberless troubles and calamities, till the times of the reformation in Germany, when such as remained espoused the cause of *Luther*.

§ 22. Of the religious fraternities that were founded in this century, none is more worthy of notice, and none was more useful to the

i. p. 287, &c. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*. v. 189, 196, 204, 522, 558, 601, 617, 752. Ant. Wood's *Antiqq. Oxon.* i. 210, 212, 224, &c.

¹ See the preceding century.

² Maurus Sartius, *De Antiqua Picentum Civitate Cupromontana*, in Angelo Calogera's *Raccolta di Opuscoli Scientifici*, xxxix. 39, 81, 97, where are some extracts from the manuscript dialogue of Jac. de Marchia, against the *Fratricelli*.

³ Ang. Mar. Quirini *Vita Pauli II.* p. 78, &c. Jo. Targionius, Preface to the *Claror. Vencorum Epistolæ ad Magliabechium*, i. 43, &c. where there is notice of

the writings of Nicolaus Palmerius, and others, against the *Fratricelli*, in the reign of *Paul II.*, which have never been published.

⁴ See the *Acta Sanctor. Maii*, ii. 356, &c.

⁵ Jo. Geo. Schellhorn's *Acta Historiæ Eccles.* pt. i. p. 66, 283, &c.

⁶ Quirini *Vita Pauli II.* p. 73.

⁷ I have in MS. the *Acta Inquisitionis contra Jo. Gudulchi de Castellione et Franc. de Archata, Fratricellos*; who were burnt in France, A.D. 1454.

⁸ Wood's *Antiqq. Oxon.* i. 232, &c.

Christian cause, than that of the *Brethren and Clerks of the common life*, living under the rule of *St. Augustine*. This society, indeed, was instituted in the preceding century by the pious, learned, and good *Gerhard Groote* or *Great*, of Deventer;¹ but it was first approved in this century at the council of Constance; and was now propagated throughout Holland, Lower Germany, and other provinces. This sect was divided into the *literary Brethren*, or the *Clerks*, and the *unlearned Brethren*; who lived in different houses, but in the bonds of the greatest friendship. The *Clerks* devoted themselves to the transcription of books, the cultivation of polite learning, and the instruction of youth; and erected schools wherever they went. The [*unlearned*] *Brethren* laboured with their hands, and pursued various mechanic trades. Neither were under the restraint of religious vows; but they ate at a common table, and had a general community of goods. The sisters lived in nearly the same manner; and what time was not employed in prayer and reading, they devoted to the education of female children, and to such labours as were suitable for their sex. The *schools* of these *Clerks of the common life* were very celebrated in this century; and in them were trained nearly all the restorers of polite learning in Germany and Holland; and, among others, the great *Erasmus*, of Rotterdam, *Alexander Hegius*, *John Marmelius*, and others.² On the rise of the Jesuits, these schools, previously so very useful, ceased to flourish; and at this day only a few of them exist. These brethren were often designated by the appellations of *Beghards* and *Lollhards*, which were common to so many sects; and they endured great hatred from all the priests and monks, who had a violent prejudice against education and literature.³

§ 23. Of the Greeks who acquired reputation as writers, the most worthy of notice were the following; *Simeon* of Thessalonica, several of whose tracts, besides a book against *Heresies*, and some writings against the Latins, have been published.⁴ *Joseph Bryennius*, who

¹ The life of this famous Dutchman, *Gerhard Groote*, was written by *Thomas à Kempis*, and is published in the works of *Thomas*, being the first of the lives of eleven of his contemporaries.

² This order is treated of by *Aub. Miræus*, in his *Chronicon*, ad an. 1384; by *Helyot*, in his *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, t. iii. and by others. But I have here added some things, from monuments, never printed. For I possess some papers and records, which give a clearer account of the institution and history of the *Clerks of the common life*, than is to be found in the printed works. [For a very interesting account of them see *J. M. Neale*, *Jansenist Church of Holland*, Oxford, 1858. *Ed.*]

³ In the records of this century, we frequently read that the *Lollhards*, and sometimes that the *Beghards*, opened schools at Deventer, Brunswick, Königsberg, Münster, and various other places. These *Lollhards*

were *Clerks of the common life*, who, being good, industrious, and useful schoolmasters, were often invited and sent for by the magistrates of cities, for the sake of the public good.

⁴ *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Biblioth. Græca*, xiv. 49. *Rich. Simon*, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, par *M. du Pin*, i. 400. [*Simeon*, Archbp. of Thessalonica, died A.D. 1429, six months before the capture of Thessalonica by the Turks. His principal works are a large treatise on the church, its ceremonies, ministers, &c.; a dialogue against all heresies; and Answers to 85 Questions of *Gabriel*, metropolitan of Pentapolis. Extracts, and imperfect copies of parts of these, were published by *Allatius*, *Morin*, and *Goar*; and his whole works much better, at *Jassy*, in Moldavia, 1683, small folio. He was one of the greatest men, among the Greeks, of his age. *Tr.*]

wrote on the Trinity, and against the Latins.¹ *Macarius Macres*, who likewise greatly hated the Latins.² *George Phranza*, noted for his History, which is printed among the Byzantine writers.³ *Marcus*, of Ephesus, a strenuous opponent of the council of Florence.⁴ *Bessarion*, a cardinal, the distinguished supporter of the moderate Platonic school; renowned for his genius and erudition, but odious to the Greeks, because he favoured the cause of the Latins, and planned the union of the two nations, to the detriment of the Greeks.⁵ *George Scholarius*, who was also called *Gennadius*; he contended more learnedly and more lucidly than the rest of his countrymen against the Latins, and especially against the council of Florence.⁶ *George Gemistius Pletho*,

¹ [Joseph Bryennius was a Constantinopolitan monk, and a distinguished preacher. He flourished A.D. 1420, and died between 1431 and 1438. His works were printed, Leips. 1768, in two vols. 8vo, and consist of various Discourses and Dialogues against the Latins. Those on the *Trinity* respect the procession of the Holy Spirit. *Tr.*]

² [Macarius Macres was a monk of Mount Athos, prior of a monastery at Constantinople, and *protosynellus*. His hostility to the Latins exposed him to vexations. The emperor, John Palæologus, sent him on an embassy to Rome, and he died on his return, A.D. 1431. He wrote a tract on the procession of the Holy Spirit, in 10 chapters; mentioned by Leo Allatius, *de Consensu*, &c. l. ii. c. 18, § 10. *Tr.*]

³ [George Phranza was nobly born, A.D. 1401; was admitted to court, A.D. 1418; and filled various offices, civil, military, and diplomatic, till the capture of Constantinople in 1453, when he was made a prisoner. Recovering his liberty, he fought and served his country in the Morea, till that was conquered by the Turks in 1466. He now retired to Italy, and thence to Corcyra, where he became a monk, assumed the name of Gregory, and spent his life in writing the history of his country. He died A.D. 1477. His history of Byzantine affairs, from 1260 to 1476, in four books, is brief, till he comes to his own times, and then full and minute. With some abridgement, and in a Latin translation, it was published by Jac. Pontanus, Ingolst. 1604, 4to, subjoined to Theophilus Simocatta. *Tr.*]

⁴ Rich. Simon. *Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclès. par M. du Pin*, i. 431. [Marcus Eugenicius was a learned schoolmaster at Constantinople, bishop of Ephesus, A.D. 1436, and imperial ambassador to the council of Ferrara, A.D. 1438. There he strenuously opposed the doctrines of the Latins, and was the only one of the Greeks that persevered in rejecting the terms of union between the two churches. For this the emperor was displeased with him, and

the pope demanded his punishment; but the nation applauded him, and he lived in honour, employing the rest of his life in exposing the corrupt proceedings at Ferrara, and confuting the dogmas of the Latin church. His works, consisting of letters and tracts, are partly contained in the Acts of the council of Ferrara, partly in Leo Allat. *De Consensu*, &c. in the *Orthodoxographia*, and partly in MS. *Tr.*]

⁵ Concerning this celebrated man, and others here mentioned, see Christ. Fred. Boerner and Humphrey Hody, in their books *De Græcis Erud. Præstantibus*, also Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*. [Bessarion was a native of Trebizond, a monk of the order of St. Basil, bishop of Nice, A.D. 1436, and imperial envoy to the council of Ferrara in 1438. Here he learnedly defended the doctrines of the Greek church for a time; but at length gave up to the Latins, and was the principal cause of the union agreed on. Returning to Constantinople, his popularity declined; and he was obliged to refuse the patriarchate, offered him by the emperor. He now retired to Italy, was made a cardinal, bishop of Tusculum, legate at Bologna, patron of the Dominican and Franciscan orders; was near being made pope in 1455, and again in 1471. He laboured to rouse the Europeans to war against the Turks, in 1458; was frequently papal legate; and died on his return from France, A.D. 1472, aged 77. His works consist of orations, epistles, and tracts, chiefly in relation to the controversies between the Greeks and Latins (most of which are in the Collections of Councils), and a Defence of the Platonic Philosophy, a correction of Plato *de Legibus*, and a translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*; which were published, Venice, 1503, 1516. His private library, which was very valuable, he gave to the city of Venice. *Tr.*]

⁶ Rich. Simon, *Croyance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstant.* p. 87, and *Critique de M. du Pin*, i. 438, &c. [George Scholarius was one of the Greek envoys at Ferrara, in 1438, where he delivered three

a learned man, who awakened in many of the Italians an ardour for the Platonic philosophy, and for all the Grecian learning.¹ *Gregory Trapezuntius*, who translated some of the best Greek authors into Latin, and also wrote some tracts in favour of the Latins, against the Greeks.² *George Codinus*, who has left us various contributions to the Byzantine history.³

orations in favour of union with the Latins, extant in Harduin's *Concilia*, ix. 446. Some other speeches and tracts of a similar tenor are ascribed to him. But afterwards he changed sides, and wrote against the council of Ferrara, in 8 books; published, Gr. Lond. 4to. When the Turks captured Constantinople, A.D. 1453, he was made patriarch by the Sultan, assumed the name of Gennadius, reigned five years, and then retired to a monastery. As patriarch he was treated with attention by the Sultan Mahomet, and delivered before him an apologetic discourse, which was translated into Turkish, and has been frequently printed, Gr., Turkish, and Latin. This work, with a dialogue on the way of Salvation, a tract on Predestination, and an oration on the Trinity, may be found in Latin in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, t. xxvi. But the learned have not all agreed that Gennadius the patriarch and George Scholarius were the same person; and some have made two Georges instead of one. *Tr.*]

¹ [George Gemistus, surnamed Pletho, was born at Constantinople, but spent most of his life in the Peloponnusus. He was an acute and learned Platonist, and a decided opposer of the Latins. He was employed by the Greeks in the council of Ferrara to unravel the subtleties of the Latin metaphysicians; was preceptor in philosophy to cardinal Bessarion, and to the Medici of Florence; and lived, it is said, to the age of one hundred years. His works are, *de Differentia Philosophiæ Aristotelis et Platonis*; *de Virtutibus Libellus*; *Scholæ in Zoroastris Oracula*; *de Rebus Peloponnesiacis Constituendis Orationes II.*; *de Gestis Græc. post Pugnam ad Mantineam Lib. II.* and two tracts on the procession of the Holy Spirit. *Tr.*]

² [George Trapezuntius, whose parents were from Trebizond, was born in Crete, A.D. 1396. After obtaining a good education among the Greeks, he removed to Italy, where he spent his life as a teacher and writer. Pope Eugene employed him as a Greek secretary; and after the death of Eugene, Alphonso, king of Naples, was his patron. In 1465, he made a voyage to Crete and Constantinople. He returned, sank into idiocy, and died at the age of 90, at Rome, A.D. 1486. He wrote on the procession of the Holy Spirit, in favour of the Latins; the martyrdom of Andrew of

Chios, A.D. 1465; on the eight parts of speech; a concise logic; a comparison of Plato and Aristotle; five books on rhetoric; on the deceptions of astrology; expositions of some of Cicero's orations; and Latin translations of the works of St. Cyril, St. Chrysostom, Gregory Nyssen, St. Basil; also of Eusebius' *Præparat. Evang.*, Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, and Ptolemy's *Almagest. Tr.*]

³ [George Codinus, surnamed Curopalates, probably wrote soon after the capture of Constantinople, A.D. 1453. He wrote on the offices and officers of the court and church of Constantinople (Paris, 1648, fol. by Goar), on the antiquities of Constantinople, a description of Constantinople; on the statues and curiosities of Constantinople; on the edifices of Constantinople; on the church of St. Sophia, in that city; and a history of the Constantinopolitan emperors, from Constantine the Great to Constantine Palæologus, and the capture of the city by the Turks. All these, except the first, were published by Lambecius, 1655, fol.

The following Greek writers are passed over by Dr. Mosheim:—

Joseph, archbishop of Ephesus, and patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 1416—1439. He was long averse from a union with the Latins, but at length yielded, went to the council of Florence, argued for a union, signed the articles on a sick bed, repented, and died eight days after signing the instrument. He has left us two epistles, addressed to the council of Basil, and an address to the synod at Constantinople when about to go to Italy and Florence.

John Cananus wrote a history of the siege of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1422, extant, Gr. and Lat. subjoined to the history of George Aeropolita, Paris, 1651, fol. [Bonn, 1838, *Ed.*]

Demetrius Chrysoloras, an eminent philosopher and astronomer, A.D. 1430, much esteemed by the emperor Manuel Palæologus. He wrote an oration and two dialogues against the Latins, which are in the Vatican Library.

Esaias of Cyprus, a Greek who espoused the cause of the Latins, about A.D. 1430, in a long epistle; extant, Gr. and Lat. in Leo Allat. *de Consensu*, &c. l. ii. c. 18, § 16, and in the *Græca Orthod.* i. 396.

John Anagnosta, of Thessalonica, who witnessed the siege and capture of that city

§ 24. The Latin writers form a host almost innumerable. We shall name only the principal of those who attempted by their pens to

in 1430; of which he wrote a narrative and monody; published by Leo Allat. *Symmiacta*, pt. ii. p. 317, &c. [and by Bekker, Bonn, 1838. *Ed.*]

Andreas de Petra, born and educated among the Greeks, and by them made a bishop; he afterwards joined the Latins; and, as papal legate, argued against his countrymen, in the council of Basil, A.D. 1432, and in that of Ferrara, 1438. Both his speeches are in Bzovius' *Annales Eccles.* ad ann. 1432, § 37, and 1438, § 8.

John Eugenicius, *nomophylax* of the patriarchal church of Constantinople, and brother to Marcus of Ephesus, whom he accompanied to Ferrara, A.D. 1438. He wrote against that council; and Leo Allatius has given extracts from the work: *de Purgatorio*, p. 61, 220, 241, 265.

Isidorus Ruthenus, or of Russia, born at Thessalonica, a Basilian monk, abbot of St. Demetrius at Constantinople; sent to the council of Basil in 1435, returned, and was made metropolitan of Kiow, and primate of all Russia; attended the council of Florence, 1438; there opposed the Latins; then changed sides, and signed the articles of union; remained in Italy; was made a cardinal in 1439; soon after went to Russia, where he was arrested and imprisoned for betraying the cause of the Greeks; escaped with difficulty and fled; was, by the pope, made titular patriarch of Constantinople, and papal legate in the east; witnessed the capture of that city in 1453; escaped to Italy, became dean of the college of cardinals, and died at Rome A.D. 1463. He wrote an epistle describing the siege and capture of Constantinople, which was published in Reusner's *Epistolæ Turcicæ*, lib. iv. p. 104.

Silvester Sguropulus, or, as he writes it, Syropulus, a deacon, *dicæophylax*, and one of the select council of the patriarch, at Constantinople. He attended his patriarch to Ferrara in 1438, was concerned in all that related to the Greeks, and decidedly and perseveringly opposed the union, but was compelled by authority to subscribe the articles of union. On his return, he found himself odious to the people for having yielded so far; resigned his office; and wrote a particular history of the transactions at Ferrara, which was published, Gr. and Lat. by Robert Creighton (afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells), at the Hague, 1660, fol.

Joseph, bishop of Modon in Greece, A.D. 1436. He wrote an apology for the council of Florence against Marcus of Ephesus; extant, Gr. and Lat. in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 549, &c.

John the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 1440. He wrote an adulatory epistle to pope Eugene IV., a Latin version of which is in Harduin's *Concilia*, ix. 1018, &c.

Nicodemus, an Ethiopian, and abbot of the Ethiopian monks at Jerusalem, A.D. 1440, wrote a similar epistle, which we have in Latin in Harduin's *Concilia*, ix. 1031, &c.

Gregory Melissenus, called Mammæ, a monk, penitentiary of the church of Constantinople, and confessor to the emperor. He attended the council of Ferrara, was at first violent against the Latins, but being bribed, he turned about, and urged the union. In 1440, he was made patriarch of Constantinople, but, a few years after, found it expedient to resign that dignity. He wrote an Apology for the council of Florence against Marcus of Ephesus; extant, Gr. and Lat. in Harduin's *Concilia*, ix. 601, &c., also an epistle to Alexius Comnenus, of Trebizond, on the procession of the Holy Spirit; printed, Gr. and Lat. in Leo Allatius, *Græc. Orthod.* i. 419.

John Argyropulus, of Constantinople. When that city was taken in 1453, he retired to Italy. Cosmo de Medicis made him preceptor to his son Peter and his nephew Laurence. After staying some time at Florence, the plague caused him to remove to Rome, where he lectured on Aristotle. He died near the close of the century. He was very learned, very vain, and a very great drinker and eater. Besides translations and expositions of the works of Aristotle, often printed, he wrote on the procession of the Holy Spirit and the council of Florence; extant, Gr. and Lat. in Allatius, *Græc. Orthod.* i. 400.

Matthæus Camariota, a distinguished philosopher and rhetorician of Constantinople, who witnessed the capture of that city in 1453, and described the scene in a long epistle; a considerable part of which, Gr. and Lat., is in Crucius, *Turcogræciæ*, l. i. p. 76. Many other writings of his exist in MS.

John Ducas, nephew to Michael Ducas, of Constantinople. On the capture of that city, 1453, he retired to Lesbos, and entered the service of the tributary Christian prince, in whose service he performed several embassies to the Turkish sovereigns, till the capture of Lesbos in 1462. He wrote *Historia Byzantina*, from 1341 to 1462, preceded by a brief chronicle from the creation; published, Gr. and Lat., Paris, 1649, fol. [Bonn, 1834. *Ed.*]

George, or Gregory, Hermonymus or

deserve well of religion. The greatest of these, by the acknowledgment of all, was *John Gerson*, chancellor of the university of Paris, a man of immense influence, the oracle of the council of Constance, and still in high estimation among such of the French as would maintain their liberties against the Roman pontiffs.¹ He wrote and did much that was very useful to purify the religion, to excite the piety, and to cure the disorders of the church; but in some things, he showed little acuteness in comprehending even the more obvious points of Christian discipline. *Nicolaus de Clemangis*,² a man in love with truth and rectitude, eloquently deplored the calamities of his day, and the miserable state of the Christian world.³ *Alphonsus Tostatus*, of Avila, loaded the sacred Scripture with a ponderous commentary, and wrote some other things, in which there is a mixture of good and bad.⁴

Charitonimus, a native of Sparta, who, on the capture of Constantinople, 1453, fled to France, and taught Greek in the university of Paris. In 1476, pope Sixtus IV. sent him as his legate into England. He translated into Latin Gennadius's tract, *de Via Salutis Hominum*; the life of Mahumed; and some other things; and wrote a demonstration, that Christ is the Son of God, and himself God; printed, Gr. and Lat., Augsburg, 1608, 8vo.

Laonicus Chalcocondylas, or Chalcondylas, an Athenian; fl. A.D. 1468, and wrote a History of the Turks, in ten books, from 1300 to 1463; published, Gr. and Lat., Geneva, 1615, fol. and Paris, 1650, fol. [Bonn, 1834. Ed.]

Manuel, a native of Greece, pupil of Matthæus Camariota, and orator of the great church of Constantinople, A.D. 1500. He wrote a confutation of Friar Francis, the Dominican, respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit, unleavened bread, purgatory, the primacy of the pope, &c. published, Gr. and Lat. by Steph. le Moyne, *Varia Sacra*, p. 270. Tr.]

¹ Lewis Ellies du Pin, *Gersonianorum Libri* iv. prefixed to his edition of Gerson's Works, Antwerp, 1706, 5 vols. fol. and inserted by Jo. Launoï in his *Historia Gymnasii Regii Navarrensi*, pt. iii. lib. ii. cap. i. in his *Opp. t. iv. pt. i. p. 514*. Herm. von der Hardt, *Acta Concilii Constant. t. i. pt. iv. p. 26*, &c. [John Charlier de Gerson was born, A.D. 1363, at Gerson, in the diocese of Rheims, educated in the college of Navarre, at Paris, succeeded to the chancellorship of the university about 1395; was active in condemning John Petit and his doctrine in 1407; and subsequently laboured much to heal the divisions and correct the abuses of the church of Rome. He was at the councils of Rheims, Pisa, and Constance. When the last of these councils broke up, in 1418, he could not safely return to Paris, where the duke of Burgundy was in power, and he travelled

through Germany and Switzerland, and settled at Lyons, where he died in 1429. He composed no large work, but left a vast number of tracts, speeches, sermons, letters, and poems, which are dogmatical, polemic, exegetic, mystic, opinions on questions of public interest at that day, projects for reforming abuses, &c. The most valuable are said to be those occasioned by the council of Constance. Tr.]

² [Of Clamenge. Tr.]

³ See Launoï's *Historia Gymnasii Navarr.* pt. iii. l. ii. c. iii. p. 555, &c. Longueval's *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, xiv. 436. His works, though not entire, were published, with a glossary, by John Lydius, Leyden, 1613, 4to. [Nicolaus de Clemangis was born at Clamenge, near Chalons, and educated in the college of Navarre, where he became rector of the university of Paris in 1393. He so distinguished himself for the elegance of his Latin epistles, that Benedict XIII. called him to Avignon, and made him his private secretary. But, in 1408, being suspected of composing the papal bull which laid France under an interdict, he endured violent persecution. He retired into the Alpine country; and though afterwards proved innocent, and invited back to France, he chose to spend his days in retirement. He died about 1440, an honest and pious man. His works, besides about 150 letters, consist of about a dozen tracts and poems; the most important of which are, *de Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu*; *Deploratio Calamitatis Ecclesiæ*, *per Schisma Nefandissimum*, in heroic verse; *de Fructu Eremitæ*; *de Novis Festivitatibus non Instituentis*; *de Antichristo*; *de Studio Theologiæ*, &c. Tr.]

⁴ [Alphonsus Tostatus, a voluminous Spanish writer, who studied at Salamanca, attended the council of Basil in 1434, became bishop of Avila, and was advanced to the highest offices in the kingdom. He died in 1454, aged, some say, 40 years; others say 55 years. He was a man of immense reading, excellent memory, respect-

Ambrose of Camalduli acquired great fame by an accurate knowledge of the Greek language and literature, and by various efforts for establishing harmony between the Greeks and the Latins.¹ *Nicolaus Cusanus*, a man of various learning, and no contemptible genius, but not of a judgment proportionably vigorous and solid; as appears from his *Conjectures concerning the last day*.² *John Nieder* distinguished himself by various writings, useful for learning the state of those times, by his travels also and achievements.³ *John Capistranus* was thought a great man by the Roman court, because he contended manfully for the majesty of the pontiffs against opponents of every sort.⁴ *John Wesselius* and *Jerome Savonarola* are to be ranked among the best and wisest men of that age. The former was of Gröningen, and his great penetration made people call him *the Light of the world*. The doctrines which *Luther* afterwards taught more clearly, he advanced to some extent; and he censured in a caudid manner the defects of the Romish religion.⁵ The latter was a Dominican of

able judgment, and famed for his ascetic piety. His works, repeatedly printed, and first under cardinal Ximenes, fill 27 volumes folio. Of these, 24 are commentaries on the whole Bible. His style is crude. *Tr.*]

¹ [Ambrosius Camaldulensis was born at Portico, not far from Florence; became a Camaldulensian monk at the age of 14; acquired a thorough knowledge of Greek under Emmanuel Chrysoloras; was made general of his order about 1440; was repeatedly nominated a cardinal; served the popes faithfully, and with great ability, in the councils of Basil, Ferrara, and Florence; and became almoner to the pope. He died in his monastery, at an advanced age, in high repute for sanctity. His life was written, at great length, by Augustine of Florence, in an Appendix to his *Historia Camaldulensium*. Besides numerous translations from the Greek fathers, and many letters, he has left a *Hodæporicon*, or Journal of his travels to inspect the monasteries of his order, and some of the public documents for uniting the Greek and Latin churches. *Tr.*]

² Peter Bayle, *Réponse aux Questions d'un Provincial*, t. ii. cap. 117, 118, p. 517, &c. His works are published in one volume [three volumes. *Tr.*] fol. Basil, 1665. [Nicolaus Cusanus was born of indigent parents at Cus, in the diocese of Treves, A.D. 1402, educated by count de Mander-scheidt, made doctor of theology and of canon law; was dean of Coblenz, and arch-deacon of Liege. In the council of Basil, he at first opposed the papal pretensions, and wrote three books on the subject, entitled *de Catholica Concordantia*. But he afterwards changed sides, became bishop of Brixen, fell out with the emperor Sigismund, was made a cardinal, and repeatedly papal legate. He died A.D. 1464, aged 63. He

was very learned, understood Greek and Hebrew, and excelled in philosophy and mathematics. He wrote *de Docta Ignorantia*, lib. iii.; *de Filiatione Dei*; *Idiotæ*, lib. iv.; *de Visione Dei*; *de Ludo Globi*, lib. ii.; *Exercitationum* lib. x.; *Epistolarum Liber*; *Cribrationum Alcorani* lib. iii.; on arithmetical and geometrical complements; on the quadrature of the circle; on sines and chords; on correcting the Kalendar, &c. &c. His works were printed, Paris, 1514, and Basil, 1665, in 3 vols. fol. The first volume is chiefly on theology; the second on controversial subjects; and the third on mathematics, astronomy, &c. *Tr.*]

³ [See cent. xiv. p. ii. c. 2, § 7, note. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Jac. Lenfant's *Hist. de la Guerre des Hussites*, ii. 254, &c. Wadding's *Ann. Minorum*, ix. 67. [John Capistranus was born in the village of Capistro, in Abruzzo, A.D. 1385; became a Franciscan of the regular observance, was repeatedly Cisalpine general of his order; was an inquisitor and papal legate, and, as such, preached and commanded crusades against the Fruticelli in Italy, the Hussites in Bohemia, and the Turks in Hungary, with dreadful effect. He died in 1456, aged 71. His writings are chiefly on different points of canon law, and are contained mostly in the *Tractatus Juris*. *Tr.*]

⁵ Jo. Hen. Maius, *Vita Reuchlini*, p. 156, &c. [John Wessel, called also Basilius, and Hermann, Gesvort, Goesvort, or Gansvort, was born at Gröningen, A.D. 1400, or rather 1419. He studied long in the school of the *Clerks of the common life*, at Zwol, and then at Cologne; became very learned, understood Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; was a Platonist, and a Nominalist, and a contemner of the reigning scholastic theology. He was very pious; studied the Scriptures much and in

Ferrara, a pious, eloquent, and learned man. Having probed the Romish ulcers too freely, he suffered for his rashness, being burnt at the stake, in 1498, at Florence. He died with constancy and cheerfulness.¹ *Alphonsus Spina* composed a book against the

the original languages, and based his faith upon them, in utter disregard for human authorities, doctors, traditions, popes and councils, or fathers. He was invited to Heidelberg; but not allowed to teach theology there, because he had not taken the degree of D.D., nor would they give him that degree, because he was not in orders. He returned to Cologne; and thence went to Louvain, and thence to Paris, where he resided many years, and acquired great reputation as a learned, independent, honest, and truly Christian man. He once visited Rome; was never persecuted; and died A.D. 1489, aged, some say, 89, and others, 70. His works are several theological tracts, chiefly on what he deemed the erroneous views in theology then prevailing. They are entitled, on the Providence of God; why Christ became incarnate, and the greatness of his sufferings; on Penance, or the clerical power of binding and loosing; on the Communion of saints; on the Treasury of merits in the Church; on Fraternities; on Purgatory; on papal Indulgences; several epistles; on the Eucharist and the Mass; on Indulgences; on Prayer. These were published, Wittemb. 1522, and Basil, 1523, folio, and 1525, 4to, under the title of *Farrago Rerum Theologicarum*; with a preface by Martin Luther: also at Amsterdam, 1617, 4to. In his preface Luther says: 'Wessel appeared (who was called Basil), a Frisian of Gröningen, a man of admirable talents, of great and rare genius, who was manifestly taught of God, as Isaiah prophesied that Christians should be; for he cannot be supposed to have followed men, even as I have not. If I had previously read Wessel, my enemies might have thought, *Luther derived all his views from Wessel, so perfectly accordant are the two in spirit.* And it increases my joy and confidence, and I now have no doubt of the correctness of my doctrines, since with such uniform agreement, and nearly in the same words, though at a different period, in another clime and country, and with other results, he so harmonises with me throughout.' See Seckendorf's *Historia Lutheranismi*, l. i. sec. 54, § 133, p. 226, &c. Bayle, *Dictionnaire Hist. et Critique*, art. *Wessel*. John Wessel is too often confounded with his contemporary and friend John de Vesalia, or of Wesel, a doctor of theology, and a celebrated preacher at Erfurth and Worms; who held nearly the same sentiments with Wessel, and was at length condemned by an assembly at Mentz, A.D. 1479, and cast into prison,

where he soon after died. His theological opinions were condemned; yet a Roman Catholic, who witnessed the whole trial, says, he advanced nothing but what might be defended, except in regard to the procession of the Holy Spirit, in which he agreed with the Greeks. His condemnation is attributed, by this writer, to his being a Nominalist, while his judges, all but one, were Realists. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire Hist. et Critique*, art. *Wesalia*, *Jean de*; and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* xxxiii. 295, &c. Tr.]

¹ Jo. Franc. Buddeus, *Parerga Historico-Theolog.* p. 279. The life of Savonarola, written by Jo. Franc. Picus, was published with notes, documents, and letters, by Jac. Quetif, Paris, 1674, 2 vols. 8vo. In the same year, Quetif published, at Paris, the spiritual and ascetic Epistles of Savonarola, translated from Italian into Latin. See also Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Ord. Prædicat.* i. 884, &c. [Jerome Savonarola was born at Ferrara, Sept. 21, 1452; religiously educated, and early distinguished for genius and learning. His father intended him for his own profession, that of physie, but he disliked it; and, unknown to his parents, became a Dominican, A.D. 1474. For a time he taught philosophy and metaphysics; and then was made a preacher and confessor. He soon laid aside the hearing of confessions, and devoted himself wholly to preaching, in which he was remarkably interesting and successful. In 1489, he went to Florence, where his preaching produced quite a reformation of morals. He attacked vice, infidelity, and false religion, with the utmost freedom, sparing no age or sex, and no condition of men, monks, priests, popes, princes, or common citizens. His influence was almost boundless. But Florence was split into political factions, and Savonarola did not avoid the danger. He was ardent, eloquent, and so enthusiastic as almost to believe, and actually to represent, what he taught as being communicated to him by revelation. The adverse faction accused him to the pope; who summoned him to Rome. Savonarola would not go; and was ordered to cease preaching. A Franciscan inquisitor was sent to confront him. The people protected him. But at length, vacillating about putting his cause to the test of a fire ordeal, he lost his popularity in a measure. His enemies seized him by force, put him to the rack, and extorted from him some concessions, which they interpreted as confessions of guilt, and then strangled him,

Jews and the Saracens, which he called *Fortalitium Fidei* .¹ Conspicuous in the long list of those called *Scholastics*, were *John Capreolus*,² *John de Turrecremata*,³ *Antoninus* of Florence,⁴ *Dionysius a Ryckel*,⁵ *Henry Gorcomius*,⁶ *Gabriel Biel*,⁷ *Stephen*

burned his body, and threw the ashes into the river. Thus he died, May 23, 1498. His character has been assailed and defended, most elaborately, and by numerous persons, both Roman Catholics and Protestants. His writings were almost all in Italian. They consist of more than 300 sermons, about 50 tracts and treatises, and a considerable number of letters; all displaying genius and piety, and some of them superior intellect. See especially *Picus* and *Buddens, ubi supra*. C. F. Ammon's *Geschichte der Homiletik*, vol. i. p. 169—198, Götting, 1804, 8vo. Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, art. *Savonarole*; and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxxiii. p. 543, &c. *Tr.*

¹ [Alphonsus Spina was a Spanish Jew, converted to Christianity, who became a Franciscan, rector of the university of Salamanca, an inquisitor, and at last a bishop. He flourished about 1459. His book defends the Roman religion against the arguments then used by Jews, Saracens, heretics, and infidels. It is a weak performance; first published, anonymously, Nuremberg, 1494, 4to, then at Lyons, A.D. 1511. *Tr.*]

² [John Capreolus was a Dominican of Toulouse; fl. 1415, and is said to have attended the council of Basil, 1431. He wrote Commentaries on Lombard's Four Books of Sentences; published, Venice, 1484, 1514, 1688, fol. *Tr.*]

³ [John de Turrecremata, a Spaniard, born at Torquemada, A.D. 1388; a Dominican, sent to the university of Paris, where he studied and taught many years. From about 1431, he served the popes, first as master of the palace; then (1437) as legate to the council of Basil, and afterwards to that of Florence; then as a cardinal and legate in France, and on various other embassies. From 1450 till his death in 1468, he held various bishoprics in Spain and Italy. He wrote commentaries on the *Decretum* of Gratian, on Paul's Epistles, on the Psalms; various tracts on scholastic theology, and disputed points of canon law and church government; against the Mahomedans; a series of Sermons; and a number of ascetic pieces. His works were first printed, Augsburg, 1472, in 8 vols. folio. *Tr.*]

⁴ [His true name was Antonius; but on account of his diminutive stature he acquired that of Antoninus. He was born at Florence in 1389, early studied canon law, became a Dominican at 16; afterwards presided over several different monasteries, was made vicar-general of his order, and in 1446

archbishop of Florence. He was repeatedly envoy of his city to the court of Rome; and died May 2, 1459, aged 70; greatly esteemed for his piety and erudition. He was canonised A.D. 1523. His piety was generally admitted; but his judgment as a writer has been questioned, and his works are said to be stuffed with silly stories collected from all quarters. He wrote *Summa Historialis*, or a universal history, from the creation to his own times; Lyons, 1586, 3 vols. folio. *Summa Theologica*, Strasburg, 1496, 4 vols. folio. *Summa Confessionalis*, Lyons, 1564, 8vo. Notes on the donation of Constantine the Great; several law tracts; and one on the virtues. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Dionysius a Ryckel, or de Leewis, or Carthusianus. He was born at Ryckel, in the diocese of Liege; educated at Cologne; became a Carthusian monk at twenty-one; and died March 12, 1471, aged 69, or, as some say, 77. He was a most voluminous writer; and chiefly as an expositor, and a practical theologian. His commentary on the whole Bible was printed, Cologne, 1533, in 7 vols. folio; his commentary on *Dionysius Areopagita*, ibid. 1536, fol. He also wrote eight books *De Fide Catholica*; two books on a Christian life, a treatise on the four last things, death, judgment, heaven, and hell; another on a particular judgment of souls; expositions of some works of John Cassian, and of the *Climax* of John Scholasticus; seven tracts on practical religion, printed at Louvain, 1577; and a work in five books, against the Alcoran and the Mahomedans: with tracts on war with the Turks, holding a general council, and the vices of superstition; printed, Cologne, 1538, 8vo. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Henry Gorcomius was a native of Gorcum, in Holland, became distinguished as a theologian and philosopher, was vice-chancellor of the university of Cologne, and died in 1495. He wrote *De Superstitiosis quibusdam Casibus seu Ceremoniis Ecclesiasticis*; *De Celebritate Festorum*; *Conclusiones et Concordantie Bibliorum ac Canonum in Libros Magistri Sententiarum*; a Commentary on Aristotle *de Celo* and *de Mundo*; *Questiones Metaphysicæ de Ente et Essentia*. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Gabriel Biel, D.D., a native of Speyer, one of the first professors of theology and philosophy of Tübingen, founded A.D. 1477. He died in 1495, leaving a commentary on the four Books of Sentences, Brixen, 1574, 3 vols. 4to; an Exposition of the Canon of the Mass; a series of Sermons; *Defensio-*

Brulifer,¹ and others. Among the most respectable *Mystics*, were *Vincentius Ferrerius*,² *Henry Harphius*,³ *Laurentius Justinianus*,⁴ *Bernhardinus Senensis*,⁵ and more famous than all the rest, *Thomas a Kempis*, the reputed author of the well-known treatise on the *Imitation of Christ*.⁶

rium Obedientiæ Pontificis; Historia Dominicæ Passionis; De Monetarum Potestate et Utilitate; and an Epitome of the work of William Occam on the Sentences. *Tr.*]

¹ [Stephen Brulifer, born at St. Malo, a Franciscan, a doctor of Paris, a Scotist, professor of theology at Mentz and Metz, fl. A.D. 1480, and died after A.D. 1500. He wrote on Lombard's Sentences; on the Trinity; Sermons on the Poverty of Christ; and some other tracts; all published, Paris, 1499 and 1500, 8vo. *Tr.*]

² [Vincentius Ferrerius was a Spanish Dominican of Valencia, renowned as a preacher, who travelled over Spain, France, and Italy, doing wonders, and converting multitudes from vice and error (if we may believe the Dominicans), was made confessor, and master of the palace to pope Benedict XIII. He was very metaphysical, poor in thought, and low in language; yet was esteemed a great saint; and was canonised in 1455. He died A.D. 1419. He wrote *De Vita Spiritualis; Tractatus Consolatorius*; and several epistles (published, Valencia, 1591); and a volume of sermons, with several small pieces annexed, often published. *Tr.*]

³ [Henry Harphius was a Franciscan, born in the village of De Herp, in Brabant, a theologian, provincial of his order, and guardian of the convent of Mechlin, fl. 1468, and died in 1478. He wrote *de Theologia Mystica, tum Speculativa tum Affectiva*, libri iii. Cologne, 1611, 4to. *Speculum Aureum in X. Præcepta Decalogi; Speculum Perfectionis*; and many Sermons. He wrote generally in Dutch; others translated him into Latin. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Laurentius Justinian was of patrician birth at Venice, a regular canon of St. Augustine for thirty years; then bishop of Venice, A.D. 1431, and promoted to the rank of a patriarch, A.D. 1450; died Jan. 8, 1455, aged 74, and was canonised A.D. 1524. He was a man of sincere piety, very zealous in religion, and very liberal to the poor. His works, consisting of sermons, letters, and a number of tracts on metaphysical divinity and practical religion, were printed, Basil, 1560, fol., Lyons, 1568, fol., and Venice, 1606, fol. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Bernardinus, *Senensis*, or of Siena, was nobly born at Massa, in the territory of Florence, Sept. 8, 1380; religiously educated in monkish austerities, yet instructed by distinguished masters; became a Franciscan in 1404; became very famous as a

preacher; was sent legate of his order to Palestine; travelled there; returned, and travelled over Italy; fl. 1426; repeatedly refused bishoprics; died 1444, aged 64; and was canonised in 1450. His works are chiefly Sermons; but embrace a few mystic tracts, and a commentary on the Apocalypse. He appears to have been devout, and possessed of considerable genius. His works were printed, Paris, 1636, in 5 vols. fol. *Tr.*]

⁶ Langlet de Fresnoy promised to show that this celebrated book, concerning the author of which there has been so much literary war, was first written in French, by one John Gersen, or John Gerson, and then translated into Latin by Thomas a Kempis. See Granet, in *Launoiana*, pt. ii. *Opp.* t. iv. pt. ii. p. 414, 415. A history of the disputes concerning this book was drawn up by Vincent Thuillier, in the *Opera Posthuma* of Mabillon and Ruinart, iii. 54, &c. [His real name was Thomas Hammerlein; in Latin, Malleolus. He was born at Kempis, or Kempen, in the diocese of Cologne, A.D. 1380; was sent to the school established by Gerhard Groot at Deventer, at 13; and seven years after, to the Augustinian convent at Mount St. Agnes, near Zwol; where he assumed the habit of a canon, A.D. 1406; was afterwards proctor and superior of the convent. He died A.D. 1471, aged 92. He was a very religious man. His writings are all on practical and experimental religion, and consist of numerous sermons, several letters, religious biography, and tracts; collected and printed often, in folio, quarto, and octavo: e.g. Cologne, 1728, 4to. The four books of *Contemptu Mundi* (or *De Imitatione Christi*—on the imitation of Christ—from the subject of the first book), have been translated into English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Bohemian, Hungarian, Greek, Arabic, and Turkish; and passed through innumerable editions. See Wharton's Appendix to Cave's *Historia Litter.* and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* xxxiv. 312, &c. [It is almost certain that Thomas was only the translator or transcriber of the *De Imitatione*. See Neale's *Jansenist Church of Holland*, p. 98. *Ed.*]

The following Latin writers are omitted in the preceding list by Mosheim:—

John Huss, born at Hussinetz, in Bohemia, educated at Prague, where he commenced A.B. in 1393, A.M. in 1395; became preacher in the Bethlehem church in 1400; read the works of Wickliffe, began

to attack the prevailing views of religion in 1408; was silenced by the archbishop of Prague, Sbinco Lupus; was accused before the pope, who summoned him to Rome. He sent his proctor, who was not heard; and Huss was condemned as an obstinate heretic. In 1413, being driven from the city of Prague, he preached in the vicinity till the tumult in the city subsided. In 1414, he set out for the council of Constance, protected by a safe-conduct from the emperor; but was seized, imprisoned, condemned, and burnt at the stake, July 6, 1415. His works contain numerous theological, polemical, and devotional tracts; many letters and sermons, a Harmony of the Gospels, commentaries on some of the Epistles and Psalms, and on the Apocalypse; and were printed, Norimb. 1558, 2 vols. fol.

Paulus Anglicus, an English doctor of canon law, 1404, wrote *Aureum Speculum*, or a Dialogue between Peter and Paul, on the abuses of clerical power; extant in Goldast, *Monarchia*, ii. 1527.

John Latterburius, an English Franciscan, educated at Oxford. He wrote, A.D. 1406, *Moralia super Threnos Jeremiæ*; printed 1482, fol.

Richard Ullertone (Ulverstone), of Lancashire, S.T.P. at Oxford, 1408. His *Petition for a Reformation of the Church* exists in MS. at Cambridge. The Preface and considerable extracts are published by Wharton, Appendix to Cave's *Historia Literaria*. Some other works of his exist in MS.

Theodoric de Niem, or *Niemus*, a German, scrivener to the pope A.D. 1372, bishop of Verden, and of Cambray; fl. A.D. 1408. He wrote a history of the papal schism in his own times, in four books; printed, Strasburg, 1608 and 1629, 8vo; also, the Life of Pope John XXIII., and some other pieces, respecting the state of his times.

Thomas Netter, called *Waldensis*, because born at Walden, in Essex; a Carmelite of London, educated at Oxford, confessor to Henry IV., and his envoy to the council of Pisa; provincial prior of his order in 1414; a strenuous opposer of the *Wickliffites*; sent by the king to the council of Constance in 1415; and to the court of Poland, in 1419. He attended Henry V. in his French war, A.D. 1422; and Henry VI. in 1430; and died at Rouen, Nov. 3rd, 1430. He wrote much; his *Doctrinale Antiquitatum Fidei Ecclesie Catholice*, a very prolix work against the followers of Wickliffe and Huss, was published, Venice, 1751, fol. and elsewhere. [The *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* ascribed to him was edited by W. W. Shirley, London, 1858. *Ed.*]

Petrus Ancharanus, a celebrated canonist of Bologna, A.D. 1410, who has left three large works on canon law; frequently printed.

Bostonus Buriensis, a Benedictine of Bury St. Edmunds, A.D. 1410. He visited all the monasteries in England, to make out a complete catalogue of all the works of the ecclesiastical writers. This manuscript catalogue was in the hands of archbishop Ussher, Thomas Gale, &c.

John Grossius, or Grossus, a Carmelite of Toulouse, elected general of his order in 1411, attended the council of Pisa, and died in 1424, at an advanced age. He wrote *Viridarium Ordinis Carmelitani*, in three books; describing the origin, progress, and distinguished men of his order; published with other similar works, Antwerp, 1680, 4 vols. fol.

Hieronymus à S. Fide, a converted Spanish Jew, physician to Benedict XIII., A.D. 1412. He wrote *De Refellendis Judæorum Erroribus*; and *Adversus Talmuth Judæorum*; published, Francf. 1602, 8vo, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, xxvi. 528.

Hermann de Lerbeke, a German Dominican of Minden, who wrote a *Chronicon* of the counts of Schauenburg, from 1006 to 1414, published by H. Meibomius, Francf. 1620, 8vo.

Paulus Carthagena à S. Maria, a converted Spanish Jew, bishop of Carthage and of Burgos, high chancellor of Castile and Leon, and patriarch of Aquileia; died A.D. 1435. He wrote additions to N. de Lyra's commentary on the Scriptures; *Scrutinium Scripturarum*, libri ii. and *Questiones XII. de Nomine Tetragrammato*.

Gobelinus Persona, born in Westphalia, A.D. 1358, travelled over Italy, and resided some time at the Roman court; in 1389, became rector of Trinity chapel, at Paderborn; retired to Bielefeld, and was made Dean; fl. A.D. 1418, and died about 1428. Between 1404 and 1418, he composed his *Cosmodromium*, or chronicle of the world from the creation to 1418; published with notes and an appendix, by H. Meibomius, Francf. 1599, fol.

Leonard Brunus Aretinus, born at Arezzo, Tuscany; and one of the best Latin and Greek scholars of his age; epistolary secretary to the popes, from 1404; retired to Florence, to literary ease, and there died in 1443, aged 74. He wrote *Contra Hypocritas Libellus*; History of Florence in xii. books; *De Bello Italico adversus Gothos* lib. iv. (which is a mere plagiarism from Procopius); *De Bello Punico* libri iii. (taken from Polybius, and intended to supply the loss of Livy's second Decade); *Epistolarum* libri viii.; a tract on Morals; Translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*; a history of his own times (or of the papal schism); and several other things. His Latin is very fine.

John Francis Poggius Bracciolinus, born near Arezzo, Tuscany, A.D. 1364; a fine Latin and Greek scholar, secretary to eight

successive popes, from 1415 to 1455; then counsellor at Florence, till his death in 1459. He wrote numerous small works, descriptive, facetious (or rather obscene), funeral orations, letters, &c., besides a History of Florence in eight books. He was active in the council of Constance: and quarrelled with Laurentius Valla; yet he promoted literature. His works are published, Strasbourg, 1511 and 1513, fol. and Basil, 1538, fol.

Nicolaus Dinkelspulus, a Swabian, rector of the gymnasium of Vienna, A.D. 1420; and its representative in the council of Basil, A.D. 1431. He wrote sermons on the Decalogue; on the Lord's prayer; on penitence; on the eight Beatitudes; on the seven mortal sins; a confessional; and on the five senses; printed, Strasbourg, 1516, fol.

Theodoric Engelhusius, a canon of Hildesheim, A.D. 1420. He wrote *Chronicon Chronicorum*, a universal history, civil and ecclesiastical, from the creation to 1420, published by Joach. Jo. Maderus, Helmst., 1671.

William Lindwood, LL.D., a learned English jurist, educated at Cambridge and Oxford; dean of the Arches to Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury; lord privy seal to Henry V., and his ambassador, 1422, to Spain and Portugal; bishop of St. David's in 1442; died 1446. He wrote *Provinciale, seu Constitutiones Angliæ, libri v.*, being the constitutions of 14 archbishops of Canterbury, from Stephen Langton to Henry Chicheley, with notes and comments; Oxford, 1679, fol.

John de Imola, a learned commentator on canon law, who died at Bologna, A.D. 1436. His comments were published, Venice, 1575, 2 vols. fol.

Julianus Cæsarinus, LL.D., professor of law in several Italian universities; then filled various offices in the court of Rome; and became a cardinal A.D. 1426. He was papal legate in the Hussite war, in which he was unsuccessful; and then legate to the council of Basil in 1431; presided there; refused to dissolve the council at the command of the pope; but in 1438 again sided with the pope; attended the council of Florence; was sent legate to the king of Poland in 1444; advised him to violate his treaty with the Turks, and was himself slain leading the troops to battle. He died aged 46. His two letters to pope Eugene IV., written from Basil, with a long oration he delivered there, have been printed.

Nicolaus Tudeschus, called *Panormitanus*, a Benedictine monk of Sicily, an abbot, and archbishop of Palermo; a very able canonist; who taught in Italy, and filled offices at Rome. In 1431, the king of Arragon sent him to the council of Basil; where he defended the supremacy of councils with great

ability. He was made a cardinal in 1440, and died in 1445. Except his defence of the rights of councils, his works are all upon canon law. They were repeatedly published; e.g. Venice, 1617, 9 vols. fol.

Raymundus Sabunde, a learned Spaniard, rector of the gymnasium of Toulouse. He wrote (A.D. 1434—1436) *Theologia Naturalis, de Homine et Creaturis, seu Thesaurus Divinarum Considerationum*; often printed, e.g. Venice, 1581, 8vo.

Petrus Jeremia, a Dominican, and a celebrated preacher, born at Palermo, lived at Bologna, and died there, A.D. 1452. His sermons, with expositions of the Lord's prayer, the decalogue, and tracts on faith, and Christ's sufferings, were printed, Haguenoe, 1514.

Nicolaus Auximanus Picens, an Italian Franciscan, vicar of his order in Palestine; pious and learned, A.D. 1430. He wrote *Summa Casuum Conscientiæ; Supplementum ad Summam Pisanellam*; and *Interrogatorium Confessorum*; besides some things never printed.

Ægidius Carlerius, born at Cambray, fellow and professor of theology in the college of Navarre, Paris; dean of Cambray in 1431; opposer of the Hussites in the council of Basil, 1433. He died very aged, Nov. 23, 1473. His *Sporta Fragmentorum*, and his *Sportula Fragmentorum* (two collections of tracts defending the Roman church), were printed, Brussels, 1478, 2 vols. folio. His long argument at Basil against the Hussites is in Harduin's *Concilia*, viii. 1759, &c.

Catharina Bononiensis, an Italian Franciscan abbess at Bologna; who thought she had many divine revelations; fl. 1438, and died March 9th, 1463. Her *Liber de Revelationibus sibi factis* was printed, Venice, 1583.

John Lydgate, an English Benedictine, and teacher of youth, at Bury St. Edmund's. He was the imitator of Chaucer, and accounted a good poet; born A.D. 1380, and lived till after 1460.

Thomas Walsingham, an English Benedictine of St. Alban's, where he was precentor, A.D. 1440. He wrote two Histories of England; the fuller from A.D. 1273 to 1422; the more concise, entitled *Hypodigma Neustriæ*, from 1066 to 1417. Both are esteemed, and were printed, Lond. 1574, fol. He also continued the *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden, from 1342 to 1417.

John de Anania, a celebrated canonist of Bologna, who died A.D. 1455, leaving several large works on canon law, which have been printed.

Laurentius Valla, of patrician rank, born at Rome, A.D. 1415, doctor of theology, and canon of St. John Lateran; a finished

scholar, but extremely sarcastic, and a severe critic. He made many enemies: among whom was Poggius, with whom he had long and severe quarrels. In 1443, he left Rome and went to Naples, where Alphonsus V. patronised him. The Inquisitors would have burned him at the stake, had not that king protected him. He was at length permitted to return to Rome, and teach there till his death, A. D. 1465. He wrote *Elegantiarum Linguae Latinae libri vi.* on the use of *Sui* and *Suus*; three works in controversy with Poggius; several other personal attacks; three books on Logic; on the spurious donation of Constantine the Great; Annotations on the New Testament; on Man's Supreme Good, three books; and a tract on Free-will. These works were printed at Basil, 1540, fol. He also wrote the history of Ferdinand of Arragon and Castile, from A. D. 1410 to 1415; besides notes on Sallust, Livy, Quintilian, and translations of the Iliad, Herodotus, Thucydides, &c.

Flavius Blondus, or Blondus Flavius, born in Italy A. D. 1388, a good classical scholar, secretary to various popes, died June 4th, 1463, aged 75. He wrote much, but so hastily, that his works are of little value. They are *Historiarum Decades III.*, or a general history of the western empire, from 410 to 1440; *Romæ Instaurate libri iii.* (a description of Rome in his day); *Italia Illustrata libri viii.* (description of Italy in the middle ages); *de Venetorum Origine et Gestis* (from 456 to 1291); *Romæ Triumphantis libri x.* (a description of the Roman republic in its best days); all these were printed, Basil, 1559, folio.

Meffrethus, a presbyter of the church of Meissen, A. D. 1443, who wrote *Hortulus Reginae* (sermons for the year), printed Norimb. 1487, fol. Basil, 1488, 2 vols. fol.

Reginaldus Pavo (in English, Peacock), born in Wales, educated at Oxford, bishop of St. Asaph A. D. 1444, and of Chichester A. D. 1450, accused of heresy, and compelled to retract in 1457, and died not long after. He laboured much to convince and convert the Wickliffites, Hussites, Lolhards, and Waldenses; but disapproved all persecution. He acknowledged the corruptions of the church; held the Scriptures to be the only rule of faith, yet allowed a place for natural religion; denied the infallibility of popes and councils, yet admitted their right to legislate on points left undecided in the Scriptures. He wrote, in English, two books on the faith, published, with abridgment, Lond. 1688, 4to; also a prolix work against the assailants of the clergy, the Wickliffites and others, written in 1449, and still preserved in the public library at Cambridge. See Wharton's Appendix to Cave's *Historia Litterar.* [Bp. Peacock

was deprived of his bishopric notwithstanding his recantation, and died a close prisoner in Thorney abbey, Cambridgeshire. See his life by Lewis, reprinted in 1820, Oxford. S.—His *Repressor of the Clergy* was published in 1860. Ed.]

Leonard de Utino, Bellunensis, or Micensis, an Italian Dominican, rector of a gymnasium at Bologna, chaplain to Eugene IV., provincial of his order for Lombardy; fl. A. D. 1444. He has left us two series of sermons, which are elaborate, learned, and ingenious, but infected with the bad taste of the times (see Ammon's *Gesch. der Homiletik.* Götting. 1804, p. 91, &c.); also a treatise de *Locis Communibus Prædicatorum*; and another, de *Legibus*.

Petrus de Pilichdorf, a German professor of theology, about 1444, who wrote *Contra Sectam Waldensium Liber*; in the *Biblioth. Patr.* t. xxv.

Maphæus Vegius, an Italian poet and man of letters, datary to Martin V., and a canon of Rome, died 1458. He wrote *de Perseverantia in Religione libri vii.*; *de Educatione Liberorum libri vi.*; *Disputatio Terræ, Solis et Auræ, de Præstantia*; *Dialogus de Miseria et Felicitate*; *Veritas invisita et exulans*; a poetic life of St. Anthony, the monk, in four books; on the Four Last Things; Paraphrases on the seven penitential Psalms. The preceding are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* t. xxvi.; also *de Significatione Verborum in Jure Civili*; and a thirteenth book of Virgil's *Æneid*.

Matthæus Palmerius, a poet, orator, and historian of Florence, A. D. 1449; condemned to the flames for some expressions savouring of Arianism, in his Italian poem respecting the angels. He wrote a *Chronicon* from the creation to 1449; usually printed with those of Eusebius and Prosper.

John Capgrave, an English Augustinian friar of Lynn, D.D. at Oxford, and provincial of his order, A. D. 1450. He died in 1464; was an eminent theologian, and a severe reprover of the dissolute clergy. He wrote a Catalogue, or Legend, of all the English Saints; printed, London, 1516, fol. [a History of England, and History of Illustrious Henries, pub. 1858], and many other works yet in manuscript.

Antonius de Rosellis, a Tuscan, professor of civil and canon law at Padua, papal legate to the council of Basil, and privy councillor to the emperor, Frederic III.; died, at an advanced age, at Padua, 1467. In his famous work, entitled *Monarchia*, he proves, from Scripture, the fathers, reason, and both civil and canon law, that the pope is not supreme in temporal things, and that he has no more power than any other bishop. He wrote some other law tracts.

John Canales, D.D., an Italian Franciscan,

much esteemed by the duke of Ferrara, A.D. 1450. He was a good scholar and divine; and wrote several tracts on practical religion; printed, Venice, 1494, fol.

Gulielmus Vorilongus, a French Dominican, called to Rome by Pius II. to defend his order against the Franciscans, relative to the blood of Christ; where he died A.D. 1464; leaving a commentary on the four books of Sentences (printed, Lyons, 1484, &c.) and a Collection of passages from the Sentences that are against Scotus.

Nicolaus de Orbellis, or Dorbellus, a Franciscan professor of theology and scholastic philosophy at Poitiers, A.D. 1456; a strenuous defender of the opinions of Scotus, in a series of works, on the Sentences, logic, commentaries on Aristotle, &c.

Gulielmus Houpeland, a French theologian, archpresbyter of S. Severin, Paris, and dean of the theological faculty there, died Aug. 2, 1492. His book *de Immortalitate Animæ, et Statu ejus post mortem*, full of quotations from the ancients, was printed, Paris, 1499, 8vo.

Jacobus de Paradiso, a Carthusian monk, and doctor at Erfurth, A.D. 1457, wrote a number of tracts on ecclesiastical and religious subjects.

Pius II., better known as Æneas Sylvius, of the noble Italian family of Piccolomini, born 1405; went to Siena in 1423, where he studied the poets and orators, and then the civil law; in 1431 he went to the council of Basil, where, for ten years, he was one of the most active and efficient in restricting the papal power, and urging a reform of the church. In 1439 he became a counsellor to pope Felix V., and in 1442 privy councillor and secretary of state to the emperor Frederic III. Here he slowly turned with the emperor to the side of Eugene IV., and was made a bishop in 1447; yet continued to serve the emperor in public business. In 1452 he was made legate for Bohemia and the Austrian dominions; was honoured with a cardinal's hat in 1456; and in 1458 was created pope; reigned nearly seven years, and died at Ancona, when ready to embark in an expedition against the Turks, Aug. 14th, 1464. His works are numerous and written with much ability (for he was, perhaps, the best scholar that ever wore the triple crown), but those written before he was pope are contradictory to those written afterwards, and are marked in the *Index Expurgatorius*. He wrote *Bulla Retractationis Omnium ab eo olim contra Eugenium Papam in concilio Basiliensi Gestorum*; *de Gestis Concilii Basiliensis libri ii.*; *de Coronatione Felicis V.*; *de Ortu, Regione, ac Gestis Bohemorum* (a history of the Bohemians, from their origin to 1458; often printed, e.g. Amberg, 1593, 4to); an Abridgment of Flav.

Blondus' Roman History; *Cosmographia liber primus* (on Asia Minor); *Cosmographia liber secundus* (on Europe, in his age); a commentary on the history of Alphonsus king of Arragon, in four books; 432 epistles; and several other tracts. All the above were published, Basil, 1571, and Helmst. 1700, fol.

John Gobelinus, counsellor to Pius II. 1458. His name is annexed to the *Commentariorum de Rebus Gestis Pii II. Papæ libri xii.* which it is supposed Pius himself composed, and left with his secretary to correct and publish; printed, Francf. 1614, fol.

Jacobus Piccolominiæus, counsellor to Callistus III. and Pius II., a cardinal in 1462, died in 1489, aged 57. He wrote *Commentariorum de Rebus toto orbe per Quinquennium Gestis libri vii.* (from A.D. 1464 to 1469); also 782 epistles; both printed, Francf. 1614, fol.

Andreas Barbatus, or Barbatias, a celebrated jurist of Sicily, A.D. 1460, who taught and died at Bologna. He commented on the canon law, and wrote on the offices of cardinal and legate à latere; and on some other parts of ecclesiastical law.

Gregory de Heimburg, a learned German jurist, active in the council of Basil, and much esteemed by Æneas Sylvius; a decided and firm opposer of the papal pretensions. His friend Sylvius, when pope, persecuted him for his adherence to the views that they had both held. His tracts against papal usurpations were printed, Francf. 1608, 4to.

Roderic Sancius de Arevalo, a Spanish jurist, bishop, counsellor to the king of Castile, &c. fl. 1466. He wrote a History of Spain, in four books, from the earliest times to 1469; some law tracts; and *Speculum Humanæ Vitæ* (on the duties of all classes of people as immortal beings).

Alexander de Imola, called Tartagnus, a famous Italian jurist, who lectured on both civil and canon law, with vast applause, for thirty years, at Pavia, Ferrara, and Bologna; and died A.D. 1487, aged 54; leaving much esteemed commentaries on civil and canon law.

Jacobus Perezius, a Spanish Augustinian friar and bishop, who died in 1491. He wrote allegorical commentaries on the Psalms, the Canticles, and the *Cantica Officialia*, and a tract against the Jews; most of them printed together, Venice, 1568, 4to.

Petrus Natalis, or de Natalibus, a Venetian, and bishop, in that territory, A.D. 1470. He wrote *Historia, sive Catalogus Martyrum et Sanctorum*; often printed.

Gabriel Barletta, an Italian Dominican, and distinguished preacher, A.D. 1470. His two volumes of sermons were printed 1470, Venice, 1585, 8vo.

Martin, surnamed Magister, rector of the college of St. Barbara at Paris, and a celebrated teacher of moral philosophy there, who died in 1482, aged 50. He wrote *Quæstiones Morales de Fortitudine* (Paris, 1489, fol.); *de Temperantia*, &c.

Rudolphus Agricola, born 1442, near Gröningen; studied at Gröningen, Paris, and in Italy; became an elegant scholar; learned in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; a sound theologian, and a good philosopher. He taught a few years at Gröningen, and then at Worms, and Heidelberg, where he died, Oct. 1485, aged 42. He wrote on Logical Invention; several orations and epistles; translations from the Greek, and comments on the Latin classics. Most of his works were printed, Cologne, 1539, fol. He opposed the corruptions of Rome.

Bartholomew Platina, an Italian, a soldier in his youth, then a man of letters, employed by cardinal Bessarion, and by Pius II., who gave him valuable benefices. Paul II. discarded him, imprisoned him, put him to the rack, and left him in poverty and disgrace. Sixtus IV. raised him again to honour and affluence, and made him keeper of the Vatican Library. He died A.D. 1481, aged 60. He wrote *Historia de Vitis Pontificum* (from the Christian era to 1471; continued by Onuphrius Panvinus to A.D. 1565; frequently printed, e.g. Cologne, 1611, 4to); *de Honestæ Voluptate et Valitudine libri x.*; *de Falso et Vero Bono dialogi iii.*; *de Optimo Cive dialogi ii.*; *de Naturis Rerum*; *de Vera Nobilitate*; a Panegyric on Bessarion; a number of letters, and other tracts: all collected, Cologne, 1574, fol. besides several pieces published separately.

Robert Fleming, an Englishman, educated at Oxford, resided some time at Rome, became dean of Lincoln, where he died. While in Italy, A.D. 1477, he wrote a fulsome poetic Eulogy on Sixtus IV., in two books, entitled *Lucubrationes Tiburtinæ*; printed, Rome, 1477, 8vo.

John Raulin, educated at Paris, president of the college of Navarre, A.D. 1481; became a Cluniacensian monk in 1497; was learned and pious; died at Paris A.D. 1514, aged 71; leaving many sermons and addresses, and 55 letters; published, Antwerp, 1612, 6 vols. 4to.

Augustinus Patricius, a canon of Siena, and secretary to cardinal Francis Piccolomini; by whose direction he composed, A.D. 1480, a History of the councils of Basil and Florence; published in the Collections of Councils.

Matthæus Mareschalcus de Bappenheim, a German jurist and canon of Augsburg; fl. 1480. He wrote *Chronicon Australe* (of Europe, from 852 to 1327); *Chronicon Augustanum* (of Augsburg, from 973 to

1104); and *Chronicon Elwangense* (from 1095 to 1477); published by Freher, *Scriptores Germani*, t. i.

Hermolaus Barbarus, a Venetian patrician, born A.D. 1454, an elegant Greek and Latin scholar; envoy to the pope in 1491, who created him patriarch of Aquileia, without the consent of the senate of Venice. This involved him and his whole family in trouble, in banishment, and confiscation of property. He died at Rome A.D. 1494, aged 39. He corrected several of the Greek and Latin classics; translated some, and wrote a number of orations, poems, and tracts.

Baptista Salvis, or de Salis, an Italian Franciscan, A.D. 1480. He wrote *Summa Casuum Conscientiæ*, usually called *Baptistiana*; printed, Paris, 1499.

Angelus de Clavasio, an Italian Franciscan, vicar-general of the Observants; a distinguished theologian and jurist; died 1495. He wrote *Summa Casuum Conscientiæ* (Norimb. 1588, fol.), and *De Restitutionibus*; and *Arca Fidei* (Complutum, 1562, 4to).

Baptista Trovamaia, an Italian Franciscan, resident at Louvain, A.D. 1480. He wrote *Summa Casuum Conscientiæ*; Paris, 1515, 8vo.

Bernardinus Aquilanus, an Italian Franciscan, a learned jurist, and court preacher at Rome, A.D. 1480. He wrote, besides sermons, several tracts on practical subjects, and on points of canon law.

Antonius de Balochio, or de Verellis, an Italian regular Observant Franciscan, and an eloquent preacher, A.D. 1480. He left several sermons and religious tracts.

Bernardinus Tomitanus, surnamed Parvus, from his diminutive stature; an Italian Franciscan, in high repute at Rome, eminent for piety and eloquence. He died at Pavia, Sept. 28, 1494; leaving several Italian sermons, and a tract *De Modo confitendi*.

Bernardinus de Bustis, an Italian Franciscan preacher, learned and superstitious. He died after 1500, leaving several series of sermons, and offices for the festivals of the conception of Mary, and the name of Jesus.

Robert Caracciolus, de Licio, an Italian Franciscan preacher, of very moving address. He died A.D. 1495, having preached fifty years; and left numerous sermons; printed, Venice, 1490, 3 vols. folio.

Michael de Mediolano (or de Carcano; according to Wadding), a celebrated Italian Franciscan preacher, A.D. 1480; who has left numerous printed sermons.

Andreas, a Dominican, and a cardinal; eminent for sanctity, eloquence, and zeal for reformation. Finding the pope and cardinals opposed to a reformation of morals, he in 1482 applied to the emperor Frederic

III., went to Basil, endeavoured to assemble a general council there; was anathematized by the pope, seized, imprisoned, and strangled. Several of his letters and tracts on this subject are annexed to J. H. Hottinger's *Historia Ecclesiast. Sæcul. xv.*

Marsilius Ficinus, a Florentine, patronised by Lorenzo de' Medici. He was a good classic scholar, the great reviver of Platonic philosophy; a good theologian, and (after hearing Savonarola) a pious man, and good preacher. He died A.D. 1499; leaving numerous works illustrative of the classic authors, the Platonic philosophy, and the principles of sound piety. His Epistles, in twelve books, contain many sound and devout essays. His collected works have been often printed, e.g. Paris, 1641, in two vols. folio.

Wernerus Rollwinck de Laer, a Westphalian, and Carthusian monk, at Cologne; died A.D. 1502, aged 77. He wrote *Fasciculus Temporum*, embracing all the ancient Chronicles, and coming down (in different copies) to 1470, 1474, 1480; and continued by John Linturius, to 1514; in Pistorius, *Rerum Germanicar. t. ii. De Westphaliæ Situ et Laudibus; Quæstiones xii. pro Sacræ Theologiæ Studiosis*; and some other things.

Jacobus Gruytrodius, a Carthusian monk, and a prior near Liege, A.D. 1483. He wrote *Speculum Quintuplex Prælatorum, Subditorum, Sacerdotum, Sæcularium Hominum, et Senum* (on the duties of each).

John Picus, a prince of Mirandula and Concordia, born 1463, became a very finished scholar, a great linguist and philosopher, a great disputant, and then a sober theologian, and at last a humble and zealous Christian; resigned his office, retired from the world, and was cut off prematurely, A.D. 1494, aged 32. Besides his early disputations, he wrote Precepts for a Holy Life; on the 15th Psalm; on the Kingdom of Christ, and the vanity of the world; on the Lord's Prayer; epistles, &c. all published, Basil, 1601, fol.

John Trithemius, or de Trittenheim, near Treves, born in 1462; educated at Treves and Heidelberg; became a Benedictine monk, A.D. 1484; presided over the monastery of Spanheim, A.D. 1485—1505; and over one at Würzburg from 1506 till his death, A.D. 1518. He was a man of vast reading, and a very voluminous writer. He wrote *Chronologia Mystica; De Origine Gentis et Regum Francorum* (from 433 B.C. to A.D. 1514); *Chronicon Ducum et Comitum Palatinorum; Catalogus Scriptorum Germanicorum; Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum* (a work of much labour, embracing 970 articles); *Chronicon Cænobii Hirsaugiensis; Chronicon Monasterii Sti Martini Spanheimensis; Epistolæ*

Familiares 140. The preceding were published, Francf. 1601, 2 vols. fol. Some other Chronicles, sermons, tracts, and letters compose another folio, printed at Mentz, 1604. Other pieces appeared, Cologne, 1624, 8vo. He also wrote *Polygraphiæ libri vi; Steganographia; De Providentia Dei; Historia Belli Bavarici anno 1504 gesti; and Tractatus Chymicus.*

Carolus Fernandus, of Bruges, a professor at Paris, 1486, and a Benedictine monk. He wrote *De Animi Tranquillitate libri ii.; De Immaculata B. Virginis Conceptione libri ii.; Collationum Monasticar. libri iv.; Speculum Disciplinæ Monasticæ; De Observat. Regulæ Benedictinæ.*

Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis (Anthony de Lebrija, an Andalusian), a Spaniard, born in 1444, travelled in Italy, became a finished scholar, did much for the cause of polite learning in Spain; aided cardinal Ximenes in his literary labours; wrote much; and died at Alcalá, A.D. 1522, aged 77. He was a learned editor of classical and religious works; wrote the history of Ferdinand and Isabella, to 1509; on the war of Navarre, A.D. 1512; a Lexicon of Civil Law; a Medical Lexicon; a Latin-Spanish, and Spanish-Latin Lexicon; a Latin Grammar; and several other things.

Aurelius Brandolinus, of Florence, a distinguished theologian, poet, and preacher, and at last an Augustinian hermit; died at Rome, A.D. 1498.

Henry Bebelius, a German, an elegant scholar, poet-laureat, teacher of *Belles Lettres* at Tübingen, A.D. 1497. He wrote much, chiefly on rhetoric and poetry. His minor works were published, Strasb. 1513, fol.

Gaufridus Bousardus, D.D., educated at Paris, chancellor there, travelled in Italy, beneficed near Le Mans A.D. 1518; died there A.D. 1520, aged 81. He wrote on Marriage of the Clergy; on the Mass; and on the vii. Penitential Psalms.

Donatus Bossius, of Milan, fl. A.D. 1489. His *Chronicon* (or universal history, from the creation to his own times), and *Chronicon de Episcopis et Archiepiscopis Mediolanensibus* (to 1489), were both printed, Milan, 1492, fol.

Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus, a schoolmaster at Rome and Udine, historiographer to the state of Venice; died of the venereal disease, A.D. 1506, aged 70. He wrote *Rhapsodiæ Historiarum* (from the creation to 1504); *De Rebus Gestis Venetorum* (from the founding of the city to 1487, in 33 books); *Exemplorum libri x.; De Aquileiæ Antiquitate libri vi.; De Venetæ urbis Situ libri iii.; De Venetis Magistratibus Liber; De Prætoris Officio Liber; De Officio Scribæ Liber; Epistolar. libri xii.* besides orations and poems: collected, Basil, 1560, 4 vols. fol.

Bonifacius Simoneta, of Milan, a Cistercian abbot, near Piacenza, A.D. 1490. He wrote on the persecutions of the Christians, and the history of the pontiffs, from St. Peter to Innocent VIII. in 279 letters; divided into six books, Basil, 1509.

Petrus Apollonius Collatius, a presbyter of Novara, probably lived about 1490. He wrote *De Excidio Hierosolymorum* (*a Tito*) libri iv. in the *Biblioth. Patr.* t. xii. Some refer him to the seventh century.

Robert Guaguinus, of Belgium, educated at Paris, of the order of the Holy Trinity for the redemption of captives, general of his order in 1473, and envoy of Lewis XII. of France to Italy, Germany, and England; died at Paris, A.D. 1501. He wrote *Annales Rerum Gallicarum*, in eleven books; on the immaculate conception; *De Arte Metrorum libri* iii., orations, poems, &c.

Felinus Sandeus, LL.D., of Ferrara, professor of canon law at Pisa, A.D. 1464—1481, then prefect of the Rota, at Rome, and bishop of Lucca in 1499; died 1503. He wrote largely on canon law; and an abridged history of Sicily. His works, in several folios, were printed, Venice, 1570.

John Geiler, of Kaysersburg, born A.D. 1445, educated at Freiburg and Basil; an eminent preacher, and religious man. He preached at Freiburg, Würzburg, and for 30 years at Strasburg, where he died in 1510. His numerous sermons are excellent, and have been frequently printed. See a critique upon them, with his biography, in Ammon's *Geschichte der Homiletik*, Götting, 1804, p. 217—268.

John Reuchlin, or Capnio, born in Suabia, Jan. 1, 1454, educated at Baden, Paris, Basil, and Orleans; and retired to Germany in 1481, a finished scholar. He next accompanied the count of Würtemberg to Rome, and returning, was sent envoy to the imperial court. Here he studied Hebrew under a Jew, but perfected himself in that language at Rome. He was an elegant Latin and Greek scholar, and a great promoter of literature in Germany; likewise learned in the Hebrew, and a great promoter of Hebrew learning. His censures of the ignorance and stupidity of the clergy drew on him their persecution. They attacked him, as being inclined to Judaism, and also as one poisoned by the Greek and Latin poets. He opposed them with ridicule and sarcasm; particularly in his two books of *Letters of Obscure Men*. The quarrel became serious, but at length was merged in that greater contest between the Romanists and Protestants. He wrote *De Arte Cabalistica libri* iii. *De Verbo Mirifico libri* iii. (on the absurdities of Greek, Hebrew, and christian philosophy); a Version of the seven penitential Psalms, from the Hebrew; *De Arte Concionandi Libellus*; an *Judæorum*

Talmud sit supprimendum? *Breviloquium* (a concise Latin dictionary); a Hebrew Lexicon and Grammar (Basil, 1554, fol.); Rudiments of the Hebrew language; on the accents and orthography of Hebrew; *Obscurorum Virorum ad Ortuinum Gratium Epistolarum libri* ii.; and a few other things.

Jacobus Wimphelingius, born in Alsace, A.D. 1449, studied theology at Freiburg, Basil, Erfurth, and Heidelberg; became an eloquent preacher; settled at Speyer A.D. 1494; and after several years removed to Heidelberg, where he wrote and instructed youth. He died A.D. 1528, aged 80. He was a pious man, and laboured for a reformation of morals, but shuddered at the convulsions produced by the reformers. He wrote many historical, devotional, and literary pieces, which were published separately.

Oliver Maillard, of Paris, a Franciscan, general of his order, and a noted preacher; died A.D. 1502. He published his sermons and tracts, Lyons, 1499, fol.

Antonius Bonfinius, an Italian, a fine Latin and Greek scholar, highly esteemed by Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, by whose suggestion he wrote *Rerum Hungaricarum libri* xlv. (a history of Hungary, from the earliest times to 1495), repeatedly printed; e.g. Basil, 1543.

John Jovian Pontanus, born in Umbria, spent his life at the court of Naples, where he became epistolary secretary to the king; and died 1503, aged 78. He was a fine Latin scholar, and a poet, orator, and historian; but exceedingly sarcastic, and rather a pagan than Christian moralist. He wrote largely on particular virtues and vices; *De Sermone libri* vi.; *De Bello Neapolitano* (between Ferdinand of Naples and John, Duke of Anjou) libri vi., some dialogues, and numerous poems; all collected, Basil, 1556, in 4 vols. 8vo.

Nicolaus Simonis, a Carmelite of Haarem, who died, at an advanced age, A.D. 1511. He wrote sermons on Canon Law, and on the power of the popes and councils.

James Sprenger, a Dominican of Cologne, provincial of his order, A.D. 1495, inquisitor general for Germany. He wrote *Malleus Maleficarum* (against witchcraft) in three books; Francf. 1580, 8vo.

John Nauderus, LL.D. professor of canon law at Tübingen, fl. 1500. He wrote *Chronicon Universale* (from the creation to 1500), enlarged and revised by Melancthon; often published.

The preceding writers belong to the 15th century. The following, of the 16th century, and before Luther, are inserted to make the list reach to the time of the reformation.

John Lewis Vives, born in Spain, studied there, and at Paris and Louvain.

In the latter place, he became an elegant Latin and Greek scholar, and a teacher of the liberal arts. He aided Erasmus in editing the fathers, and commented on Augustine's *Civitas Dei*; went to England to be tutor to Mary, daughter of Henry VIII.; returned, and lived at Bruges till his death, A.D. 1537. He wrote much on education, on the classics, and on devotional subjects; collected, Basil, 1555, 2 vols. fol.

John Lewis Vivaldus, a Dominican, born in Piedmont, bishop in Dalmatia, A.D. 1519. He wrote several tracts on experimental religion, printed, Lyons, 1548.

Baptista Mantuanus, of Spanish extraction, born in Mantua, A.D. 1448, became a Carmelite; general of his order, A.D. 1513; died in 1516, aged 68; a prolific poet, biographer of saints and religious writers. His works were printed, Antwerp, 1576, 4 vols. 8vo.

Peter Martyr Anglerius, born at Milan, went to Spain A.D. 1487, served the king in various offices; was sent envoy to the Sultan of Egypt A.D. 1501; and died after 1525. He wrote *de Navigatione Oceani libri xxx.* (describing Columbus's recent discoveries, written A.D. 1502), Paris, 1587, 8vo. *De Legatione sua Babylonica libri iii.* (printed with the preceding); *Epistolarum libri xxxviii.* (nearly a complete history of Europe, from 1488 to 1526, in 813 letters), Amsterd. 1670, fol.

Pelbartus Osvaldus, a Hungarian Franciscan, fl. 1501. He wrote *Aureum S. Theologie Rosarium, juxta iv. Sententiarum Libros* (Hagenoe, 1508, 2 vols. fol.), and many sermons, printed at different times.

John Meder, a German Franciscan; preacher at Basil A.D. 1501. He wrote sermons for the year, on the parable of the prodigal son; Paris, 1511, 8vo.

Mauritius de Porta Fildæus, of Irish birth; his Irish name was Ophihilla. From his early childhood he lived about 40 years in Italy; was a Franciscan, and taught theology at Padua; flourished A.D. 1505. Pope Julius II. made him archbishop of Tuam. He was at the Lateran council in 1512; and died A.D. 1513, not quite 50 years old. He was a distinguished theologian of the school of Scotus; whose principles he illustrated in a series of works.

Nicolaus Dionysii, or de Nyse, a French Franciscan, prior of the convent of Rouen, and provincial of his order, A.D. 1501; died at Rouen A.D. 1509; wrote *Resolutio Theologorum*, or comments on the four Books of Sentences, and many sermons.

James Almain, a scholastic divine of Paris, a Scotist, and defender of the superiority of councils over popes; a lecturer on dialectics, philosophy, and theology, in the college of Navarre; fl. 1502, died in 1515.

His lectures were published, also, tracts on morals, on the authority of councils, reply to cardinal Cajetan, &c. Paris, 1516.

Finus Hadrianus, an Italian of Ferrara, secretary of the treasury of the duke. In 1503, being then in years, he wrote *Flagellus adversus Judæos libri ix.*, printed, Venice, 1538, 4to.

Albert Crantz, born at Hamburg, doctor of canon law and theology, A.D. 1490; rector of the university of Rostock, dean of Hamburg; died December 7, 1517. He ardently desired a reformation of the church; but despairing of it, used to say to Luther—"Brother, brother, go to your cell and say, 'The Lord be merciful.'" He wrote *Metropolis* (a history of the German churches, especially in Saxony, founded in the age of Charlemagne), Cologne, 1574, 8vo. *Historiæ Saxonice libri xiii.* Frankf. 1575. *Historiæ Vandalicæ libri xiv.* Frankf. 1575. *Chronicon Gentium Septentrionalium* (Denmark, Sweden, and Norway), Frankf. 1575. All these are prohibited by the *Index Expurgatorius*, till purged of their heresy.

John Stella, a Venetian priest, wrote in 1505, *Commentarium de Vita ac Moribus Pontificum Romanorum*; from St. Peter to 1505, printed, Venice, 1507, and 1650, 24mo. He dared not tell all he knew.

Damianus Crassus, a Dominican of Lombardy, published, A.D. 1506, a prolix commentary on Job; with several theological essays. He died A.D. 1516.

Francis Ximenes [Gonzalo Ximenes de Cisneros], a Spaniard, nobly born [but of a reduced family] at Alcalá [at Tordelaguna], A.D. 1437 [1436], and well educated for the ministry, at Alcalá (where he was taught grammar), and Salamanca (where he was placed at fourteen). After visiting Italy, and filling some minor ecclesiastical offices, he forsook the world, became a Franciscan [Observantine friar] at Toledo [where a superb pile was then erecting for that strict order by Ferdinand and Isabella; he then assumed the name of Francis, after the founder of his order, and building a little hermitage with his own hands] retired to a sequestered spot; became an abbot, confessor to queen Isabella in 1492, provincial of his order, archbishop of Toledo A.D. 1495, high chancellor of the empire, inquisitor-general of Spain; founded the university of Alcalá (*Complutum*) in 1500 [opened in July, 1508]; was keeper of the queen of Castile, and guardian of the prince, in 1506; cardinal in 1507; ruled all Spain from 1515; and died November 7, 1517, aged 80. He was learned, and a great promoter of learning; an austere monk, a sound catholic, an able statesman, and a benefactor of his country. His great work was the Complutensian Polyglott Bible, in 6 vols. fol. printed

at Alcalá (*Complutum*), A.D. 1501—1515; on which he expended 50,000 crowns, employed a great number of the best scholars, and had the best manuscripts from the Vatican library. [‘It was not brought to an end till 1517, fifteen years after its commencement and a few months only before the death of its illustrious projector,’ Prescott’s *Ferdinand and Isabella*, iii. 303. S.]

Alphonsus Zamora, a Spanish Jew, and rabbi, converted to Christianity, and employed by cardinal Ximenes on his Polyglott Bible; fl. 1506. He was the chief writer of the sixth volume of the Polyglott, containing the Apparatus for understanding the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Samaritan of the Old Testament. He also wrote another Hebrew Grammar, a concise Lexicon, and a treatise on Hebrew points; together with a letter to the Jews; all printed at Alcalá, 1526, 4to.

Philippus Decius, LL.D. a famous Italian professor of canon law at Pisa, and other places; who died A.D. 1535, aged above 80. In 1511, he gave an opinion, that a general council may be called without the consent of the pope; an opinion which he defended at length. He wrote also extensive commentaries on Canon Law, which were printed.

Thomas Radinus called Todiscus, an Italian Dominican of Piacenza, an acute theologian, and a distinguished poet and

orator; fl. 1510. He wrote *De Pulchritudine Animæ*; *Abyssus Sideralis*; an Oration against Luther; and another against Melancthon.

Cyprianus Benetus, a Spanish Dominican, professor of theology at Paris, A.D. 1511. He wrote several tracts respecting the papal power, and some other things.

Marcus Vigerius, a Genoese Dominican, professor of theology at Padua and Rome, bishop of Sinigaglia, and a cardinal; died A.D. 1516, aged 70. He wrote various treatises respecting the death of Christ; printed, Douay, 1607, two vols.

John Aventinus, born in Bavaria A.D. 1466, studied at Ingolstadt and Paris; became a finished scholar; taught the classics at Vienna, Ingolstadt, and Munich; intimate with Erasmus. At the instigation and expense of the princes of Bavaria, he wrote *Annales Boiorum libris vii.* (from the earliest times to 1460), Ingolst. 1554, fol. and enlarged, Basil, 1580, fol. He died A.D. 1534, aged 68. His Annals are prohibited by the *Index Expurgatorius*, till purged of their heresies.

Peter Galatinus, an Italian converted Jew, a Franciscan, doctor of theology, and Apostolic penitentiary; fl. 1516; died after 1532. He wrote a Dialogue between Galatinus, Capnio, and Hocstratus, entitled *Opus de Arcanis Catholice Veritatis*; chiefly borrowed from Raymond Martini’s *Pugio Fidei*; printed often, e.g. Frankf. 1672, fol. Tr.]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. Corrupt state of religion—§ 2. Witnesses for the truth everywhere—§ 3. Commotions in Bohemia—§ 4. The Hussite war. Its conductors—§ 5. The Calixtines—§ 6. The Taborites—§ 7. The Bohemian commotions terminated—§ 8. Expositors of the Scriptures—§ 9. The dogmatic and moral theologians much disliked—§ 10. especially by the well-educated—§ 11. and by the Mystics—§ 12. Polemic theology—§ 13. Schism between the Greeks and Latins, not yet healed—§ 14. Controversies among the Latins.

§ 1. THAT the public religion of the Latins had no longer anything which could please pious and sensible men, is a fact so well attested, that even those who have the strongest inclination to do so, dare not deny it. Nor among the Greeks and Orientals was religious teaching much better. Nearly the whole worship of God consisted in ceremonies; and those in a great measure puerile and silly. The sermons that were delivered occasionally to the people, not only wanted sense

and reason, but even religion and piety; while they were stuffed on the other hand with fables and offensive inventions.¹ And he was accounted sufficiently well informed and pious, among the Latins, who revered the clergy, and especially the head of that body, the Roman pontiff; who secured the favours of the saints, by frequent offerings to them, that is, to their temples and ministers; who attended the stated ceremonies; and who had, moreover, money enough to buy off the penalties of sins from those who sought supplies for the pope's exchequer by the sale of indulgences. Any one who added occasionally to these things a degree of severity towards his own body, was thought most closely connected with God. But it was made their business by very few to seek just views of divine subjects, to settle their minds according to the precepts of Jesus Christ, to make the sacred books their counsellor: and such as were in this minority had a hard matter to escape the pyre.

§ 2. This cruel calamity and misery wise and religious men, in almost all the countries of the Latins, both saw and strove to alleviate, although their plans and operations differed. In England and Scotland the followers of *Wickliffe*, who were popularly branded with the odious name of *Lollhards*, found continual fault with the decisions of the pontiffs, and the conduct of the clergy.² The *Waldenses*, though oppressed from every quarter, did not cease to cry aloud from the remote valleys and hiding-places into which they had been driven, that help must be given to religion and piety, which were almost extinct. Even in Italy itself, *Jerome Savonarola*, among others, asserted that Rome was a second Babylon; and had many to support him. But as most of the priests, together with the monks, well understood that no diminution of the public ignorance, superstition, and folly, could take place without a corresponding one of their own emoluments and honours, they strenuously opposed all amendment; and employed fire and sword to force these inconvenient physicians into silence and inaction.

§ 3. The religious dissensions and controversies in Bohemia, which originated from *John Huss* and *Jacobellus de Misa*, broke out into a fierce and deadly war, after the lamentable death of *Huss* and *Jerome* of Prague, at Constance. The friends of *Huss* and defenders of the [sacramental] cup, being persecuted in various ways by those who sided with the Roman pontiffs, chose a high and rugged mountain in the district of *Bechin*, where they held their religious meetings, and celebrated the Lord's Supper in *both kinds*. This mountain they called *Tabor*, from the tents under which they lived there at first; but afterwards they built fortifications upon it, and a regular city. And now proceeding further, they put themselves under *Nicolas* of Hussinetz, lord of the place where *Huss* was born, and the celebrated

¹ [For a full account of the preachers, and the subjects and modes of preaching in this century, see C. F. Ammon's *Gesch. der Homiletik*, vol. i. Götting. 1804, 8vo, also with the

title *Gesch. der praktischen Theologie*. Tr.]

² See David Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae*, t. iv. Anth. Wood's *Antiq.* Oxon. i. 202, 204, &c.

John Ziska, a Bohemian knight, and a man of great valour: that under these leaders they might avenge the death of *John Huss* and *Jerome*, upon the friends of the Roman pontiff, and obtain the liberty of worshipping God in a different manner from that prescribed by the statutes of the Roman church. *Nicolas* died in the year 1420, and left *Ziska* alone to take the lead in this company, which increased every day. Among the first conflicts, and when greater ills were beginning, A.D. 1419, the Bohemian king and emperor, *Wenceslaus*, was removed by death.

§ 4. His successor, the emperor *Sigismund*, employed edicts, arms, and penalties, to bring this war to a close; and he put many of the Hussites to a miserable death. Hence in the year 1420, the Bohemians revolted from him, and under *John Ziska* made war upon him. This *Ziska*, though blind, so managed the war as to render his very name terrible to his foes. On the death of *Ziska*, A.D. 1424, a large part of the Hussites chose for their leader *Procopius Raso*; a man of equal energy, who successfully managed the cause of his party. On both sides, many things were done ferociously and cruelly—in fact, quite inhumanly. For the contending parties, though they differed in most of their opinions as to religion and religious worship, yet both held the common principle, that the enemies of true religion might justly be assailed with arms, and be extirpated with fire and sword. The Bohemians, in particular, who contended that *Huss* had been unjustly committed to the flames at Constance, still admitted, in general, that corruptors of religion and heretics ought to be subjected to capital punishments: *Huss*, however, they maintained, was no heretic. In this war, so great was the inhumanity on both sides, that it is difficult to say which beat the other in cruelty, and in the multitude of its crimes.

§ 5. All the avengers of the death of *Huss* were in harmony at the commencement of the war: at least, they had the same views, and made the same demands. But when their number was increased, and multitudes of all sorts of persons joined their standard, great dissension arose among them on many points; and in the year 1420, this produced an open schism, dividing the body into two principal factions, the *Calixtines* and the *Taborites*. The former, or *Calixtines*, who derived their name from the *cup*¹ which they wished to have restored in the Eucharist, were of more moderate views, and did not wish to have the old constitution and government of the Church overturned, or the religion of their progenitors changed. All that they required, was comprehended in these four wishes:—I. That the word of God might be preached in its purity and simplicity to the people:—II. That the sacred supper might be administered *in both kinds*:—III. That the clergy might be recalled from the pursuit of wealth and power, to a life and conduct becoming the successors of the apostles:—IV. That the greater or *mortal* sins might be duly punished. Yet those who confined themselves within these limits,

¹ Calix.

were not free from disagreements. In particular there was a great contest among them respecting the Lord's Supper. For *James de Misa*, the author of the doctrine that the sacred supper should be administered *in both kinds*, maintained that the sacramental elements should be presented to infants; and many followed his views; but others were for prohibiting the admission of infants to the sacred supper.¹

§ 6. The *Taborites*, who derived their name from Mount *Tabor*, made far more extensive demands. For they wished to have both religion, and the government of the Church, restored to their original simplicity; the authority of the pontiff put down, and the Roman form of worship abolished; in short, they wished for an entirely new church and commonwealth, in which *Christ* himself should reign, and everything be conducted by divine instigation. This made their principal teachers, *Martin Loquis*, a Moravian, and his associates, so extravagant, as to indulge themselves in fanatical dreams, and to disseminate and teach publicly, that *Jesus Christ* was about to descend, to purge away the corruptions of the Church with fire and sword; and other similar fictions. On this party alone, fall all the horrid deeds, the murders, plunderings, and burnings, which have been charged upon the *Hussites*, and upon their leaders, *Ziska* and *Procopius*. At least, a great portion of this class had imbibed cruel sentiments, and breathed nothing but war and blood against their enemies.²

§ 7. The council of Bâle, A.D. 1433, attempted to put an end to this dreadful war in Bohemia; and accordingly invited the Bohemians to the council. They appeared by their envoys; among whom their general *Procopius* was one.³ But after much discussion, the

¹ See Byzinius, *Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 130, &c.

² I will here transcribe some of the *Taborite* sentiments which Laur. Byzinius has faithfully stated, in his *Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 203, &c. 'All the opposers of *Christ's* law ought to perish with the seven last plagues, to inflict which the faithful are to be called forth. In that time of vengeance, *Christ* is not to be imitated in his mildness and pity towards those sinners, but in his zeal, and fury, and just retribution. In this time of vengeance, every believer, even a presbyter, however spiritual, is accursed, if he withholds his material sword from the blood of the adversaries of *Christ's* law; for he ought to wash and sanctify his hands in their blood.' From men of such sentiments, who could expect anything of equity, justice, or kindness?—On this most calamitous war, besides the ancient writers, Sylvius, Theobaldus, Cochläus, and others, James Lenfant has written an appropriate work; *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*, Amsterd. 1731, 2 vols. 4to. But to this should be added, a work that Lenfant did not consult, Laur. Byzinius, *Diarium Belli Hussitici*; a

tract written with great fidelity, and published, though mutilated, by Jo. Peter de Ludewig, in his *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor. t. vi.* and also Beausobre's *Supplément à l'Hist. de la Guerre des Hussites*; Lausanne, 1745, 4to.

³ [The Bohemians appeared at Constance, 300 men on horseback; among whom were, besides Procopius, William Cosca, John Rockyzanus, a Calixtine priest, Nicholas Galaceus, a Taborite priest, and Peter Anglicus. In the name of their countrymen, they proposed the four following articles:— I. Whoever would be saved, must receive the Eucharist in both kinds. II. Temporal authority is forbidden to the clergy by the divine law. III. The preaching of the word of God should be free to every man. IV. Public crimes must by no means go unpunished. On these points, four Bohemian divines and four members of the council disputed for fifty days. Their speeches may be seen in Harduin's *Concilia*, viii. 1655, &c. The council answered their demands so equivocally, that they deemed it expedient to break off the negotiation and return home. *Schl.*]

Bohemians returned home, nothing being accomplished. The *Calixtines* were not averse from peace: but the *Taborites* could not be moved at all to yield. Afterwards, *Aeneas Sylvius*, who, with others, was sent by the council into Bohemia, managed the matter more successfully. For by granting the use of the cup to the *Calixtines*, which was the chief object of their wishes, he reconciled them to the Roman pontiff. But with the other party, the *Taborites*, neither the shrewdness and eloquence of *Sylvius*, nor the numberless menaces, sufferings, and persecutions to which they were afterwards exposed, could avail anything. From this time, however, they regulated both their religion and their discipline more discreetly and suitably; abandoned war; discarded those tenets which were at variance with genuine Christianity; and rejected and excluded all those who were either beside themselves, or of blemished morals.¹ These are those *Bohemian Brethren*, or, as they were called by their enemies, *Piccards*, i.e. *Beghards*, who at the time of the Reformation entered into alliance with *Luther* and his associates, and whose posterity still exist in Poland and in some other countries.

§ 8. In most of the interpreters of the sacred volume, whom this age produced in abundance, there is nothing to be commended, except their good intentions. Those who relied upon their own resources, and did not plunder from the writings of their predecessors, amused, or rather beguiled their readers, with what were called *mystical*, *anagogical*, and *allegorical* contemplations. At the head of all the interpreters, stood *Alphonso Tostatus*, bishop of Avila; whose ponderous volumes on the Holy Scriptures are extant, but contain nothing remarkable, except a prodigious mass of writing. *Laurentius Valla*, by his little book of critical and grammatical *Notes on the New Testament*, did more for the cause of sacred literature; for he there showed subsequent interpreters how to remove the difficulties that attend the reading and understanding of the sacred books. It is proper to add here, that in most of the countries of Europe, as in France, Italy, Germany, and Britain, the Holy Scriptures were translated into the vernacular languages; which portended a great change in the prevailing religion, and a reformation of it, from the sources of religious knowledge.

§ 9. In the theological schools, those almost exclusively reigned who loaded the memory with dialectical terms and distinctions, in order to dispute in a regular manner on divine subjects; which, however, they did not understand themselves. Very few remained of those who were inclined to demonstrate the doctrines and precepts of religion by the declarations of the sacred volume and of the ancient

¹ See Adrian Regenvolscius, *Historia Eccles. Provinciar. Slavonicar.* l. ii. c. 8, p. 165. Joach. Camerarius, *Historica Narratio de Fratribus Ecclesiis in Bohemia, Moravia, et Polonia*, Heidelb. 1605, 4to. Jo. Lasitius, *Historia Fratrum Bohemicorum*; which I have before me in manuscript; the 8th book

of it was printed at Amsterd. 1649, 8vo. [See also Jo. Theo. Elsner's Dissertations relative to the creed, the usages, and the history of the Bohemian Brethren; in Dan. Gerdes' *Miscellanea Groningana*, t. vi. vii. and viii. Tr.]

divines. There were, however, wise and learned men whom the faults of the prevalent mode of teaching did not escape, and who pronounced it ruinous to religion and piety. Hence, various plans were formed, by different persons, for either abolishing or reforming it; and the scholastics had no small number of enemies. The mystics, of whom we are presently to speak, were of opinion that all this kind of wisdom ought to be banished from the Christian Church. Others, who were more moderate, thought that it ought not to be wholly suppressed, but that vain and idle questions should be excluded, the delirious rage for wrangling and disputation be restrained, and the scholastic subtlety be seasoned and tempered with the mystic simplicity. This was the opinion of the great *John Gerson*, who is known to have been assiduous in correcting the faults of the scholastic tribe.¹ Of the same opinion was *Nicolas Cusanus*, whose tract *on learned ignorance* is still extant; and likewise *Peter de Alliaco*, *Savonarola*, and others.

§ 10. The restorers of the *belles lettres* and elegant composition were no less hostile to this wrangling tribe. Yet they did not all possess the same views. For some of them treated the discipline of the schools with ridicule and contempt; and thought it deserved to be banished altogether, as being nugatory and pernicious to the culture of the mind. But others thought it might indeed be suffered to exist, but that it ought to be exhibited with the charms of eloquence and a purer diction. Of this class was *Paul Cortesius*, who composed a splendid work *on the Sentences*; in which, as he says, he united eloquence with theology, and explained the principal subtleties of the scholastics in a polished style of composition.² But the designs of all these persons were resisted by the very powerful influence of the Dominicans and Franciscans; who excelled in this species of learning, and who would not suffer the glory which they had acquired, by wrangling and disputing, to become tarnished.

§ 11. While the scholastics were thus sinking in the estimation of men of genius, the *mystics* were gaining strength, and obtaining many friends and supporters. And there were among them several excellent men, who can be taxed with but few of the faults of that kind of doctrine which they followed; such as *Thomas à Kempis*, the author of the *Theologia Germanica*, which was commended by *Luther* himself; also *Laur. Justinianus*, *Jerome Savonarola*, and others. Yet there were other mystics, as *Vincent Ferrerius*, *Henry Harphius*, and *Bernhardin* of Siena, in whom we must carefully separate from the precepts of divine wisdom such things as they derived from an over-excited imagination, and from that *Dionysius*

¹ Rich. Simon's *Lettres Choiesies*, ii. 269, and *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclès. par M. Dupin*, i. 491. Jac. Thomasius, *Origines Histor. Philos.* p. 56, and especially, John Gerson's *Methodus Theologiam Studendi*, in Jo. Launo's *Historia Gymnasii Navarreni*, in his *Opp.* t. iv. P. i. p. 330, &c.

² It was printed, Rome, 1512, and Basil,

1513, fol. [He was of Dalmatia, *protonotarius apostolicus* under Alexander VI. and Pius III., and bishop of Urbino, and died in 1510. Besides his commentary on the *Sentences* of Lombard, he wrote a Dialogue concerning learned men, which was first printed at Florence, 1734. *Schl.*]

whom all the mystics held in reverence. The mystics were aided against the attacks of the dialecticians, partly by the Platonists, who were now in high credit in several places, and partly by certain wise and religious men, who were themselves ornaments to the schools. For the former extolled *Dionysius* as being of their way of thinking; and some even commented upon him, as *Marsilius Ficinus*, that high ornament of the Platonic school. The latter advised, and in fact attempted, a conjunction of the two kinds of theology; as *John Gerson*, *Nicolas Cusanus*, *Dionysius* the Carthusian, and others.

§ 12. Eminent men now laboured, much more than before, to confirm and establish the truth and divinity of the Christian religion in general, against all the assaults of its adversaries. The prevalence of a desire to be useful in this way, appears from such works as the treatise *on the Truth of the Christian Religion*, by *Marsilius Ficinus*, the *Triumph of the Cross* by *Jerome Savonarola*, the *Natural Theology of Raymund de Sabunde*, and other tracts of similar character. Against both the Jews and the Saracens, *Alphonso de Spina* contended in his *Fortalitiū Fidei*; against the former only, *James Perezius* and *Jerome de Ste. Foi*; and against the latter only, *John de Torquemada*. And that these labours were needed, will not be questioned by one who is aware that the Aristotelians in Italy had not a little unsettled the foundations of all religion in their schools; that the senseless jangling of the scholastics had produced, in the minds of the more crafty, a contempt for all religion; and that the Jews and Saracens lived intermingled everywhere with the Christians.

§ 13. Of the vain and fruitless endeavours of the Greeks and Latins to terminate their disagreements, we have already spoken. After the council of Florence, and the violation of the agreement by the Greeks, *Nicolas V.*, indeed, again exhorted them to a union; but they turned a deaf ear; and three years after this last letter, Constantinople was taken by the Turks. And the pontiffs, in all their consultations on the subject of a union, since the overthrow of the Greek empire, have found the Greek bishops more obdurate and intractable than they were before. For there has grown up, in the minds of the Greeks, a hatred of the Latins, and especially of the pontiffs; because they believe that the evils which they experience from their Turkish tyrants might have been repelled, if the Latin pontiffs and kings had not refused to bring them succour against the Turks. As often, therefore, as they deplore their misfortunes, so often also they throw blame on the Latins for their insensibility, and their fatal tardiness to afford them succour in distress.

§ 14. Among the Latins, not to mention several minor contests, there was brought up again the celebrated controversy respecting the blood of Christ, and the worship of it; which had been moved between the Dominicans and the Franciscans, in the preceding century, A.D. 1351, at Barcelona; and had not been decided by *Clement VI.*¹ *James* of Marchia, a celebrated Franciscan, A.D. 1462, taught publicly

¹ Lu. Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* xiii. 58, &c. Jac. Echard's *Script. Prædicat.* i. 650, &c.

at Brescia, in a sermon to the people, that the blood shed by *Christ* was distinct from his *divine nature*; and of course that it ought not to receive *divine* honours, or the worship called *latria*. The contrary opinion was espoused by the Dominicans. Hence *James* of Brescia, the inquisitor, arraigned that Franciscan upon a charge of *heresy*. The pontiff, *Pius II.*, attempted in vain to suppress this controversy at the outset; and, therefore, he ordered it to be investigated by some selected theologians. But there were many obstacles, especially the power and influence of the two orders who made this a party question between them, that prevented any final decision. Therefore, after many altercations and disputes, *Pius II.*, in the year 1464, imposed silence on both the contending parties; declaring that both opinions might be tolerated until the vicar of Christ should have leisure and opportunity for examining the subject, and determining which was the more correct opinion. Such an opportunity the pontiffs have not yet found.¹

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Rites of the Greeks — § 2. Rites of the Latins.

§ 1. THE state of opinion among the Greeks as to the proper way of worshipping God, may be learned from the treatise of *Simeon* of Thessalonica on *Heresies and Rites*.² From this book it is evident, that true religion being lost, a sort of splendid shadow was substituted in its place by the leading clergy; and that all religious arrangements were made with a view to pomp, and to gratify the eyes and the senses of the people. Reasons were, indeed, offered for all the ceremonies and regulations which are called sacred. But notwithstanding a degree of subtlety and ingenuity, which runs through these interpretations of the ceremonies, there is little or nothing of truth and good sense in any of them. The origin of the numerous

¹ Wadding's *Ann. Minor.* xiii. 206, &c. Natal. Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.* sæc. xv. p. 17. [The preacher's doctrine was, that our Lord's blood, shed during his passion, lost the hypostatic union, and consequently, during three days, became neither divine nor adorable. The inquisitor, being a Dominican, could not overlook the opening, thus given by a famous man of the rival order, for fastening some stigma upon Franciscan divinity. The question, however, soon assumed a violent party character between the two great mendicant bodies and their respective admirers. Hence papal

interference became indispensable, and Pius II. desired to hear a solemn argument upon it, by some of the ablest men that each side could produce. After a debate of three days, Pius's own judgment, and that of most around him, inclined to the Dominicans, but his head was full of a crusade, which could not be successfully preached up, if the Franciscans were opposed or neutral. He therefore adroitly put off both parties. Moreri, *in voc.* Jaques de la Marche. S.]

² The contents of it are stated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, xiv. 54.

rites, by which the native beauty of religion is obscured rather than adorned, is obscure and not very honourable; and those who would fain add splendour to it, by taxing their own ingenuity, are commonly forsaken by their wits when they make the attempt.

§ 2. Among the Latins, though all good men wished for a diminution of the multitude of ceremonies, feast-days, sacred places, and other *minutiae*, yet the pontiffs considered it their duty to enact new laws and regulations respecting them. In the year 1456, *Calixtus III.*, in perpetual remembrance of the raising of the siege of Belgrade, by the Turkish emperor *Mahomet II.*, ordered the festival of Christ's *transfiguration*, which had previously been celebrated in some provinces by private authority, to be religiously observed over the whole Latin world.¹ In the year 1476, *Sixtus IV.*, by a special edict, promised remission of sins to those who should religiously keep, from year to year, the memorial of the *immaculate conception* of the blessed Virgin. No preceding pontiff had thought proper to ordain anything on the subject.² The other additions that were made to the worship of the holy Virgin, to the public and private prayers, to the traffic in *indulgences*,³ and the like, are better omitted than enumerated particularly; for there is no need of proof, that, in this age, religion was made to consist chiefly in mimic shows and trifling.⁴

¹ [This festival had been observed as early as the seventh century, by the Greeks, on the *sixth* of August; and because, *on that day*, the Turks raised the siege of Belgrade, therefore this festival must be everywhere celebrated through all future time. *Tr.*]

² [The doctrine of the *immaculate conception* of the Virgin Mary was first advanced in the twelfth century, by Peter Lombard. Thomas Aquinas disputed the doctrine; but Scotus maintained it, and gave it general currency. The *festival* of her birth was kept as early as the eleventh century; and was then observed by certain bishops, as by Anselm of Canterbury. By other bishops of that age it was opposed. *Tr.*]

³ [The popes now caused indulgences to be preached in all provinces. The ordinary price was five ducats. They promised to apply the money to a Turkish war; but they often expended it in wars against their Christian enemies, in enriching their family connexions, and supporting their voluptuous extravagance. Neither intelligent princes, nor the clergy, looked upon this sale of indulgences with approbation. They accordingly made ordinances of various kinds against it. For instance, the council of Soissons, in the year 1456, says: 'Prohibemus quibuscunque quæstoribus, ne in hac provincia, prætextu indulgentiarum, prædicent verbum Dei—aut nihil in suo sermone *questuosum* exponant.' In the council of Constance, A.D. 1476, the clergy complained

of the sale of indulgences as a grievance, and said of it: 'Absurda et *piarum aurium offensiva*, in cancellis, verbum Dei evangelizando committunt.' And they enacted, 'ut deinceps quæstores ad ambores ecclesiarum non admittantur—et omnes debent *quam partem* rectoribus et plebanis solvere.' And in Harzheim's *Concilia*, t. v. *Suppl.* p. 945, it is said of these vendors of indulgences:—'Tales collectores emunt et mercantur *collecturas* ab ecclesiis, x. xiii. libris denariorum, et per annum xl. l. accumulunt—multo ampliores pecunias colligunt; facinora et scandala committunt, bibunt, noctu ludunt, blasphemant, in tabernis per noctes integras turpiter consumentes, quod ad Dei honorem fideles porrexerunt,' *Schl.*]

⁴ [To elucidate this by a single example, I adduce the following from the *Anecdotes Ecclesiastiques*, Amsterd. 1771, 8vo, ad ann. 1499. Among the statutes of the cathedral of Toul, there is an article with the title, *Sepelitur Halleluia*. It is well known that, during the seasons of fasting, *Halleluia*, as being an expression of joy, was not sung in the ancient church. Hence, to honour this *Halleluia*, which, in time of the fasts, was, as it were, dead, a solemn funeral was instituted. On the Saturday night before Septuagesima Sunday, children carried through the chancel a kind of coffin, to represent the dead *Halleluia*. The coffin was attended by the cross, incense, and holy water. The children wept and howled all the way to the cloister, where the grave was prepared. A custom equally ridiculous was introduced

into a cathedral near Paris. On the same day a boy of the choir brought into the church a *top* (*toupie*), around which was written *Halleluia*, in golden letters. And when the hour arrived that *Halleluia* was

sung for the last time, the boy took a whip in his hand, and whipped the top along the floor of the church, quite out of the house. And this was called the *Halleluia whip*, *fouetter l'Aléluia*. *Schl.*]

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1. The Manichæans and Waldenses — § 2. Beghards, Schwestriones, Picards or Adamites — § 3. The White Brethren — § 4. The Men of Understanding — § 5. The new Flagellants.

§ 1. NEITHER the edicts of the popes and emperors, nor the vigilance and cruelty of Inquisitors, could prevent in this age ancient sects from lurking still in many places, or some new ones from starting up. We have already seen the Franciscans waging war against the Roman church. In Bosnia and the neighbouring countries, the *Manichæans* or *Paulicians*, the same as those who were called *Cathari* in Italy, formed new societies without molestation. *Stephen Thomasus*, indeed, the king of Bosnia, abjured the heresy of the Manichæans, received baptism from *John Carcaval*, a Roman cardinal, and then expelled the Manichæans from his kingdom.¹ But he soon after changed his mind; and it is certain, that this sect continued to inhabit Bosnia, and the adjacent provinces, till the end of the century. The *Waldenses* collected brethren and adherents, as well in other countries of Europe, as in lower Germany, particularly in the territories of Brandenburg, in Pomerania, the district of Mecklenberg, and Thuringia. Yet it appears, from unpublished documents, that very many of them were seized by the *Inquisitors*, and delivered over to the secular authorities to be burnt.²

§ 2. *The Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*, or *Beghards* and *Schwestriones*, as they were called in Germany, or *Turlupins*, as in France,—that is, persons whose mystical views had thrown them into a species of frenzy, did not cease from wandering privately over certain parts of France, Germany, and the Netherlands, and especially of Suabia and Switzerland, beguiling the minds of the people. Few of their teachers, however, escaped the eyes and the hands of the

¹ See Raph. Volaterranus, *Comment. Urbanus*, l. viii. fol. 289, &c. *Æneas Sylvius, de Statu Europæ sub Frederico III.* c. x. in *Freher's Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, ii. 104, &c.

² [Boniface VIII. had already promised an indulgence to every one that should deliver over a heretic to the inquisition; and he ordained that this should be considered

as equally meritorious with a crusade to the Holy Land. This ordinance was renewed by the council of Pavia. See Harduin, viii. 1013, &c. So the provincial council of Constance, A.D. 1483, promised indulgences to all those who should lend their personal aid against the heresies of Wickliffe and Huss. See Harzheim's *Concilia German.* v. 546. *Schl.*]

Inquisitors.¹ Upon the breaking out of the religious war in Bohemia, between the *Hussites* and the adherents to the pontiffs, in the year 1418, a company of these piously-infatuated people went into Bohemia; and they held their secret meetings, first at Prague, then also in other places, and lastly in a certain island. It was one of the tenets of this sect, as has been already stated, that those instincts of nature, bashfulness, and modesty, indicate a mind not duly purified, and not yet brought back to the divine nature, whence it originated: hence, that those only are perfect, and in close union with God, who are no longer moved by the sight of naked bodies, and who can associate with persons of a different sex in a state of complete nudity, just as our first parents did, while still uncorrupted. These *Beghards*, accordingly, who by a slight change in the pronunciation of the name, conformably to the harder utterance of the Bohemians, were called *Picards*, ordinarily went to their prayers and their religious worship without clothing. For this precept, so entirely accordant with their religion, was frequently upon their lips: *They are not free* (that is, not duly rescued from the bonds of the body, and converted to God,) *who wear garments, especially such as cover the thighs*. Although these people, in their assemblies, committed no offence against chastity, yet, as might be expected, they fell under the greatest suspicion of extreme turpitude and lasciviousness. Credit being given to such imputations by *John Ziska*, the fierce general of the *Hussites*, he attacked this unhappy company of absurdly-religious and delirious people in the year 1421, slew some of them, and expressed a wish that the rest might be cut off by fire. This punishment the unhappy men cheerfully endured, according to the fashion of their intrepid sect, which looked upon death with astonishing indifference.² They

¹ Felix Malleolus, or Hämmerlein, in his *Descriptio Lollhardorum*, which is subjoined to his book *Contra Validos Mendicantes*, *Opp.* signat. c 2, a. has drawn up a catalogue, though an imperfect one, of the *Beghards* burnt in Switzerland and the adjacent countries during this century. This Felix, in his books against the *Beghards* and *Lollhards* (either intentionally, or being deceived by the ambiguity of the terms), has confounded the three classes of persons on whom the appellation of *Beghards* or *Lollhards* was usually bestowed; viz. (1) the Tertiaries of the more rigid Franciscans; (2) the Brethren of the free spirit; and (3) the Cellite Brethren, or Alexians. The same error occurs in numberless other writers. [See also Harzheim's *Concil.* v. 464, where there is an ordinance of the provincial council of Constance, A.D. 1463, and another A.D. 1476, against the *Lollhards* and *Begutte*, and especially the *Tertiarii*. Here doubtless belongs what John Nieder states, in his *Formicarium*, lib. iii. 'Fuit Fratricellus seu *Beghardus* secularis, qui in eremo austeram vitam vixit, et durissimam regulam tenuit — a Constantino episcopo captus, per

inquisitorem judicio seculari traditus et incineratus fuit. Alius fuit, qui velut *Beghardus* infra Rhenum — tandem Viennæ in Pictaviensi diocesi incineratus est. Dicebat, *Christum in se, et se in Christo esse*.—Currit in partibus Sueviæ, inter personas utriusque sexus, seculares et ecclesiasticas, hæresis et hypocrisis tam enormis, ut eam ad plenum exprimere non audeam. Omnia licere; non jejunant, occulte laborant in festis ecclesiæ; cæremonias omnes, tanquam animalium hominum, spernunt; virginitatem — superstitiones esse; pro minimo ducunt, non obedire papæ aut pastori-bus aliis. Sacerdos quidam feminis persuasit, verecundiam abnegandam; coram clericis talibus se denudarent sed sine coitu — conjacebant clerici uno lecto, nec ad lapsum carnis procedebant. De alta perfectione loquuntur — stilum librorum subtilissimorum in nostro vulgari periculose, ut vereor, scriptorum didicerunt — cæremonias, festivitates, missas, contemnunt; &c. *Schl.*]

² See Jo. Lasitius, *Historia Fratrum Bohemorum Manuscripta*, lib. ii. § 76. &c. who shows fully, that the *Hussites* and the Bohemian brethren had no connexion with

were also commonly called *Adamites*, because they wished to follow the example of *Adam* in his state of innocence. The ignominious name of *Beghards*, or, as the Bohemians pronounced it, *Picards*,¹ which was the appropriate designation of this little company, was afterwards transferred by their enemies to all those *Hussites* and Bohemians that contended with the Roman church; for these, as is well known, were called by the common people the *Picard Brethren*.

§ 3. In Italy, a new sect, that of the *White-clad Brethren*, or the *Whites*,² produced no little excitement among the people. Near the beginning of the century, a certain unknown priest descended from the Alps, clad in a white garment, with an immense number of people of both sexes in his train, all clothed like their leader, in white linen; whence their name of the *White Brethren*.³ This multitude marched through various provinces, following a cross borne by the leader of the sect; and, by a great show of piety, so captivated the people, that numberless persons of every kind joined its ranks. Their chief exhorted them to appease the wrath of God, inflicted on himself voluntary punishments, recommended a war against the Turks, who were in possession of Palestine, and pretended to have divine visions. *Boniface IX.*, fearing some plot, ordered the leader of this host to be apprehended, and committed to the flames.⁴ After his death, the multitude gradually dispersed. Whether the man died in innocence or in guilt, is not ascertained. For some writers of the greatest fidelity assert, that he was by no means a bad man, and that he was put to death from envy; but others declare him to have been convicted of the most atrocious crimes.⁵

these *Picards*. The other writers on the subject are mentioned by Isaac de Beausobre, *Dissert. sur les Adamites de Bohême*; annexed to Jac. Lenfant's *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*. This very learned author takes the utmost pains to vindicate the character of the Bohemian *Picards* or *Adamites*, who he supposes were Waldenses, and holy and excellent men, falsely aspersed by their enemies. But all his efforts are vain. For it can be demonstrated from the most unexceptionable documents, that the fact was as stated in the text; and any one will readily think so, who has a fuller knowledge of the history and the sects of those times than this industrious man possessed, who was not well versed in the history of the middle ages, nor altogether free from prepossessions. [See especially *Æneas Sylvius, Historia Bohemica*, cap. 41. *Schl.*]

¹ The Germans also frequently pronounced the word *Beghard*, *Pyckard*. See Menckenius, *Scriptores German.* ii. 1521.

² *Fratres albatii, seu Candidi*.

³ ['Theodoric de Niem tells us, that it was from Scotland that this sect came, and that their leader gave himself out for the prophet Elias. Sigonius and Platina inform us that this enthusiast came from France; and that he was clothed in white,

carried in his aspect the greatest modesty and seduced prodigious numbers of people of both sexes and of all ages; that his followers (called *penitents*), among whom were several cardinals and priests, were clothed in white linen down to their heels, with caps that covered their whole faces, except their eyes; that they went in great troops of ten, twenty, and forty thousand, from one city to another, calling out for mercy and singing hymns; that wherever they came they were received with great hospitality, and made innumerable proselytes; that they fasted, or lived upon bread and water, during the time of their pilgrimage, which continued generally nine or ten days. See *Annal. Mediol. ap. Muratori*.—Niem, l. ii. c. 16.' *Macl.*]

⁴ ['What Dr. Mosheim hints but obscurely here, is further explained by Sigonius and Platina, who tell us that the pilgrims mentioned in the preceding note stopped at Viterbo, and that Boniface, fearing lest the priest, who headed them, designed by their assistance to seize upon the pontificate, sent a body of troops thither, who apprehended the false prophet, and carried him to Rome, where he was burnt.' *Macl.*]

⁵ See Jac. Lenfant's *Hist. du Concile de Pise*, i. 102. Poggius, *Hist. Florentina*, l. iii. p. 122. Marc. Anton. Sabellicus,

§ 4. In the year 1411, there was discovered in the Netherlands, and especially at Brussels, a sect which was projected and propagated by *Ægidius Cantor*,¹ an illiterate man, and *William of Hildenissen*, a Carmelite; the members of which wished to be known as *the Men of Understanding*. Among this body of men there were not a few things deservedly reprehensible; which were derived, perhaps, in a great measure from the mystic system. For these people professed to have divine visions; denied that anyone can correctly understand the holy Scriptures, unless he is divinely illuminated; promised a new divine revelation, better and more perfect than the Christian; taught that the resurrection had taken place already in the person of Christ, and that another, of the bodies of the dead, was not to be expected; maintained that the internal man is not defiled by the deeds of the external; and inculcated that hell itself will have an end, and that all, both men and devils, will return to God, and attain to eternal felicity. This sect appears to have been a branch of the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*; for they asserted, that a new law of the Holy Spirit, and of *spiritual liberty*, was about to be promulged. Yet there were opinions held by its members which show that they were not entirely void of *understanding*. They inculcated, for example (I.), that *Jesus Christ* alone had merited eternal life for the human race; and, consequently, that men could not acquire for themselves future bliss by their own deeds; (II.) that presbyters, to whom people confess their iniquities, cannot pardon sins, but that only *Jesus Christ* forgives men their sins; (III.) that voluntary penances are not necessary to salvation. Yet these and some other tenets, *Peter de Alliaco*, the bishop of Cambray, who broke up this sect, pronounced to be *heretical*, and commanded *William of Hildenissen* to abjure.²

§ 5. In Germany, and particularly in Thuringia and lower Saxony, the *Flagellants* were still troublesome; but they were very different from those earlier *Flagellants* who travelled in regular bands from province to province. These new *Flagellants* rejected almost all religion, and the external worship of God, together with the sacraments; and founded all their hopes of salvation on faith and *flagellation*; to which, perhaps, they might add some strange notions respecting an evil spirit, and some other things, which are but obscurely stated by the ancient writers. The leader of the sect in Thuringia, and particularly at Sangerhausen, was one *Conrad Schmidt*, who was burnt in the year 1414, with many others, by the zeal and

Enneades Rhapsodiæ Historicæ, Enneas IX. lib. ix. Opp. ii. 839, Basil, 1560, fol.

¹ [Gilles le Chantre. *Tr.*]

² See the records in Steph. Baluze's *Miscellanea*, ii. 277, &c. [The mystical principles of these people are evinced by a passage of these records, in which *Ægidius* is said to have taught: 'Ego sum salvator hominum; per me videbunt Christum, sicut per Christum Patrem:' and also by their coincidence

with the *Brethren of the free spirit*, as teaching, that the period of the old law was the times of the Father; the period of the new law, the times of the Son; and the remaining period, that of the Holy Ghost, or Elias. Yet it is manifest from these records, that *William of Hildesheim* or *Hildenissen*, as being a man of learning, would have been able to state his tenets more clearly and distinctly. *Schl.*]

industry of *Henry Schönefeld*, a famous inquisitor, at that time, in Germany.¹ At Quedlinburg, one *Nicolas Schaden* was committed to the flames. At Halberstadt, A.D. 1481, *Berthold Schade* was seized, but escaped death, it appears, by retracting.² And from the records of those times a long list may be made out of *Flagellants*, whom the Inquisitors, in Germany, put to death by fire.

¹ *Excerpta Monachi Pirmensis*, in Jo. Burch. Menckenius, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicar.* ii. 1521. *Chronicon Monaster.* in Anton. Matthæus, *Analecta Veter. Ævi*, v. 71. *Chronicon Magdeb.* in Meibomius, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicar.* ii. 362, &c. I have before me sixteen Articles of the Flagellants, which Conrad Schmidt is said to have copied from the manuscript at Walkenried, and which were committed to writing by an Inquisitor of Brandenburg, A.D. 1411. The following is a concise summary of these articles. All things that the Roman church teaches respecting the efficacy of the sacraments, purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the like, are false and vain. On the contrary, whoever believes, simply, what is contained in the Apostles' Creed, frequently repeats the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria, and at certain periods lacerates his body

with scourging, and thus punishes himself for the sins he commits, will attain eternal salvation. [The same thing appears also from the fifty Articles of this Flagellant, which were condemned in the council of Constance, and may be seen in Von der Hardt's *Acta Concilii Constant.* t. i. pt. i. p. 127. In the same Acts (iii. 92, &c.) we find a letter of John Gerson, addressed to Vincent Ferrerius, who was much inclined towards the sect of the Flagellants, dated July 9th, 1417. This letter is also in the works of Gerson, published by Du Pin, t. ii. pt. iv. together with his tract, *Contra Sectam Flagellantium.* Schl.]

² The records of this transaction were published by Jo. Erh. Kappius, in his *Relatio de Rebus Theologicis Antiquis et Novis*, A.D. 1747, p. 475, &c.

INSTITUTES
OF
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
UNDER THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

BOOK IV.

EMBRACING EVENTS FROM THE COMMENCEMENT
OF
THE REFORMATION BY LUTHER
TO
THE YEAR A.D. 1700.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. The order of the narration must be changed — § 2. The history divided into the general and the particular — § 3. The general history — § 4. The particular history — § 5. History of the Reformation.

§ 1. IN narrating the Christian history of more modern times, it is out of our power to keep up the same order that we followed in detailing transactions of an earlier date. For since the face of Christian affairs underwent a signal change in the sixteenth century, and many more societies than there had been before, arose among those who worship Christ, widely differing in doctrines and institutions, and regulating their conduct by different principles, all the various transactions among professed Christians can by no means be exhibited so as to form, as it were, a single and continuous picture. On the contrary, as the bond of union among Christians was completely rent asunder, their history must be unfolded in compartments; and of these there must be as many as the sects of any name that started into being.

§ 2. Nevertheless, much that happened belongs to the whole Christian world, and religion generally considered, nor is any single body exclusively concerned in it. And as the knowledge of these general facts throws much light on the history of the particular communities, as well as on the general state of the Christian world, they ought to be treated by themselves. Hence the work before us will be divided into two principal parts: the one, the *general history* of the Christian church; and the other, the *particular*.

§ 3. The *general history* will embrace all those facts and occurrences which may be referred to the Christian religion as such, or absolutely considered; and which, in some sense, acted upon the whole body of Christ's disciples, deplorably disunited as they were in other things. We shall, therefore, mention both additions to the Christian commonwealth, and diminutions of it, without regard to the particular sects that were instrumental in these changes. Nor shall we omit those institutions and doctrines which were received by all the Christian communities, or, at least, by most of them, and which, consequently, wrought some alteration almost everywhere.

§ 4. In the *particular history*, we shall take a survey of the several communities into which the Christian world is divided. Then, again, the matter will not inaptly fall into two divisions. *First*, it is fitting to consider what occurred in the more *ancient communities* of Christians, whether in the East or in the West. *Secondly*, what occurred

in the more *recent communities*, which arose after the reformation of both doctrine and discipline in Germany. In describing the condition and character of each particular sect, we shall pursue, as far as practicable, the method pointed out in the general Introduction to these Institutes. For, according to our conceptions, the less any one recedes from this method, the less likely will he be to miss information, upon which depends an accurate knowledge of some Christian society's affairs.

§ 5. At the head of all the things that have happened among Christians since the fifteenth century, stands that highly celebrated amendment of religion and its appendages, which is commonly called the *Reformation*. This has had, in fact, more influence on the Christian body than any other event since the date of our Saviour's birth. Commencing from small beginnings in Saxony, it not only spread in a short space of time over all Europe, but also affected, in no slight degree, the other quarters of the globe; and it may be justly regarded as the first and principal cause of all those great ecclesiastical, and even those civil revolutions and changes, which have rendered the history of the subsequent times, quite to the present day, so interesting and important. The face of all Europe was changed after that event; and our own times are experiencing, and future times will experience, both the inestimable advantages that arose from it, and the inconveniences to which it gave occasion.¹ Wherefore, the history of an event so great as to be intimately connected with almost every other, demands a distinct and prominent place. Let us now, then, enter upon the task, and give a compendious view of the modern history of the Christian church, according to the method here proposed.²

¹ [See C. Villiers, on the *Spirit and Influence of the Reformation*, from the French, 1807, 8vo. Tr.]

² [Dr. Mosheim still proceeds by centuries. On the *sixteenth* century he divides his history into three *Sections*. I. The history of the *Reformation*, in four chapters. II. The *general history* of the church, in a single chapter. III. The *particular history* of the several sects or communities, in two parts. Part *first* embraces the ancient communities, viz. the *Latin* and the *Greek*, or Oriental churches, in distinct chapters. Part *second*

includes, in separate chapters, the history of the *Lutheran*, the *Reformed*, the *Anabaptist*, or *Mennonite*, and the *Socinian* churches. On the *seventeenth* century he makes but *two* sections: I. The *general history*, in a single chapter. II. The *particular history*, divided into parts and chapters, as in the preceding century; except that, among the *modern* sects, he assigns distinct chapters to the *Arminians*, the *Quakers*, and an additional chapter to several *minor* sects. Tr.]

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

SECTION I.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

ARRANGEMENT OF THIS SECTION.

THE history of the *Reformation*, as it is called, is too extensive to be comprehended in one unbroken narrative, without wearying the reader. For the convenience, therefore, of such as are just entering upon the study of it, and as an assistance to their memories, we shall divide it into four parts.

THE FIRST of these will describe *the state of the Christian Church before the Reformation began.*

THE SECOND will detail *the history of the incipient Reformation, till the presentation of the Augsburg Confession to the emperor.*

THE THIRD will continue *the history from that period till the commencement of the war of Smalcald.*

THE FOURTH will carry it *down to the peace granted to the friends of the Reformation, A.D. 1555.*—This distribution arises naturally from the history itself.¹

¹ The *historians of the Reformation*, as well the primary as the secondary, and both the general and the particular, are enumerated by Phil. Fred. Hane (who is himself to be ranked among the better writers on this subject), in his *Historia Sacrorum a B. Luthero Emendatorum*, pars i. cap. i. p. 1, &c. and by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Centifolium Lutheranium*, pt. ii. c. 187, p. 863.

[Also by Walch, *Biblioth. Theol.* iii. 618.] The principal of these historians must be consulted by those who desire proof of what we shall briefly relate in this section. For it would be needless to be repeating every moment the names of Sleidan, Seckendorf, and the others, who stand pre-eminent in this branch of history.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH WHEN THE REFORMATION COMMENCED.

§ 1. At the beginning of the century, all was tranquil — § 2. Complaints against the pontiffs and the clergy were ineffectual — § 3 Revival of learning — § 4. The pontiffs, *Alexander VI.* and *Pius III.* — § 5. *Julius II.* — § 6. The council of Pisa — § 7. *Leo X.* — § 8. Avarice of the pontiffs — § 9. They are inferior to councils — § 10. Corruption of the inferior clergy — § 11. State of the monks — § 12. The Dominicans — § 13. State of the universities and of learning — § 14. Theology — § 15. Liberty to dispute about religion — § 16. The public religion — § 17. Miserable condition of the people — § 18. A reformation desired — § 19. The mystics.

§ 1. WHEN the century began, no danger seemed to threaten the pontiffs. For those grievous commotions which had been raised in the preceding centuries by the Waldenses, the Albigenses, the Beghards, and others, and afterwards by the Bohemians, had been suppressed and extinguished by the sword and by management. The Waldenses, that survived in the valleys of Piedmont, fared hard, and had few resources; and their utmost wish was, that they might transmit, as an inheritance to their posterity, that obscure corner of Europe which lies between the Alps and the Pyrenees. Those Bohemians who were displeased with the Romish doctrines, from their want of power and their ignorance, could attempt nothing; and therefore were rather despised than feared.

§ 2. Complaints indeed were uttered, not only by private persons, but also by the most powerful sovereigns, and by whole nations, against the uncontrollable domination of the Roman pontiffs; the frauds, violence, avarice, and injustice of the Roman court; the insolence, tyranny, and eagerness to grow rich of the papal legates; the crimes, ignorance, and enormous licentiousness of priests of every kind, as well as of the monks; and finally, of the unfairness and pressure of the Roman laws. Hence desires were now publicly expressed, as had been the case in generations long gone by, that some general council would undertake a *Reformation* of the Church, in its head and in its members.¹ But these complaints the pontiffs could safely set at defiance. For they came from those who entertained no doubt of the sovereign pontiff's supreme power in matters of religion;

¹ These accusations have been collected in great abundance by the most learned writers. See, among many others, Val. Ern. Löschner's *Acta et Documenta Reformationis*, t. i. c. v. &c. p. 105, &c. c. ix. p. 181. &c. and Ern. Salom. Cyprian's Preface to Wm. Ern. Tenzel's *Historia Reformat.* Lips. 1717, 8vo. The complaints of the Germans in particular, respecting the wrongs done by

the pontiffs and the clergy, are exhibited by Jac. Fred. Georgius, in his *Gravamina Imperatoris et Nationis German. adversus Sedem Roman.* c. vii. p. 261, &c. Nor do the more intelligent and candid among the adherents to the pontiffs at this day deny that the church, before Luther arose, was grossly corrupt.

nor did the parties go themselves about the work which was so much desired. They determined upon waiting for relief, either from Rome, or from a council. Yet it was manifest, that so long as the power of the pontiffs remained inviolate, the opulence and the corruptions of the church and of the clergy could not be diminished in any considerable degree.

§ 3. Nor were the pontiffs any more alarmed by that most auspicious revival of learning in many countries of Europe, which brought forward an unusual supply of able men. This event, by dissipating the clouds of ignorance, awakened in many minds the love of truth and liberty. Among these, there were several, as appears from the examples of *Erasmus* and others, who ridiculed and exposed, good-humouredly but poignantly, the wrong-headedness of the priests, the superstitions of the times, the corruptions of the Roman court, the clownish manners and barbarism of the monks. The root itself, however, of all the evil, and of the public calamity, namely, the jurisdiction of the pontiffs, which was falsely called *canonical*, and the inveterate prejudice respecting a viceregent of Christ located at Rome, no one dared resolutely attack. And the pontiffs very justly concluded, that so long as these ramparts remained entire, their sovereignty and the tranquillity of the church would be secure, whatever even of menace and assault some individuals might put forth. Besides, they had at their disposal not only punishments with which to coerce the refractory, but also honours and emoluments with which to conciliate the more daring and contentious.

§ 4. Hence, the Roman bishops reigned securely and free from every fear, giving way to their lusts, and vices of every sort, just as they were impelled by an innate depravity of mind. *Alexander VI.*, a monster of a man, and inferior to no one of the most abandoned tyrants of antiquity, marked the commencement of the century with his horrid crimes and villanies. He died suddenly, A.D. 1503, from poison which he had prepared for others, if the common report is true, or from old age and sickness, if others are to be believed.¹ His successor, *Pius III.*, dying at the end of twenty-six days, was followed by *Julian de Roveria*, who took the name of *Julius II.*, and whom artifices and bribes placed upon the papal throne.

§ 5. That this *Julius II.* possessed, besides other vices, very great ferocity, arrogance, vanity, and a mad passion for war, is proved by abundant testimony. He first, after negotiating an alliance with the emperor and the king of France, made war upon the Venetians.²

¹ See Alexander Gordon's *Life of Alexander VI.*; in French, from the English, Amsterd. 1732, 2 vols. 8vo; also another life of him, by a very learned and ingenious man, written with more candour and more moderation, and, together with a Life of Leo X., subjoined to the first volume of the *Histoire du Droit Public Ecclésiastique François*, par M. D. B. Lond. 1752, 4to.

² See Du Bos, *Histoire de la Ligue de*

Cambray, Hague, 1710, 2 vols. 8vo. ['Le pape Jules II. avait l'inappréciable avantage de rencontrer l'occasion de satisfaire, sans employer la violence, les prétentions de sa famille; il lui procura le patrimoine d'Urbain. Après il put se livrer, sans être troublé, à sa passion personnelle; au penchant de faire la guerre, de conquérir, mais en faveur de l'Eglise, du siège papal lui-même. Quelques autres papes avaient cherché à donner des

He next laid siege to Ferrara. At last, drawing the Venetians, the Swiss, and the Spaniards to engage in the war with him, he made an attack upon *Lewis XII.*, king of France. Nor, so long as he lived, did he cease from disturbing and agitating every part of Europe. Who can doubt, that, under a vicar of Jesus Christ, who followed camps, and sought renown from eminence in war, all things, divine and human, must have gone to ruin, leaving subverted and obscured, not only external discipline, but even the very spirit of religion itself besides?

§ 6. Amidst these ills, however, there sprang up some slender prospect of the reform so long ardently desired. For *Lewis XII.*, king of France, threatened, on some coins issued by him, that he would completely overthrow the Romish power, which he designated by the name of *Babylon*.¹ Moreover, some cardinals of the Roman court, relying on the authority of this king and of the emperor, summoned a council at Pisa, in the year 1511, to curb the madness of the pontiff, and to deliberate on measures for a general reformation of the inveterate corruptions in religion. But *Julius*, confiding in the power of his allies and in his own resources, laughed at this angry undertaking. Lest anything, however, should be omitted likely to render its efforts unavailing, he called another council in the Lateran palace, A.D. 1512.² In this body, the acts of the assembly at Pisa

principautés à leurs neveux, à leurs fils; Jules II., au contraire, fit consister toute son ambition à étendre l'état de l'Eglise. Il doit en être regardé comme le fondateur.' (Ranke, *Hist. de la Papauté*, i. 84.) Every pope, then, was to be thought little concerned with views of his station as a public trust, until he had made a selfish provision for the importunate cravings of his own illegitimate children or other relatives. Julius was more highly principled than many of his predecessors, because he set bounds to the greediness of kindred, and being so fortunate as to secure a reasonable aggrandisement for his family at the outset, he laboured afterwards for the aggrandisement of his see. He was thus enabled to secure a considerable degree of popularity for his turbulent ambition. 'Le monde de cette époque regardait comme une entreprise glorieuse et même religieuse, celle de vouloir rétablir l'état de l'Eglise; toutes les actions du pape avaient ce seul et unique but: toutes ses pensées étaient identifiées et exaltées par l'idée de cette mission.' Ranke, i. 87. S.]

¹ See Christ. Sigism. Liebe's *Commentatio de Numis Ludovici XII. Epigraphe, PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN, insignibus*, Lips. 1717, 8vo. Compare, however, the *The-saurus Epistolicus Crozianus*, i. 238, 243. Colonia's *Hist. Littér. de Lyon*, ii. 443, &c. and others: for it is well known that there has been much dispute respecting these coins, and the object of them. [Liebe has given engravings of these coins. On the

one side was the king's likeness, and his title; on the other side, the arms of France surrounded with the inscription: *Perdam Babillonis* (instead of *Babylonis*) *Nomen*; or also simply, *Perdam Babillonem*. Harduin understood Babylon here to denote the city of Cairo in Egypt; and he explained the coin of a military expedition, which Lewis contemplated against the Turks. But Liebe has fully confuted this ingenious Jesuit; and has shown, that Babylon means Rome together with the pope, and that the threatened vengeance was aimed by the king against the pontiff. And that the French church was not opposed to the designs of the king, appears from the conclusions of the council of Tours, which are mentioned in the following note. See Du Pin's *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiast.* xiii. 13, 14, and Gerdes, *Historia Evangelii Sæculo XVI. per Europam Renovati*, t. iv. Append. No. 1. Schl.]

² Jo. Harduin's *Concilia*, ix. 1559, &c. [Lewis XII. was not an enemy to be despised. He made preparations for a war against the pope, which were certainly great and imposing. He assembled the clergy of France, first at Orleans, and then at Tours (see Harduin, l. c. p. 1555); and proposed to them the following questions:—1. Is it lawful for the pope to make war upon temporal princes, whose territories do not belong to the church? No.—2. May the prince, in such a case, lawfully oppose force to force, and fall upon the territories of the church,

were indignantly condemned and annulled. And, undoubtedly, very dire decrees against *Lewis* and others would have followed, if death had not overtaken this most daring pontiff, A.D. 1513, while actually employed in the preparation of them.

§ 7. His successor, *Leo X.*, of the Medicean family, who was elected in the year 1513, was of a milder disposition, but no better guardian of religion and piety. The friend of learned men, and himself learned, according to the standard of that age, he devoted a part of his time to conversation with persons of erudition, but a larger portion of it to such things as gratify the senses and amuse the mind. Of all care and business he was impatient, but extravagant, luxurious, and vain; perhaps also, as no obscure report would have us think, positively impious. Yet he did not neglect the interests and the grandeur of the Roman see. For he took good care that nothing should be sanctioned in the Lateran council, which *Julius* had assembled and left sitting, favourable to the long-wished-for *Reforma-*

not to conquer and retain them, but to disable the pope from carrying on the war? *Yes.*—3. May a prince refuse obedience to a pope, who is his enemy, and who makes unjust war upon him? *Yes:* so far as is necessary for his own security and that of his people.—4. In that case, how are those affairs to be conducted, which, ordinarily, are referred to the decision of the pontiff? *Answer:* in the manner prescribed by the *Pragmatic Sanction.*—5. May a Christian prince defend with arms another prince, who is under his protection, against the assaults of the pope? (This question referred to the duke of Ferrara, who was involved in war with the pope.) *Yes.*—6. If the pope and a prince disagree, whether a case between them belongs to the ecclesiastical or the civil jurisdiction, and the prince wishes to leave it to referees, and the pope will not consent, but draws the sword, may the prince stand on the defensive, and call on his allies to help him? *Yes.*—7. If a pope pronounces an unjust sentence against a prince [with whom he is at variance, and who cannot safely appear at Rome to defend his cause], is that sentence binding? *No.*—8. If the pope, in such a case, should lay the prince and his realm under an interdict, what is to be done? *Such an interdict would be itself a nullity.* [See the questions and answers at full length, in Gerdes' *Hist. Evangelii Sæculo XVI. per Europam Renovati*, t. iv. Append. No. 1. *Tr.*] After these preparatory steps, *Lewis* went still further, and purposed to have a general council called against the pope. The emperor *Maximilian* united in the measure, and three cardinals lent their aid to the business. The council was opened at *Pisa*, A.D. 1511; and after a few sessions removed to *Milan*. The pope was cited by the fathers to appear at *Milan*;

and was afterwards suspended. But as the pope had now brought about a reconciliation with the emperor, and as nearly all the assembled prelates were from France, the decrees of this council were nowhere received except in France. The council assembled by the pope in the Lateran church at Rome, to oppose that of *Pisa*, was somewhat larger than the other, yet too small for a general council; and besides, was composed almost exclusively of Italians. It may therefore be regarded rather as a provincial than as a general council. It held eleven sessions in all. In the first, it was determined to take up the subjects of the division caused by the council of *Pisa*, the reformation of the church, a pacification among Christian princes, and a war against the Turks. In the second, the convention of *Pisa* was declared to be irregular. In the third, the emperor having now sided with this council, severe bulls were issued against France. In the fourth, the abrogation of the *Pragmatic Sanction* was taken up. In the fifth, simony in the election of popes was forbidden, and the French church cited to appear on the subject of the above-named Sanction. Soon after, *Julius* died; and in the sixth and seventh sessions, the council was adjourned, both by the new pope, *Leo X.*, and by the votes of its members. In the eighth session, *Lewis XII.* was present by his envoys; and the pope forbade the studying of philosophy, more than five years, without proceeding to theology and jurisprudence. The ninth and tenth sessions were devoted to trivial matters, which did not satisfy the expectations raised concerning a reformation of the church. At length the council closed, in its eleventh session, May 16th, 1517. *Schl.]*

tion; and at Bologna, A.D. 1515, he persuaded *Francis I.*, king of France, to allow the abrogation of the ordinance called the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which had long been odious to the pontiffs, and to cause others, under the name of *Concordats*, to be imposed upon his subjects, in spite of their extreme indignation.¹

§ 8. Besides the intolerable lust of dominion, and for oppressing every one, which allowed these pontiffs no repose, they had also an insatiable desire to draw money from every province of the Christian world into Rome, in order to support their power, and purchase friends. They might seem, indeed, as heads of the Christian state, entitled, upon reasonable and creditable grounds, to demand tribute from their subjects. For who can deny that the sovereign ruler of a commonwealth (and such the pontiffs claimed to be) is entitled to a revenue from the whole state? But as the term *tribute* was too offensive, and would excite the indignation of the temporal sovereigns, the pontiffs managed the affair more discreetly, and robbed the unwary of their money by various artifices concealed under an appearance of religion.² Among these artifices, what were called *indulgences*, that is, liberty to buy off the punishments incurred by sins by contributing money to pious uses, held a distinguished place. And to these recourse was had, as often as the papal treasury became exhausted, to

¹ The Pragmatic Sanction of the French is extant in Harduin's *Concilia*, viii. 1949. The *Concordat* is in the same work, ix. 1867, also in Godfr. Will. Leibnitz, *Mantissa Codicis Diplomati.* pt. i. p. 158, &c. Add pt. ii. p. 358, &c. For a history of the Pragmatic Sanction, and of the *Concordat* that succeeded it, see Gilbert Burnet's *History of the Reformation of England*, iii. 3. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*. vi. 61—109. Du Clos, *Hist. de Louis XI. Hist. du Droit Ecclésiastique François*, t. i. diss. ix. p. 415. Add *Menagiana*, iii. 285. [See also cent. xv. p. ii. c. 2, § 16, note. *Tr.*]

² [Whoever would learn the whole art and mystery of the financial concerns of the Roman court, may consult Le Bret's *Magazine for Civil and Ecclesiastical History, and the Ecclesiastical Laws of Catholic States*, ii. 605, and iii. 3, where is an essay, entitled *History of the Roman chancery regulations*; and also an essay by a learned Neapolitan, on the Roman chancery regulations and the reservation of benefices. And if any one wishes to form an idea of the productiveness of these chancery regulations, he need only compute the part of them relating to Annates. Of these Luther made a computation, in his tract entitled, *Legatio Adriani Papæ, &c.*, which contains an essay on the nature of Annates; Wittemb. 1538, 4to. A still fuller account may be seen in the tract published by Marcellus Silver, at Campo Flore, near Rome, 1514, under the title of *Taxa Cancellariæ Apostolicæ, et Taxa Sanctæ Penitentiae*, and

which was republished at Cologne by Colini, 1515, and at Paris, 1520, and afterwards in the *Supplement to the Councils*, vol. vi. It occurs also in the *Oceanus Juris*, or the *Tractatus Tractatum*, t. xv. pt. i. p. 368, &c. [It has been frequently published, with notes and comments, and some diversity in the text; whence the Catholics placed it in the list of books prohibited, as being perverted by the Protestants. See Bayle's *Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* art. *Pinet* and *Bank* (Lawrence). *Tr.*] It contains the tariff of dues to be paid to the papal chancery for all absolutions, dispensations, &c. According to this book, a dean may be absolved from a murder for twenty crowns. A bishop or abbot may, for three hundred livres, commit a murder whenever he pleases. And for one-third of that sum any clergyman may be guilty of unchastity, under the most abominable circumstances. The ingenuous French catholic divine, Claude Espence, in his *Comment. in Epist. ad Titum*, Opp. i. 479, indignantly wrote concerning this book, 'Prostat et veluti in quæstu pro meretrice sedet palam,' &c. that is, 'there is a book extant, which, like a venal prostitute, appears openly before the public here at Paris, and is now for sale, as it long has been, entitled, *Taxa Camerae seu Cancellariæ Apostolicæ*, from which more crimes can be learned than from all the writings concerning the vices; and in which licence is promised to very many, and absolution offered to all purchasers.' *Schl.*]

the immense injury of the public interests. Under some plausible, but, for the most part, false pretext, the ignorant and timorous people were beguiled with the prospect of great advantage by men raising money for the pope, who were in general base and profligate characters.¹

§ 9. But although the reverence for the sovereign pontiffs was extremely high, yet the more intelligent, and especially among the Germans, French, English, and Flemings, denied their entire exemption from error, and their superiority to all law. For after the period of the councils of Constance and Bâle, the belief prevailed among all, except the monks, the Romish parasites, and the superstitious vulgar, that the pontiff's authority was inferior to that of a general council; that his decisions were not infallible; and that he might be deposed by a council, if he were guilty of manifest errors and gross crimes, and plainly neglected the duties of his station. And hence arose that eager expectation and intense desire of a general council, which burst forth from minds of the wiser sort in this age. Hence too those frequent appeals to such a future council whenever the Roman court committed any offence against justice and piety.

§ 10. The subordinate rulers and teachers of the church eagerly followed the example of their head and leader. Most of the bishops, with the *canons* their associates, led luxurious and jovial lives, in the daily commission of sins, and squandered, in the gratification of their lusts, those funds which the preceding generations had consecrated to God, and purposes beneficial to the poor. Most of them likewise treated the people subject to their control much more rigorously and harshly than the civil magistrates and princes treated their dependents. The greater part of the priests, on account of their indolence, their unchastity, their avarice, their love of pleasure, their ignorance, and their levity, were regarded with utter contempt, not only by the wise and the good, but even by the common people likewise.² For, as sacred offices were now everywhere bought and sold, it was difficult for honest and pious men to get possession of any considerable post in the church, but easy for the vicious and unprincipled.

§ 11. The immense swarms of monks produced everywhere great grievances and complaints. Yet this age, which stood intermediate between light and darkness, would patiently have borne with this idle crowd, if it had only exhibited some show of piety and decorum. But the Benedictines, and the other orders which were allowed to possess lands and fixed revenues, abused their wealth, and rushed headlong into every species of vice, regardless altogether of their

¹ [The German princes and states, both Roman Catholic and Lutheran, assembled in the diet at Nuremberg, A.D. 1522, complained loudly of the papal indulgences, as exhausting the resources of the country, and subverting piety and good morals; in their

Centum Gravamina Nationis Germanicæ, No. 4, &c. Tr.]

² See, besides others, Cornelius Aurelius, Gaudanus, *Apocalypsis seu Visio Mirabilis super Miserabili Statu Matris Ecclesiæ*; in Casp. Burmann's *Analecta Historica de Hadriano VI.* p. 245, &c. Utrecht, 1727, 4to.

rules. The Mendicants too, as they are called, especially those whose discipline was that of *Dominic* or *Francis*, by their clownish impudence, ridiculous superstitions, ignorance, and cruelty; in short, by senseless and discreditable conduct, alienated the minds of most people from them. They were all strongly averse from literature and erudition, and very unfriendly to the proceedings of certain excellent men who laboured to improve the system of education, and who assailed the barbarism of the times, both orally and in their writings. This is evident from what befel *Reuchlin*, *Erasmus*, and others.¹

§ 12. No order of monks was more powerful and influential than that of the Dominicans. For they filled important offices in the church; they presided everywhere over the terrible tribunal of the *Inquisition*; and in the courts of all the kings and princes of Europe they had the cure of souls, or, to use the common phrase, they held the office of *confessors*. Yet about this time they incurred very great odium, among all good men, in various ways, but especially by their base artifices and frauds (among which, the tragedy at Bern, A.D. 1509, stands conspicuous);² likewise by persecuting learned and

¹ [Reuchlin was the great promoter of Hebrew and Rabbinic learning in Germany. The Dominicans of Cologne, to bring it into disgrace, prompted John Pfefferkorn, a converted Jew, to publish a work on the blasphemies contained in the books of the Jews. This induced the emperor Maximilian, in 1509, to order all Jewish books to be burnt, which, however, Reuchlin happily prevented from taking place.—Erasmus published the Greek New Testament, as well as many works of the fathers, which the ignorant monks represented as sinning against the Holy Ghost. *Tr.*]

² On the notorious imposture of the Dominicans of Bern, see, among many others, Jo. Henr. Hottinger's *Hist. Eccles. Helvet. i.* 334, &c. [*Historia Eccles. Nov. Test. sæc. xvi. pt. i. p.* 334, &c. The narrative here printed, was drawn up by a Franciscan of Bern, in 1509. The substance of it is this. A Dominican, named Wigand Wirt, preaching at Frankfort, A.D. 1507, so violently assailed the doctrine of the immaculate conception, that he was summoned to Rome, to answer for his conduct. The Dominicans, in their convention at Wimpfen, formed a plan to aid him, and to convince the world that the Franciscan doctrine of the immaculate conception was false. The prior, subprior, preacher, and steward of the Dominican cloister at Bern, undertook to get up miracles and revelations for the occasion. A simple, honest rustic, by the name of John Jetzer, who had just entered upon his novitiate in the monastery, was selected as their tool. The subprior appeared to him one night, dressed in white, and pretending to be the ghost of a friar, who had been a hundred and sixty years in purgatory. He

wailed, and entreated of Jetzer to afford him aid. Jetzer promised to do so, as far as he was able; and the next morning reported his vision to his superiors. They encouraged him to go on, and to confer freely with the ghost, if he appeared again. A few nights after, the ghost made his appearance, attended by two devils, his tormentors; and thanked Jetzer for the relaxation of his sufferings, in consequence of Jetzer's prayers, fasting, &c. He also instructed Jetzer respecting the views entertained in the other world, concerning the immaculate conception, and the detention of some pontiffs and others in purgatory, for having persecuted the deniers of that doctrine; and promised him, that St. Barbara should appear to him, to give him further instruction. Accordingly, the subprior assumed a female garb, on a succeeding night, and appeared to Jetzer. She revealed to him some parts of his secret history, which the preacher, his confessor, had drawn from him at his confessions. Jetzer was completely duped. St. Barbara promised, that the virgin Mary should appear to him. The subprior personating her, did so; and assured him, that she was not conceived free from original sin, though she was delivered from it three hours after her birth; that it was a grievous thing to her, to see that erroneous opinion spread abroad. She blamed the Franciscans much, as being the chief cause of this false belief. She also announced the destruction of the city of Bern, because the people did not expel the Franciscans, and cease to receive a pension from the French king. She appeared repeatedly, gave Jetzer much instruction, and promised to impress on him

good men, whom they branded as heretics; lastly, by extending their own privileges and honours at the expense of others, and most unjustly oppressing their adversaries.¹ It was these friars especially who prompted *Leo X.* to the imprudent step of publicly condemning *Martin Luther*.

§ 13. Many of the mendicant monks held the principal chairs in the universities and schools: which was the great cause that the light of science and polite learning, which had begun to diffuse itself through most countries of Europe, could not more effectually dispel the clouds of ignorance and stupidity from them. Most of the teachers of youth, decorated with the splendid titles of Artists, Grammarians, Philosophers, and Dialecticians, in a most disgusting style, loaded the memories of their pupils with a multitude of barbarous terms and worthless distinctions; and when the pupil could repeat these with volubility, he was regarded as eloquent and erudite. All the philosophers extolled *Aristotle* beyond measure; but no one followed him; indeed none of them understood him. For what they called the philosophy of *Aristotle*, was a confused mass of obscure notions, sentences, and divisions, the force of which not even the chiefs of the school had mastered. And if, among these thorns of scholastic wisdom, there was anything that had the appearance of fruit, it was crushed and destroyed by the senseless altercations of the different sects, especially the *Scotists* and *Thomists*, the *Realists* and *Nominalists*, from which no university was free.

the five wounds of Christ, which she declared were never impressed on St. Francis, or any other person. She accordingly seized his right hand, and thrust a nail through it. This so pained him, that he became restive under the operation; and she promised to impress the other wounds without giving him pain. The conspirators now gave him medicated drugs, which stupefied him; and then made the other wounds upon him, while senseless. Hitherto the sub-prior had been the principal actor. But now the preacher undertook to personate St. Mary: and Jetzer knew his voice; and from this time began to suspect the whole to be an imposture. All attempts to hoodwink him became fruitless: he was completely undeceived. They now endeavoured to bring him to join voluntarily in the plot. He was persuaded to do so. But they imposed upon him such intolerable austerities, and were detected by him in such impious and immoral conduct, that he wished to quit the monastery. They would not let him go; and were so fearful of his betraying their secret, which was now drawing crowds to their monastery, and promised them great advantage, that they determined to destroy him by poison. Jetzer, by listening at their door, got knowledge of the fact, and was so on his guard, that they could not succeed, though they used a consecrated

host as the medium of the poison. He eloped from the monastery, and divulged the whole transaction. The four conspirators were apprehended, tried for blasphemy, and profaning holy ordinances, delivered over to the civil power, burnt at the stake in 1509, and their ashes cast into the river near Bern. *Tr.*]

¹ See Bilib. Pirckheimer's Epistle to the pontiff Hadrian VI. *de Dominicanorum flagitiis*; in his *Opp.* p. 372, whence Dan. Gerdes copied it in his *Introduct. ad Historiam renovati Evangelii*, t. i. Append. p. 170. [This learned and candid civilian, and Roman Catholic of Nuremberg, who corresponded with all the leading men of Germany, both Catholics and Protestants, a few years before his death (which was in 1530), wrote a respectful and excellent letter to pope Adrian VI., in which he endeavours to acquaint him with the true state of things in Germany. The grand cause of all the commotions there he supposed to be the Dominicans, who, by their persecution of Reuchlin and of all literary men, and by their pride, insolence, and base conduct, particularly in trumpeting the papal indulgences, alienated almost all the intelligent and honest from the church, and then by their violent measures drove them to open opposition to the pontiffs. *Tr.*]

§ 14. How perversely and insufficiently theology was taught in this age, appears from all the books that it has transmitted to us, which are conspicuous for nothing but their bulk. Of the *Biblical* doctors, or expounders of the precepts of the Bible, only here and there an individual remained. Even in the university of Paris, which was considered as the mother and queen of all such institutions, not a man could be found, when *Luther* arose, able to dispute with him out of the Scriptures. The only commentators to be found, neglecting the literal sense, which they were quite unequal to investigate, from ignorance of the sacred languages, and of the laws of interpretation, senselessly ran after abstruse and hidden meanings. Nearly all the theologians were *Positivi* and *Sententiarii*; who deemed it a great achievement, both in speculative and practical theology, either to overwhelm the subject with a torrent of inapposite quotations from the fathers, or to force it under the laws and distinctions of dialectics. Whenever, accordingly, these men had occasion to say something about the meaning of any text, they appealed invariably to what was called the *Glossa Ordinaria*; and the phrase, *the Glossa says*, was as common and decisive in their lips, as anciently the phrase, *ipse dixit*, in the Pythagorean school.

§ 15. These public teachers, nevertheless, disputed among themselves, with sufficient freedom, on various questions in religion, and even upon those which comprise the essentials of salvation. For a great many points of doctrine had not yet been determined by the authority of the church, or, as the phrase ran, by the holy see; and the pontiffs were not accustomed, unless there was some special reason, to make enactments that would restrain liberty of opinion on subjects not connected either with the supreme power of St. Peter's chair, or with such matters as give good opportunities to the clergy. Hence many persons of the highest character might be named, who advanced the same opinions with applause, before *Luther's* day, that were afterwards charged upon him as a crime. Nor, doubtless, would *Luther* have been deemed inexcusable in using a liberty which these men had already used, had he not attacked the system of Roman finance, the wealth of the bishops, the supremacy of the pontiffs, and the reputation of the Dominican order.

§ 16. The public worship of God consisted almost wholly in a round of ceremonies; and those, for the most part, vain and useless, being calculated not to affect the heart, but to dazzle the eye. Those who delivered sermons (which not many were able to do), filled, or rather beguiled the ears of the people, with any pretended miracles, ridiculous fables, crude sophistries, and other such trash, that came in their way.¹ There are still extant many examples of such dis-

¹ [In the Easter sermons the preachers were emulous to provoke laughter among the audience, by repeating ludicrous stories. This was called emphatically *Easter laughter*, and it still has its admirers in some portions of the Roman catholic church. John Æco-

lampadius, in 1518, published at Basil a tract of 32 pages, 4to, entitled, *De Risu Paschali* (*Æcolampadii ad W. Capitonem Theologum Epistola*. See J. C. Füsslin's *Beiträge zur Kirchen-Reformationsgesch. des Switzerlandes*, v. 447, &c. *Schl.*]

courses, which no good man can read without indignation. If among these declaimers there were some rather graver than the rest, for them certain commonplaces had been prepared and made ready for use, on which they almost perpetually rang changes by the hour; for instance, on the authority of holy mother church, and on paying obedience to her; on the influence with God of saints in heaven, their virtues and merits; on the dignity of the blessed Virgin Mary, her glory and kindness; on the efficacy of relics; on the enriching of churches and monasteries; on the necessity of what were then called good works in order to salvation; on the intolerable heat of *purgatory*; on the utility of indulgences. To preach to the people nothing but Christ Jesus our Saviour, and his merits, and true love to God and men, springing from faith, would have added little to the treasures and emoluments of good mother church.

§ 17. From these causes there was among all classes and ranks, in every country, an amazing ignorance on religious subjects; and no less superstition, united with gross corruption of morals. Those who presided over the ceremonies willingly tolerated these evils; and indeed encouraged them in various ways, rather than strove to stifle them; well knowing that their own interests were depending on them. Nor did most of them think it advisable to oppose strenuously the corruption of morals; for they could see, that if the crimes and sins of the people were diminished, the sale of *indulgences* would also decrease, and they would derive much less revenue from *satisfactions* and other similar sources.¹

¹ [Schlegel inserts the following history of indulgences, derived undoubtedly from Mosheim's public lectures. *Tr.*—The origin of indulgences must be sought in the earliest history of the church. In the first centuries of the Christian church, such Christians as were excluded from the communion, on account of their relapses in times of persecution, or on account of other heinous sins, had to seek a restoration to fellowship by a public penance, in which they entreated the brethren to forgive their offence, standing before the door of the church clothed in the garb of mourning. This ecclesiastical punishment, which was regarded as a sort of *satisfaction* made to the community, and was called by that name, and which prevented much irregularity among Christians, was afterwards moderated, and sometimes remitted, in the case of infirm persons; and this remission was called *indulgence*, *indulgentia*. Originally, therefore, indulgences were merely the remission of the penances or ecclesiastical punishments, imposed on the lapsed and other gross offenders. When persecutions ceased, and the principal ground of this ecclesiastical regulation no longer existed, these punishments might have been laid aside. [Not so; for relapsing into idolatry, was only one among the many of-

fences for which penance was imposed; and as persecutions ceased, and the church became rich and corrupt, other sins were multiplied, so that the ground for inflicting church censures rather increased than diminished. *Tr.*] They continued; and the doctrine gradually grew up, that Christ had atoned for the *eternal* punishment of sin, but not for its temporary punishment. The temporary punishment they divided into that of the present life, and that of the future life or of *purgatory*. It was held that every man who would attain salvation, must suffer the temporary punishment of his sins, either in the present world, or in the flames of *purgatory*; and that the confessor to whom a man confessed his sins, had the power to adjudge and impose this temporary punishment. The punishment thus imposed consisted of fasting, pilgrimages, flagellation, &c. But among the persons liable to such punishments, were frequently persons of distinction and wealth. And for these, the principle of admitting *substitutes* was introduced. And there were monks who, for compensation paid them, would endure these punishments in behalf of the rich. But as every man could not avail himself of this relief, they at last commuted that penance into a pious mulct, *pia mulcta*. Whoever,

§ 18. In proportion to the pestilential operation of these disorders upon everything Christian, was the earnestness with which all longed for amendment and cure, who were either governed by good sense and solid learning, or by love of piety. Nor was the number of these, throughout the Latin world, by any means small. The majority of them, indeed, did not wish to have the constitution and organisation of the church altered, nor the doctrines which had become sacred by long admission to be rejected, nor the rites and ceremonies to be abrogated; but only, to have some bounds set to papal power, the corrupt morals and the impostures of the clergy corrected, the ignorance and the errors of the populace dispelled, and the burthens imposed on the people under colour of religion removed. But as none of these things could be effected without first extirpating various absurd and impious opinions which gave birth to those evils, and purging the existing religion from its corruptions, all those are con-

for instance, was bound to whip himself for several weeks, might pay to the church or to the monastery a certain sum of money, or give it a piece of land, and then be released from the penance. Thus Pepin of France, having dethroned the lawful monarch of that country, with the consent of the pope, now gave to the church the patrimony of St. Peter. As the popes perceived that something might be gained in this way, they assumed wholly to themselves the right of commuting canonical penances for pecuniary satisfactions, which every bishop had before exercised in his own diocese. At first they released only from the punishments of sin in the present world; but in the fourteenth century, they extended this release also to the punishments of purgatory. Jesus, they said, had not removed all the punishments of sin. An indulgence frees a person from both penances and purgatory. The first, the pope remits by his papal power, as sovereign lord of the church; just as the sovereign of a country can commute the corporeal punishment, which the inferior judges decree, into pecuniary mulcts. The last he remits (as Benedict XIV. says, in his bull for the jubilee), *jure suffragii*; that is, by his prevalent intercession with God, who can deny nothing to his vicegerent. Yet this release from the punishments of sin cannot be bestowed gratis. There must be an equivalent; that is, some money, which is given to the pope for religious uses. Princes indeed never release a man from corporeal punishment unless he petitions for it. But the vicegerent of Christ is more gracious than other judges, and causes his indulgences to be freely offered to the whole church, and to be proclaimed aloud throughout the Christian world. These principles carried into operation drew immense sums of money to Rome. When such indulgences were to be

published, the disposal of them was commonly farmed out. For the papal court could not always wait to have the money collected and conveyed from every country of Europe. And there were rich merchants at Genoa, Milan, Venice, and Augsburg, who purchased the indulgences for a particular province, and paid to the papal chancery handsome sums for them. Thus both parties were benefited. The chancery came at once into possession of large sums of money, and the farmers did not fail of a good bargain. They were careful to employ skilful hawkers of the indulgences, persons whose boldness and impudence bore due proportion to the eloquence with which they imposed upon the simple people. Yet that this species of traffic might have a religious aspect, the pope appointed the archbishops of the several provinces to be his commissaries, who in his name published that indulgences were to be sold, and generally selected the persons to hawk them, and for this service shared the profits with the merchants who farmed them. These papal hawkers enjoyed great privileges, and however odious to the civil authorities, they were not to be molested. Complaints indeed were made against these contributions, levied by the popes upon all Christian Europe. Kings and princes, clergy and laity, bishops, monasteries, and confessors, all felt themselves aggrieved by them; the former, that their countries were impoverished, under the pretext of crusades that were never undertaken, and of wars against heretics and Turks; and the latter, that their letters of indulgences were rendered inefficient, and the people released from ecclesiastical discipline. But at Rome all were deaf to these complaints; and it was not till the revolution produced by Luther, that unhappy Europe obtained the desired relief. *Schl.*]

sidered as implicitly demanding a reformation of *religion*, who are recorded to have called for a reformation of the *church*, both in its head and in its members.

§ 19. What residue of real piety still existed, lived as it were under the patronage of those called *mystics*. For this class of persons, both orally, and by their writings, avoiding all scholastic disputations, and demonstrating the vanity of mere external worship, exhorted men to strive only to obtain holiness of heart and communion with God. And hence they were loved and respected by most of those who earnestly and seriously sought for salvation. But as all of this party associated the vulgar errors and superstitions with their precepts of piety, and many of them were led into strange opinions by their excessive love of contemplation, and were but little removed from fanatical delirium, more powerful auxiliaries than they were necessary to the subjugation of errors which had grown inveterate.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE COMMENCEMENT AND PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION,
TILL THE PRESENTMENT OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION [OR FROM
A.D. 1517—1530].

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§ 1. WHILE the Roman pontiff thought everything safe and settled, and all pious and good men were nearly in despair of the religious reformation, so earnestly desired, a certain obscure and inconsiderable monk in Saxony, a province of Germany, suddenly opposed himself single-handed with incredible resolution to the power of Rome. This

was *Martin Luther*, of Eisleben, born of reputable but humble parentage,¹ a member of the Augustinian body, known as *Eremites*, which is one of the four mendicant orders, and professor of theology in the university of Wittenberg, established a few years before² by Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony. The papal chair was then filled by *Leo X.* *Maximilian I.*, of Austria, governed the Romano-German empire; and *Frederic*, from depth of understanding, sur-named *The Wise*, ruled over Saxony. The year since our Saviour's birth was 1517. Many applauded the courage and heroism of this new adversary; but hardly any one anticipated his success. For it was not to be expected that this light-armed warrior could harm a *Hercules* whom so many heroes had assailed in vain.

§ 2. That *Luther* was possessed of extraordinary talents, uncommon genius, a copious memory, astonishing industry and perseverance, superior eloquence, a greatness of soul that rose above all human weaknesses, and consummate erudition for the age in which he lived, even those among his enemies who possess any degree of candour do not deny. In the philosophy then taught in the schools, he was as well versed as he was in theology; and he taught both, with great applause, in the university of Wittenberg. In the former, he followed the principles of the *Nominalists*, which were embraced by his order, that of the Augustinians; in the latter, he was a follower for the most part of *St. Augustine*. But he had long preferred Holy Scripture and sound reason to everything that rested upon the authority of individuals. No wise man, indeed, will pronounce him entirely faultless; yet if we except the imperfections of the times in which he lived, and of the religion in which he was trained, we shall find little to censure in him.³

¹ [Luther's family appears to have been of the class known in England as yeomanry. Its long-established residence was at Möhra, on the edge of the Thuringian forest. The usage of that class made the eldest brother of a family heir to the paternal residence and fields. Martin Luther's father, Hans, or John, was a younger brother, and therefore obliged to seek a subsistence away from his native home. He married Margaret Lindemann, of Neustadt, in the bishopric of Würzburg, and went to reside at Eisleben, a little town in Saxony, where the future reformer was born in the evening of Nov. 10, 1483. This was the eve of St. Martin's day; a circumstance that found him a Christian name. He was under six months old when his parents removed to Mansfeld, a distance of about five leagues, and a place famous for its mines. It was there that he passed his childhood. D'Aubigné's *Hist. of the Great Reformation*, Eng. trans. Lond. 1843, i. 47. Ranke's *Hist. of the Reformation in Germany*, Eng. trans. Lond. 1845, i. 317. S.]

² [In 1502. S.]

³ All the writers who have given the

history of Luther's life and achievements are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius in his *Centifolium Lutheranium*, of which the first volume appeared at Hamburg, in 1730, 8vo. [Melancthon, *de Vita Lutheri*, ed. Heumann, Gotting. 1741, 4to, Schroeckh's *Kirchen-gesch. seit der Reformation*, i. 106, &c. J. and I. Milner's *Church History*, cent. xvi. Alex. Bower's *Life of Luther*, Edinb. 1813, and numerous others; among which are the following, particularly recommended by Schlegel. (Tr.)—J. G. Walch's *Ausführliche Nachricht von D. Mart. Luther*, prefixed to the 24th vol. of his edition of Luther's works, p. 1—875, which exceeds all others in fulness and learned fidelity. The earlier work of F. S. Keil, *Merkwürdige Lebensumstände D. Mart. Luther's*, Leipsic, 1764, iv. vol. contains much that is good, with some things that are censurable. Also, from its historical connexion, C.W. F. Walch's *Gesch. der Frau Catharina von Bora, Martin Luther's Ehegattin*, 2 vols. Götting. 1753—54, 8vo. and Prof. Schroeckh's *Life of Luther*, in his *Abbildungen der Gelehrten*. From these writings we adduce these principal circumstances.—Luther's father was a miner

§ 3. The first occasion for publishing the truths that he had discovered, was presented to this great man by *John Tetzel*, a Dominican

of Mansfeld. He was born at Eisleben, A.D. 1483. After attending the schools of Magdeburg and Eisenach, he studied scholastic philosophy and jurisprudence at Erfurt, and at the same time read the ancient Latin authors. [His love of the world was first checked by the shock that he received from the violent death of a young college friend, whom he greatly loved. Before his spirits had recovered from this unexpected blow, he was overtaken, in the summer of 1505, while returning from his father's house to the university, by a dreadful thunder-storm, from which he thought himself to have had a very narrow escape with life. S.] Thinking now of nothing but religion, he joined himself, much against the will of his father, to one of the most rigid orders of mendicants, that of the Augustinian Eremites. In this situation he so conducted himself, that his superiors were well satisfied with his industry, good temper, and abilities. In 1508, John von Staupitz, his vicar-general, sent him from Erfurt to Wittenberg, contrary to his inclinations, to be professor of philosophy. He now applied himself more to biblical theology, discovered the defects of the scholastic philosophy, and began to reject human authorities in matters of religion; and in these views, his baccalaureate in theology, which he took in 1509, confirmed him still more. A journey to Rome, which he undertook in 1510, on the business of his order, procured him knowledge and experience, which were afterwards of great use to him. After his return he took, in 1512, his degree of doctor in divinity; and he now applied himself diligently to the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages. All these pursuits were preparations for that great work which Divine Providence intended to accomplish by him; and they procured him a degree of learning that was great for those times. He was not inexpert in philosophy, and he understood the Bible better than any other teacher in the catholic church. He had critically read the writings of the fathers, and had studied among the modern writers, especially William Occam and John Gerson, together with the mystics of the two preceding centuries, and particularly John Tauler; and from the two former (Occam and Gerson) he learned to view the papal authority differently from the mass of people; and from the latter (the mystics), he learned many practical truths relating to the religion of the heart, which were not to be found in the ordinary books of devotion and piety. Of church history he had as much knowledge as was necessary for combating the prevalent errors, and for

restoring the primitive religion of Christians. In the *Belles Lettres* also he was not a novice. He wrote the German language with greater purity, elegance, and force than any other author of that age; and his translation of the Bible and his hymns still exhibit proof how correctly, nervously, and clearly he could express himself in his native tongue. He possessed a natural, strong, and moving eloquence. These acquisitions and talents resided in a mind of uncommon ardour, and of heroic virtue in action; and he applied them to objects of the greatest utility, both to mankind at large and to the individual members of society. He saw religion to be disfigured with the most pernicious errors; and reason and conscience to be under intolerable bondage. He chased away these errors, brought true religion and sound reason again into repute, rescued virtue from slavish subjection to human authorities, and made it obedient to nobler motives, vindicated the rights of man against the subverters of them, furnished the state with useful citizens by removing obstructions to marriage, and gave to the thrones of princes their original power and security. By what means he gradually effected all this good for mankind will appear in the course of this history. It is true, the man who performed these heroic deeds for Europe had his imperfections. For heroes are but men. But his faults were not the fruits of a corrupt heart, but of a warm, sanguine, choleric temperament, and the effects of his education, and of the times in which he lived. He answered his opposers with too great acrimony and passion, even when they were kings and princes, and often with personal abuse. He acknowledged this as a fault, and commended Melancthon and Brentius, who exhibited more mildness in their conversation and writings. But it was his zeal for the truth that enkindled his passions; and perhaps they were necessary in those times; perhaps also they were in consequence of his monastic life, in which he had no occasion to learn worldly courtesy. And were not the harsh and passionate terms, which he used towards his opposers, the controversial language of his age? We do not say this to justify Luther; he was a man, and he had human weaknesses; but he was clearly one of the best men known in that century. This is manifest, among other proofs, from his writings, the most important of which we shall here enumerate. *Theses de Indulgentiis, or Disputatio pro Declaratione Virtutis Indulgentiarum*, 1517. A sermon on *Indulgences and Grace*, 1518. *Resolutiones Thesium de Indulgentiis*. Among his exegetical

monk of boundless impudence, whom *Albert*, archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, had hired, because he had face enough for anything, to solicit the Germans, in the name of the Roman pontiff *Leo X.*, to expiate with money their own sins, and those of their friends, and future sins as well as past ones; or, in other words, to *preach indulgences*.¹ This fraudulent declaimer so conducted his business as not only to forget all modesty and decency, but also to detract impiously from the merits of Jesus Christ. Hence *Luther*, moved with just indignation, publicly exposed at Wittenberg, on the 31st of October, A.D. 1517, ninety-five propositions; in which he chastised the madness of these indulgence-sellers generally, and not obscurely censured the pontiff himself, for suffering the people to be thus diverted from looking to Christ. This was the beginning of that great war which obscured no small portion of the pontifical splendour.²

writings, his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, and that on *Genesis*, are the most important. In his own estimation, his best work was his *Postills*, which were published in 1527. His essays *de Libertate Christiana*, *de Captivitate Babylonica*, and *De Totis Monasticis*, are very polemic; as also his book against Erasmus, *De Servo Arbitrio*, in which he closely follows Augustine in the doctrine concerning grace, while the earliest among the Reformed defended universal grace. His translation of the Bible, which was first published by parcels, and appeared entire for the first time in 1534; his larger and smaller Catechisms; the seventeen Articles of Schwalbach; the Articles of Schmalkald; and his Letters, are very noticeable. The best edition of his writings is that of Halle, 1737—63, in 24 vols. 4to, by Waleh. *Schl.*

¹ The writers who give account of Tetzel, and of his base methods of deluding the multitude, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Centifolium Lutherianum*, pt. i. p. 47, and pt. ii. p. 530. What is said of this vile man by Jac. Echard and Jac. Quetif, in their *Script. Ord. Predicator.* ii. 40, betrays immoderate and ignoble partiality. [Tetzel was distinguished by a fine person, imposing manner, and sonorous voice. He was the son of a goldsmith at Leipsic, named Diez, and was called Diezel, or Tetzel. At the time when Luther's attack gave him an uncurable immortality, he was sixty-three years of age, but might have passed for a much younger man, as there was little or no appearance of decay about him. D'Aubigné's *Hist. Ref.* i. 267. S.]

² [The pope offered, as a pretext for this new spiritual tax, the completion of the church of St. Peter, which had been commenced by Julius II.; and he appointed for his first commissary, Albert, archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, and margrave of Brandenburg, who, from the expensiveness

of his court, had not yet paid the fees for his pall, and was to pay them out of his share of the profits of these indulgences. The second commissary was Jo. Angelus Arcembold. In Saxony, John Tetzel, who had before been a successful preacher of papal indulgences, was appointed to this service. He was a profligate wretch, who had once fallen into the hands of the Inquisition, in consequence of his adulteries, and whom the elector of Saxony rescued by his intercession. He now cried up his merchandise, in a manner so offensive, so contrary to all Christian principles, and so acceptably to the inconsiderate, that all upright men were disgusted with him; yet they dared to sigh over this unclerical traffic only in private. He pursued it as far north as Zerbst and Jüterbock, and selected the annual fairs for its prosecution. He claimed to have power to absolve, not only from church censures, but likewise from all sins, transgressions, and enormities, however horrid they might be, and even from those of which the pope only can take cognisance. He released from all the punishments of purgatory; gave permission to come to the sacraments; and promised to those who purchased his indulgences, that the gates of hell should be closed in regard to them, and the gates of paradise and of bliss open to them. See Herm. von der Hardt, *Hist. Litter. Reformat.* pt. iv. § 6, 14, &c. Some Wittenbergers, who had purchased his wares, came to Luther as he was sitting in the confessional, and acknowledged to him very gross sins. And when he laid upon them heavy ecclesiastical penances, they produced Tetzel's letters of indulgence, and demanded absolution. But he declined giving them absolution until they had submitted to the penance, and thus given some evidence of repentance and amendment; and he declared that he put no value upon their letters of indulgence. These senti-

§ 4. This first controversy between *Luther* and *Tetzel* was in itself of no great importance, and might have been easily settled, if *Leo X.*

ments he also published in a discourse from the pulpit; and he complained to the archbishop of Mentz, and to some of the bishops, of this shameful abuse of indulgences; and published his *theses*, or propositions, against Tetzel; in which he did not indeed discard all use of indulgences, but only maintained that they were merely a release by the pope from the canonical penances for sin, as established by ecclesiastical law, and did not extend to the punishments which God inflicts; that forgiveness of sins was to be had only from God, through real repentance and sorrow, and that God requires no penance or satisfaction therefor. The enemies of the Reformation tell us that Luther was actuated by passion, and that envy between the Dominicans and the Augustinians was the moving cause of Luther's enterprise. They say the Augustinians had previously been employed to preach indulgences, but now the Dominicans were appointed to this lucrative office; and that Luther took up his pen against Tetzel, by order of John von Staupitz [provincial of the order], who was dissatisfied that his order was neglected on this occasion. The author of this fable was John Cochläus (in his *Historia de Actis et Scriptis Mart. Lutheri*, p. 3, 4, Paris, 1665, 8vo), and from this raving enemy of Luther, it has been copied by some French and English writers, and from them by a few German writers of this age, but the evidence of this hypothesis is still wanted. It is still unproved that the Augustinians ever had the exclusive right of preaching indulgences. (See Fred. Will. Kraft, *De Luthero contra Indulgentiarum Nundinatores haudquaquam per Invidiam disputante*, Götting. 1749, 4to.) Luther was far too openhearted, not to let something of this envy appear in his writings, if he really was urged on to act by it; and his enemies were far too sharp-sighted, if they had even the slightest suspicion of it, not to have reproached him with it in his lifetime, yet not one of them did this, for what Cochläus has said on this subject did not appear till after Luther's death. [Pallavicini, in his *Historia Concilii Trident.* pt. i. lib. i. c. 3, § 5, &c. Graveson, *Historia Eccles. sæcul. xvi.* p. 26, and other catholics, violent enemies of the Reformation, expressly deny and confute this charge against Luther. *Tr.*] Others tell us, with as little evidence of truth, that Luther was prompted to take this step by the court of Saxony, which had a design to draw into its own coffers the religious property situated in Saxony, an objection which the whole series of subsequent events will confute. Luther at first

had no thought of overthrowing the papal hierarchy; and Frederic the Wise, who was opposed to all innovations in ecclesiastical or religious matters, would evidently be one of the last persons to form such a plan. *Schl.*]

[Mr. Hume, in his *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, tells us that the 'Austin friars had usually been employed in Saxony to preach indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration; that Arcemboldi gave this occupation to the Dominicans; that Martin Luther, an Austin friar, professor in the university of Wittemberg, *resenting the affront put upon his order*, began to preach against the abuses that were committed in the sale of indulgences, and being provoked by opposition, proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves.' In the first place, it is not true that the *Austin friars* had been usually employed in Saxony to preach indulgences. The commission had been offered alternately, and sometimes jointly, to all the Mendicants, whether *Austin friars*, *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, or *Carmelites*. Nay, from 1229 it was principally entrusted with the Dominicans; and in the records which relate to indulgences we rarely meet with the name of an Austin friar, and not one single act by which it appears that the Roman pontiff ever named the friars of that order to the office under consideration. More particularly, it is remarkable, that for half a century before Luther (*i.e.* from 1450 to 1517), during which period indulgences were sold with the most scandalous marks of avaricious extortion and impudence, we scarcely meet with the name of an Austin friar employed in that service: if we except a monk named Palzius, who was no more than an underling of the papal quæstor, Raymond Peraldus; so far is it from being true, that the Augustin order were exclusively or even usually employed in that service. But it may be alleged, that supposing it was not usual to employ the Austin friars alone in the propagation of indulgences, yet Luther might be offended at seeing such an important commission given to the Dominicans exclusively. To show the injustice of this allegation, I observe,

Secondly, That in the time of Luther the preaching of indulgences was become such an odious and unpopular matter, that it is far from being probable that Luther would have been solicitous about obtaining such a commission either for himself or for his order. The princes of Europe, with many bishops, and multitudes of learned and pious men, had opened their eyes upon the turpitude of this infamous traffic; and even the

had possessed either the ability or the disposition to treat it prudently. It was, in fact, a private contest between two monks, as to how far the Roman pontiffs were empowered to remit the punishments of sins. *Luther* admitted the pope's authority to excuse the human penalties for sin, or those appointed by the church and the papal see; but denied his power to release from the divine penalties, either of the present, or the future world; maintaining, on the contrary, that these divine punishments must be removed either by the merits of Jesus Christ, or by voluntary penances undertaken by the sinner. *Tetzel*, on the other hand, expressed a belief in the pontiff's power to release also from divine punishments, whether in the present, or the future life. This subject had in preceding times been often discussed, and the pontiffs had passed no decrees about it. But the present dispute, being at first neglected, and then treated unwisely, gradually increased, till from small beginnings it involved consequences of the highest importance.

§ 5. *Luther* was applauded by the best part of Germany, which had long borne, very impatiently, the various artifices of the Roman pontiffs for raising money, and the impudence and impositions of papal tax-gatherers. But loud murmurs rose from sycophants of the pontiffs, and none made more noise than the Dominicans, who considered, like all monks, their whole order grievously injured by *Luther*, in the person of *Tetzel*. In the first place, *Tetzel* himself made an early attack upon *Luther*, in two disputations at the university of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, when he took his degree of doctor in theology.¹ The

Franciscans and Dominicans, towards the conclusion of the fifteenth century, opposed it publicly, both in their discourses and in their writings. Nay more, the very commission which is supposed to have excited the envy of *Luther*, was offered by Leo to the general of the Franciscans, and was refused both by him and his order, who gave it over entirely to Albert, bishop of Mentz and Magdeburg. Is it then to be imagined, that either *Luther* or the other Austin friars aspired after a commission of which the Franciscans were ashamed? Besides, it is a mistake to affirm that this office was given to the Dominicans in general; since it was given to *Tetzel* alone, an individual member of that order, who had been notorious for his profligacy, barbarity, and extortion.

But that neither resentment nor envy was the motive which led *Luther* to oppose the doctrine and publication of indulgences, will appear with the utmost evidence if we consider, in the *third* place, that he was never accused of any such motive, either in the edicts of the pontiffs of his time, or amidst the other reproaches of contemporary writers, who defended the cause of Rome, and who were far from being sparing of their invectives and calumnies. All the contemporary adversaries of *Luther* are absolutely silent

on this head. From 1517 to 1546, when the dispute about indulgences was carried on with the greatest warmth and animosity, not one writer ever ventured to reproach *Luther* with those ignoble motives of opposition now under consideration. I speak not of Erasmus, Sleidan, De Thou, Guicciardini, and others, whose testimony might perhaps be suspected of partiality in his favour, but I speak of Cajetan, Hogstrat, De Prierio, Emser, and even the infamous John *Tetzel*, whom *Luther* opposed with such vehemence and bitterness. Even Cochläus was silent on this head during the life of *Luther*; though after the death of that great reformer, he broached the calumny I am here refuting. But such was the scandalous character of this man, who was notorious for fraud, calumny, lying, and their sister vices, that Pallavicini, Bossuet, and other enemies of *Luther*, were ashamed to make use either of his name or testimony. *Maclaine.*]

¹ [*Tetzel* arrived at Frankfort in November, 1517. The university there, 'like that of Wittemberg, was an offshoot from Leipsic, only founded at a later date, and belonging to the opposite party. Determined opponents to all innovation had found appointments there,' *Tetzel* did not confine his

following year, A.D. 1518, produced violent refutations from two celebrated Dominicans, one at Rome, from *Sylvester Prierias*,¹ an Italian, the general of his order; the other, at Cologne, from *James Hochstraten*, a German. They were followed by a third adversary, a great friend of the Dominicans, *John Eck*, a theologian of Ingolstadt.² To these assailants, *Luther* replied with spirit; and at the same time he addressed very modest letters to the Roman pontiff himself, and to some of the bishops; in which he not only set forth the justice of his cause, but also promised a change in his views and opinions, if he could be convicted of error.³

§ 6. *Leo X.* at first looked with contempt upon this controversy, but being informed by the emperor *Maximilian I.* that it was an affair of no little consequence, and that Germany was splitting into parties, he summoned *Luther* to appear at Rome and take his trial.⁴ Against this mandate of the pontiff, *Frederic* the Wise, elector of Saxony, interposed, and requested that *Luther's* cause might be tried in Germany, according to the ecclesiastical laws of the country. The pontiff yielded to the wishes of *Frederic*; and ordered *Luther* to appear before his legate, cardinal *Thomas Cajetan*,⁵ then at the diet of Augsburg, and there defend his doctrines and conduct. The Roman court here exhibited an example of the greatest indiscretion that appeared in the whole transaction. For *Cajetan* being a Dominican, and of course the enemy of *Luther*, connected besides with *Tetzel*, a

demonstration to assertion and argument, on the 20th of January, 1518, which is the real date of his disputation. He likewise had a pulpit and scaffold set up in the suburbs of Frankfort, and going thither in solemn procession as inquisitor, he thundered violently from the pulpit against *Luther* and his opinions. *Luther*, he declared, ought to be burnt alive, and he actually set fire to his publications against indulgences on the scaffold; an act, no doubt, intended to intimidate. D'Aubigné, i. 350. Ranke, i. 344. S.]

¹ [Silvestro da Prierio. (Pallavicini, *Ist. del Conc. di Trento*, i. 98.) Sylvester Manzolini, of Prierio. (Ranke, i. 343.) He was master of the sacred palace and general inquisitor. S.]

² [Eck, though either it or the Latin form, *Eckius*, is the usual designation of this divine, was really not his surname, but *Mayr*. Eck was the name of his native place, of which his father, Michael Mayr, a substantial yeoman, was *Ammann*, or magistrate. *John Mayr*, of Eck, the son, was one of the first scholars of his day, and justly possessed of great reputation. He had been a very laborious student; but was quite unable to see the possibility of shaking the positions with which his learning had made him familiar. Hence he depended chiefly upon his memory, and thought himself secure of victory, from its stores, in any disputation.

Of disputations he was immoderately fond; viewing them (especially if he could find any new subject) as one of the surest roads to advancement. Ranke, i. 444, 449. S.]

³ [Luther attended the general convention of the Augustinians at Heidelberg in 1518; and in a discussion there defended his *Paradoxes* (so he entitled his propositions) with such energy and applause, that the seeds of evangelical truth took deep root in that part of the country. See Martin Bucer's *Relatio de Disputatione Heidelbergensi*, in Dan. Gerdes, *Append. ad t. i. Historiæ Evangelicæ Renovati*, No. 18. p. 175, &c. After his return from Heidelberg, he wrote to the pope in very submissive terms. See his works, ed. Halle, xv. 496. He also wrote to Jerome Scultetus, bishop of Brandenburg, to whose diocese Wittenberg belonged; and likewise to Staupitz; using in both instances very modest language. *Schl.*]

⁴ [Here is undoubtedly a slip of the memory. Before Maximilian's letter arrived at Rome, Leo had cited *Luther* to appear, within sixty days, at Rome, and take his trial before Jerome, bishop of Ascoli, and his enemy, Sylvester Prierias, as his judges. See Seckendorf's *Hist. Lutheranismi*, p. 41, and *Luther's Works*, xv. 527, &c. Maximilian was himself friendly to *Luther*; but was now pushed on by some of his courtiers. *Schl.*]

⁵ [Thomas de Vio of Gaeta. *Tr.*]

more unfit person could not have been named to sit as judge and arbiter of the cause.

§ 7. *Luther* repaired to Augsburg in the month of October, A.D. 1518; and had three interviews with *Cajetan*, the pontifical legate.¹ Now, if *Luther* had even entertained a thought of yielding, undoubtedly this Dominican was not the person to gain that point from a high-spirited man. For he treated him imperiously; and peremptorily required him humbly to confess his errors, although unconfuted in argument, and to submit his judgment to that of the pontiff.² And as *Luther* could not bring himself to this, the result of the discussion was, that previously to his departure from Augsburg, he appealed, as might be done without compromising the papal dignity, from the pontiff ill-informed, to the same when better informed.³ Soon after, on the 9th of November, *Leo X.* published a special edict, requiring all his subjects to believe that he had the power of remitting the penalties of sins. On learning this, *Luther*, perceiving that he had nothing to expect from Rome, appealed, at Wittenberg, November 28, from the pontiff to a future council of the whole church.

§ 8. The Roman court seemed now to be sensible of its error in appointing *Cajetan*. It committed, accordingly, about the same time, this business of leading *Luther* back to the pontiff, to another legate, who was not a party in the case, and who possessed more knowledge

¹ Of *Cajetan*, a full account is given by Jac. Quetif and Jac. Echard, in their *Script. Ord. Prædicator.* ii. 14, &c. [He was born A.D. 1469, at Gaeta, in Latin Cajeta (whence his surname *Cajetanus*), in Naples; at the age of 29, wrote a book to prove that a general council could not be called without the authority of a pope; and was rewarded with the bishopric of Gaeta, and then with the archbishopric of Pisa; and in 1515, with a cardinal's hat. In 1522, he was papal legate to Hungary, and died A.D. 1534, aged 65. He was fond of study, and wrote much on the Aristotelian philosophy, scholastic theology, and in the latter years of his life, extensive commentaries on the Scriptures. Tr.]

² *Cajetan's* proceedings with *Luther* were dissatisfactory, even to the court of Rome. See Paul Sarpi's *Historia Concilii Trident.* l. i. p. 22. Yet Echard apologizes for *Cajetan*, in his *Script. Ordin. Prædicator.* ii. 15; but I cannot say whether wisely and solidly. The court of Rome, however, erred in this matter as much as *Cajetan*. For it might easily have foreseen that a Dominican would not have behaved ingenuously with *Luther*. [*Cajetan* was one of the most learned men of his church; but he was a scholastic divine, and undertook to confute *Luther* by the canon law and the authority of Lombard. The electoral court of Saxony proceeded very circumspectly in this affair. *Luther* was not only furnished with a safe

conduct, but was attended by two counsellors, who supported him with their legal assistance. The cardinal required *Luther* to revoke, in particular, two errors in his *Theses*; namely, that there was not any treasury of the merits of saints at Rome, from which the pope could dispense portions to those that obtained indulgences from him; and that, without faith, no forgiveness of sin could be obtained from God. *Luther* would admit of none but Scripture proofs; and as the cardinal, who was no biblical scholar, could not produce such proofs, *Luther* held fast his opinions; and when the Cardinal began to be restless, and to threaten ecclesiastical censures, *Luther* appealed a *Pontifice male informato ad melius informandum*—a legal step, which was nowise harsh, and one which is resorted to at the present day, by those who do not question the infallibility of the pope. By this appeal he recognised the jurisdiction of the pope, and at the same time secured this advantage, that the cardinal, as a delegated judge, had no longer jurisdiction of the case. *Schl.*]

³ See Christ. Fred. Boerner's *Diss. de Colloquio Lutheri cum Cajetano*, Lips. 1722, 4to, also among his Dissertations, collected in one volume; and Val. Ern. Loescher's *Acta et Documenta Reformat.* t. iii. c. xi. p. 435, &c., and Jo. Geo. Walch's *Nachricht von Luthero*, in the Works of *Luther*, xxiv. 409, &c.

of human nature. The individual was *Charles von Miltitz*, a Saxon knight, who belonged to the court of *Leo X.*; ¹ a discreet and sagacious man. Him the pope sent into Saxony, that he should both offer to the electoral prince *Frederic* the consecrated golden rose, which the pontiffs sometimes gave to distinguished men whom they were disposed to honour; and also should negotiate with *Luther* for terminating his contest with *Tetzel*, or rather with the pontiff himself. And he managed the business not without some success. For immediately, in his first interview with *Luther* at Altenburg, in the month of January, 1519, he prevailed on him to write a very submissive letter to *Leo X.*, dated March 3rd, in which he promised to be silent, provided his enemies would also be silent. *Miltitz* had other discussions with *Luther* in October of this year, in the castle of Liebenwerda; and in the following year, 1520, October 12, at Lichtenberg.² Nor was the prospect utterly hopeless, that these threatening commotions might be stilled.³ But the insolence of *Luther's* foes, and the haughty indiscretion of the court of Rome, soon afterwards dissipated all these prospects of peace.

§ 9. The incident which caused the failure of *Miltitz's* embassy, was a conference or dispute at Leipsic, in the year 1519, from the 27th of June to the 15th of July. *John Eck*, that famous papal theologian, disagreed with *Andrew Carlstadt*, the friend and colleague of *Luther*, in regard to *free will*. He therefore challenged *Carlstadt*, according to the custom of the age, to a personal dispute, to be held publicly at Leipsic; and also invited *Luther*, whom he had already assailed by writing. For the martial spirit of our ancestors had made its way into the schools, and among the learned; and heated dissentients on points of religion or literature, were accustomed to challenge one another to single combats, like knights and warriors. These literary combats were usually held in some distinguished university, and the rector of the university, with the masters, were arbiters of the contest, and adjudged the victory. *Carlstadt* consented to the proposed contest, and on the day appointed he appeared on the *arena*, attended by *Luther*. After *Carlstadt* had disputed warmly for many days with *Eck*, in the castle of Pleissenburg, before a large and splendid assembly, on the powers of free will; *Luther* engaged with the same antagonist in a contest respecting the supremacy and authority of the Roman pontiff.⁴ But the disputants accomplished nothing; nor

¹ [He was chamberlain to the pope, and held canonries at Mentz, Treves, and Meissen. D'Aubigné, ii. 2. S.]

² The documents relating to the embassy of *Miltitz*, were first published by Ern. Salm. Cyprian, in his *Additiones ad Wihl. Ern. Tenzelii Historiam Reform.* t. i. et ii. They are also contained in Val. Ern. Loescher's *Acta Reformat.* t. ii. c. xvi. and t. iii. c. ii. &c.

³ *Leo X.* himself wrote a very kind letter to *Luther* in the year 1519; which memorable document was published by Loescher,

in his *Unschuldigen Nachrichten*, 1742, p. 133. It appears clearly from this epistle, that no doubt of a final reconciliation was entertained at Rome.

⁴ [*Eck* was a great talker, and one of the most ready disputants of his times. In one of his theses proposed for discussion, he had asserted that the pope was, by divine right, universal bishop of the whole church; and that he was in possession of his ghostly power before the times of Constantine the Great. In this disputation, *Luther* maintained the contrary, from passages of Scrip-

would *Hofmann*, the rector of the university of Leipsic, take upon him to say which party was victorious; but the decision of the cause was referred to the universities of Paris and Erfurth.¹ *Eck*, however, carried away from this contest a feeling entirely hostile to *Luther*; and, much to the detriment of the pontiff and the Roman church, became resolved upon his ruin.

§ 10. Among the witnesses and spectators of the Leipsic contest was *Philip Melancthon*, professor of Greek at Wittemberg; as yet, indeed, a partisan on neither side, and from the mildness of his temper, and his love of elegant literature, averse from such disputes; still, friendly to *Luther* and to his efforts for rescuing the science of theology from the subtleties of the scholastics.² As he was doubtless one of those who went home from this discussion, more convinced of the justice of *Luther's* cause, and afterwards became, as it were, the second reformer, next to *Luther*; it is proper here to give some brief account of his talents and virtues. All know, and even his enemies confess, that few men of any age can be compared with him, either for learning and knowledge of both human and divine things, or for richness, suavity, and facility of genius, or for industry as a scholar. He performed, for philosophy and the other liberal arts, what *Luther* performed for theology; that is, he freed them from the corruptions which they had contracted, restored them, and gave them popularity in Germany. He possessed an extraordinary ability to comprehend, and to express in clear and simple language, the most abstruse and difficult subjects, even such as were exceedingly complicated. This power he so happily exerted on questions pertaining to religion, that it may be truly said, no literary man, by his genius and erudition, has done more for them. From his native love of peace, he was induced most ardently to wish, that religion might be reformed

ture, from the testimony of the fathers and of church history, and even from the decrees of the council of Nice. And when, from the subject of the pope, they came to that of indulgences, *Luther* denied their absolute necessity; and so of purgatory, he acknowledged, indeed, that he believed in it, but said he could find no authority for it in the Scriptures, or in the fathers. In fact, it was in 1530 that *Luther* first pronounced purgatory to be a fable. The dispute with *Carlstadt* related to freedom in the theological sense, or to the natural power of man to do the will of God. *Carlstadt* maintained that, since the fall, the natural freedom of man is not strong enough to move him to that which is morally good. *Eck*, on the contrary, asserted that the free will of man produces good works, and not merely the grace of God; or that our natural freedom co-operates with divine grace in the production of good works; and that it depends on man's free power, whether he will give place to the operations of grace, or will resist them. It thus appears that *Carlstadt* defended the doctrine

of Augustine in regard to divine grace. *Eck* claimed to himself the victory; and he gave a very unjust account of this dispute; which occasioned many controversial pamphlets to be published. The chief advantage he gained was, that he drew from *Luther* assertions which might hasten his condemnation at Rome; assertions, which a man of more worldly cunning than *Luther* would have kept concealed a long time. But still he lost much of his popularity by this discussion; and on the other hand, the truth gained more adherents, and *Luther's* zeal became more animated. *Schl.*]

¹ The fullest account of this dispute at Leipsic is in Val. Ern. Loescher's *Acta et Documenta Reformat.* t. iii. c. vii. p. 203. [*Bower's Life of Luther*, ch. v. p. 126—130. *Tr.*]

² See his letter on this conference, in Val. Ern. Loescher's *Acta et Documenta Reformat.* t. iii. c. viii. p. 215 [and in Gerdes, *Hist. Evang. Renovati*, t. i. append. p. 203—209. It exhibits a lucid and candid statement of the whole proceeding. *Tr.*]

without any public schism, and that the visible brotherhood among Christians might remain entire. And hence it was, that he frequently seemed to be too yielding. Yet he by no means spared great and essential errors; and he inculcated with great constancy that unless these were clearly exposed and plucked up by the roots, the Christian cause would never flourish. In the natural temperament of his mind, there was a native softness, tenderness, and timidity. And hence, when he had occasion to write or to do anything, he pondered most carefully every circumstance; and often indulged fears, where there were no real grounds for them. But, on the contrary, when the greatest danger seemed to impend, and the cause of religion was in jeopardy, this timorous man feared nothing, and opposed an undaunted mind to his adversaries. And this shows, that the power of truth which he had learned, had diminished the imperfections of his natural temperament, without entirely eradicating them. Had he possessed a little more firmness and fortitude, been less studious to please everybody, and been able wholly to cast off the superstition which he imbibed in early life, he would justly deserve to be accounted one of the greatest of men.¹

§ 11. While the pontiff's empire was thus nodding to its fall in Germany, another mortal wound was inflicted on it, in the neighbouring Helvetia, by the discerning and erudite *Ulric Zwingli*, a canon

¹ There is a *Life of Melancthon*, written by Joach. Camerarius, which has been often printed. But the cause of literature would be benefited by a more accurate history of this great man composed by some impartial and discreet writer; and also by a more perfect edition of his whole works, than we now possess. [This great man (whose German name was Schwartzerd, in Gr. *Melancthon*, Tr.) was born at Bretten, in the Lower Palatinate, A.D. 1497, studied at Heidelberg, and was teacher of *Belles Lettres* at Tübingen, when he was invited, A.D. 1518, by Reuchlin and Luther, to become professor of Greek at Wittenberg. He taught, wrote, and disputed, in furtherance of the same objects with Luther; but with more mildness and gentleness than he. He composed, so early as 1521, the first system of theology that appeared in our schools, under the title of *Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum* (which passed through 60 editions, in his lifetime. Tr.) and greatly helped forward the Reformation. He also composed the Augsburg Confession, and the Apology for it. During the Reformation, he rendered service to many cities of Germany. He was also invited to France and England, but declined going. In the latter years of his life, from his love of peace, he manifested more indulgence towards the Reformed than was agreeable to the major part of the divines of our church; and his followers were therefore

called *Philippists*, to distinguish them from the more rigid Lutherans. In 1530, he did not entertain such views. There is a letter of his, to John Lachman, a preacher at Heilbron, in which he warns him to beware of the leaven of Zwingli; and says, 'Ego non sine maximis tentationibus didici, quantum sit vitii in dogmate Cinglii. Scis mihi veterem cum *Ecclampadio* amicitiam esse. Sed optarim eum non incidisse in hanc *conjuratorem*. Non enim vocari aliter libet, quia prætectu ejus dogmatis vides, quos tumultus excitent Helvetii.' See Dr. Buttinghausen's *Beyträge zur Pfälzischen Geschichte*, ii. 139, &c. But the death of Luther, correspondence with Calvin, his timid and mild character, and perhaps also political considerations, rendered him more indulgent. Among the superstitious notions imbibed in his youth, and of which he could not wholly divest himself, was his credulity in regard to premonitions and dreams, and his inclination towards astrology, with which he even infected some of his pupils. (The most learned men of that age, Melancthon, Chemnitz, Neander, were believers in this art; indeed, such as were not, could scarcely pass for learned men. Henke's *Kirchengesch.* iii. 580.) He died in 1560. His works were published, collectively, A.D. 1562 and onwards, in 4 volumes fol. See also Theodore Strobel's *Melancthoniana*, Altdorf, 1771, 8vo. *Schl.*]

and priest of Zurich. The fact must not be disguised, that he had discovered some portion of the truth before *Luther* openly contended with the pontiff. But afterwards being excited and instructed by the example and the writings of *Luther*, he not only expounded the Holy Scriptures in public discourses, but also, in the year 1519, successfully opposed *Bernardin Sampson* of Milan, who was impudently driving, among the Swiss, the same shameful traffic that had awakened *Luther's* ire.¹ This was the first step towards purging Switzerland of supersti-

¹ See Jo. Hen. Hottinger's *Helvetische Reformationsgeschichte*, p. 28, &c. Or his *Helvetische Kirchengeschichte*, t. ii. l. vi. p. 28, &c. For the former (which is often published separately) differs very little from the latter; though it is often sold as being the first part of the latter work. [Also his *Historia Ecclesiast. N. T. sæc. xv. pt. ii. p. 198, &c. Tr.*] *Abr. Ruchat's Hist. de la Réformation de la Suisse*, t. i. livr. i. p. 4, &c. p. 66, &c. Dan. Gerdes, *Hist. Renovati Evangelii*, ii. 228, &c. [or rather i. 99, &c. *Tr.*] Jo. Conrad Fuesslin's *Beyträge zu der Schweiz-Reformations Geschichte*, in five parts. [Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, i. 103, &c. and H. P. C. Henke's *Allgem. Geschichte der Christl. Kirche*, iii. 74, ed. Brunsw. 1806.—Luther and his followers had long and severe contests with Zwingle and the Reformed, respecting the corporeal presence of Christ in the Eucharist; and this caused much alienation and prejudice between the two bodies, during the whole of the sixteenth century; nor has entire harmony been restored between them to this day. Hence, for more than two centuries, the Lutherans and the Reformed contended, whether Luther or Zwingle was entitled to the honour of leading the way to the Reformation. Mosheim manifestly gives the precedence to Luther. Hottinger, Gerdes, and others, give it to Zwingle. Schroeckh, Henke, Schlegel, Von Einem, and others, of the Lutheran church, now divide the praise between them. The facts appear to be these. Zwingle discovered the corruptions of the church of Rome at an earlier period than Luther. Both opened their eyes gradually, and altogether without any concert; and without aid from each other. But Zwingle was always in advance of Luther in his views and opinions; and he finally carried the Reformation somewhat further than Luther did. But he proceeded with more gentleness and caution, not to run before the prejudices of the people; the circumstances in which he was placed, did not call him so early to open combat with the powers of the hierarchy; Luther therefore has the honour of being the first to declare open war with the pope, and to be exposed to direct persecution. He also acted in a much wider sphere. All Ger-

many, and even all Europe, was the theatre of his operations. Zwingle moved only in the narrow circle of a single canton of Switzerland. He also died young, and when but just commencing his career of public usefulness. And these circumstances have raised Luther's fame so high, that Zwingle has almost been overlooked. Luther, doubtless, did most for the cause of the Reformation, because he had a wider field of action, was more bold and daring, and lived longer to carry on the work. But Zwingle was a more learned, and a more judicious man, commenced the Reformation earlier, and in his little circle carried it further.—Ulric Zwingle was born at Wildhausen, county of Toggenburg, and canton of St. Gall, A.D. 1484. At the age of ten, he was sent to Basle, for education, and afterwards to Berne. Here the Dominicans endeavoured to allure him into their order; and to prevent this, his father sent him to Vienna. Returning to Basle, at the age of eighteen, he became a schoolmaster; and prosecuted theology, at the same time, under Thomas Wittenbach, who was not blind to the errors of the church of Rome, and who instilled principles of free inquiry into his pupils. He preached his first sermon in 1506; and was the same year chosen pastor of Glarus, where he spent ten years. He had been distinguished in every branch of learning, to which he had applied himself, and particularly in classical and elegant literature. He now devoted himself especially to Greek and Hebrew; and had no respect for human authorities in theology, but relied wholly on the Scriptures, which he read and explained to his people from the pulpit, with great assiduity. His fame as a preacher and divine rose high. In 1516, he was removed to the abbey of Einsiedeln as a field of greater usefulness. He had before cautiously exposed some of the errors of the Roman church, and he now more openly assailed the doctrines of monastic vows, pilgrimages, relics, offerings, and indulgences. The next year he was chosen to a vacancy in the cathedral of Zurich; and before accepting the office, stipulated that he should not be confined in his preaching to the lessons publicly read, but be allowed to explain

tion. *Zwingle* now vigorously prosecuted the work that he had begun: and having obtained several learned men, educated in Germany, for his associates and fellow-labourers in the arduous task, he brought, by their assistance, the greatest part of his fellow-citizens to renounce their subjection to pontifical domination. Yet *Zwingle* proceeded in a different way from *Luther*; for he did not uniformly oppose the employment of force against the more pertinacious defenders of the old superstitions; and he is said to have conceded to magistrates more authority in religious matters than is consistent with the nature of religion.¹ But in general he was an upright man, and his intentions are worthy of the highest praise.

§ 12. We now return to *Luther*. While *Miltitz* was negotiating with him for a peace, and with some prospect of success, *John Eck*, burning with rage after the debate at Leipsic, hurried away to Rome, in order to hasten his destruction. Connecting himself there with the most powerful Dominicans in the pontifical court, and particularly their two first men, *Cajetan* and *Prierias*, he pressed *Leo* to excommunicate *Luther* forthwith, for the Dominicans most eagerly thirsted to avenge the very great injury which they conceived *Luther* had done to their whole order, first, in the person of their brother *Tetzel*, and then in that of *Cajetan*. Overcome by their importunate applications and by those of their friends and abettors, *Leo X.*, most imprudently, issued the first bull against *Luther*, on the 15th of June, 1520; in which forty-one tenets of his were condemned, his writings adjudged to the

every part of the Bible. He continued to read the best Latin and Greek classics, studied diligently the more eminent fathers, as *Augustine*, *Ambrose*, and *Chrysostom*, and pressed the study of Hebrew and the kindred dialects. He now publicly expounded the scriptures, as the Gospels, the Epistles of Paul and Peter, &c., and inculcated, that the Bible is the only standard of religious truth. While he was thus leading the people gradually to better views of religion, in 1518, *Sampson* came into Switzerland to sell indulgences; and the year following, on his arrival at Zurich, *Zwingle* openly opposed him, and procured his exclusion from the canton. The progress of the people in knowledge was rapid, and the Reformation went forward with great success. *Luther's* books were circulated extensively, and by *Zwingle's* recommendation, though he chose not to read them himself, lest he should incur the charge of being a Lutheran. He was however assailed by the friends of the hierarchy, and at length accused of heresy before the council of Zurich, Jan. 1523. He now presented 67 doctrinal propositions before the council, containing all the fundamental doctrines since held by the reformed church; and offered to defend them against all opposers, by scripture. His enemies wished to bring tradition and the school-men to

confute him. But the council declared, that the decision must rest on the scriptures. *Zwingle* of course triumphed; and the council decreed, that he should be allowed to preach, as heretofore, unmolested; and that no preacher in the canton should inculcate any doctrine, but what he could prove from the scriptures. The next year, 1524, the council of Zurich reformed the public worship, according to the advice of *Zwingle*. Thus the reformation of that canton was now completed. *Zwingle* continued to guide his flock, and to lend aid to the other portions of the church, till the month of Oct. 1531; when a Roman Catholic force, from the popish cantons, marched against Zurich; and *Zwingle*, according to the usage of his country, bore the standard amidst the citizens that attempted to repel them. The enemy were victorious, and *Zwingle* was wounded near the commencement of the battle, and his body cut to pieces and burned to ashes. See the writers before referred to, particularly *Hottinger*, *Gerdes*, and *Schroeckh*; also the article *Zwingle*, in *Rees's Cyclopaedia*.—His works were printed, Zurich, 1544–45, 4 vols. fol. *Tr.*]

¹ [This charge against *Zwingle* in both parts of it, appears to be wholly groundless. See *Gerdes*, *Hist. Evang. Renovati*, i, 237. *Supplementa. Tr.*]

flames, and he was commanded to confess his faults within sixty days, and implore the clemency of the pontiff, or be cast out of the church.¹

§ 13. As soon as *Luther* heard of this first sentence of the pontiff, he consulted for his own safety, by renewing his appeal from the pontiff to the supreme tribunal of a future council. And foreseeing that this appeal would be treated with contempt at Rome, and that as soon as the time prescribed by the pontiff was elapsed, he would be excommunicated by another bull, he soon formed the resolution to withdraw from the Roman church, before he should be excommunicated by a new rescript of the pontiff. In order to proclaim this secession from the Romish community, by a public act, he caused a fire to be kindled on the 10th of December, 1520, without the walls of the city, and in the presence of a vast multitude of spectators, committed to the flames the bull issued against him, together with a copy of the pontifical canon law. By this act he publicly signified, that he would be no longer a subject of the Roman pontiff; and consequently, that the second decree, which was daily expected from Rome, would be nugatory. For whoever publicly burns the statute-book of his prince, protests by so doing that he will no longer respect and obey his authority; and one who has excluded himself from any society, cannot afterwards be cast out of it. I must suppose, that *Luther* acted in this matter with the advice of the jurists. *Luther* withdrew, however, only from the *Roman* church, which looks upon the pontiff as infallible, and not from the church *universal*, the sentence of which, pronounced in a legitimate and free council, he did not refuse to obey. And this circumstance will show, why wise men among the papists, who were attached to the liberties of Germany, looked upon this bold act of *Luther* without offence.² Before one month after

¹ The friends of the pontiff confess that Leo erred greatly in this matter. See Jo. Fred. Mayer's *Diss. de Pontificiis Leonis X. Processum adversus Lutherum Improbantibus*; which is a part of the work he published at Hamburg, 1698, 4to, with the following title, *Ecclesia Romana Reformationis Lutheranae Patrona et Cliens*. And there were, at that time, many wise and circumspect persons at Rome, who did not hesitate publicly to avow their disapprobation of the violent councils of Eckius and the Dominicans, and who wished to wait for the issue of Miltitz's embassy. [See Riederer's *Nachrichten zur Kirchen-Gelahrten-und Büchergeschichte*, stück ii. n. 18, p. 178, where there is an anonymous letter from Rome to Pirckheimer, saying, 'Scias neminem Romæ esse, si saltem sapiat, qui non certo certius sciat et cognoscat, Martinum in pluribus veritatem dicere, verum boni ob tyrannidis metum dissimulant, mali vero, quia veritatem audire coguntur, insanunt. Inde illorum oritur indignatio pariter et metus; valde enim timent, ne res

latius serpat. Hæc causa fuit, cur bulla tam atrox emanaverit, multis bonis et prudentibus viris reclamantibus, qui suadebant maturius consulendum, et Martino potius modestia et rationibus quam detestationibus occurrendum esse, hoc enim decere mansuetudinem, illud vero tyrannidem sapere, et rem mali exempli videri,' *Schl.*]

² [Some modern jurists, as Schlegel tells us, have condemned this act of *Luther*, as being a treasonable act, against the established laws of the land. But it was not so, in that age. For the canon law contained enactments only of the popes and councils, with which the civil powers were supposed to have no concern. It was the statute-book of a foreign and spiritual sovereign, who claimed jurisdiction equally over the temporal sovereigns of Germany and over their subjects. To burn this book, therefore, was treason against that foreign sovereign, the pope; but not so, against the temporal sovereigns of Germany.—*Luther's* motives for this act, he himself stated in a tract on the subject. Among them, were

this heroic deed of *Luther* had elapsed, on the 4th day of January, 1521, the second bull of *Leo* against *Luther* was issued; in which he was expelled from the bosom of the Roman church, for having violated the majesty of the pontiff.¹

§ 14. When these severe bulls had been issued against the person and doctrines of *Luther* and his friends, nothing remained for him, but to attempt to found a new church opposed to that of Rome, and to establish a system of doctrine consonant to the Holy Scriptures. For to subject himself to the dominion of his most cruel enemy would have been madness; and to return again, contrary to the convictions of his own mind, to errors that he had rejected and opposed, would have been base and dishonest. From this time, therefore, he searched for the truth with redoubled ardour, and not only revised and confirmed more carefully the doctrines which he had already advanced, but likewise boldly attacked the very citadel of the pontifical authority, and shook it to its foundation. In this heroic enterprise, he had the aid of other excellent men in various parts of Europe, as well as of the doctors at Wittenberg who joined his party, and especially of *Philip Melancthon*. And as the fame of *Luther's* wisdom and heroism, and the great learning of *Melancthon*, drew a vast number of young men to Wittenberg, the principles of the Reformation were spread with amazing rapidity through various nations.²

§ 15. While these things were in progress, the emperor *Maximilian I.* died;³ and his grandson *Charles V.*, king of Spain, was elected his successor, on the 28th of July, A.D. 1519. *Leo X.* therefore reminded the new emperor of the office that he had undertaken, of *advocate* and *defender of the church*, and called upon him to inflict due punishment upon that rebellious member of the church, *Martin Luther*. On the other hand, *Frederic* the Wise, of Saxony, conjured him to abstain from everything unfair and rash against *Luther*, and to conduct the whole business according to the rights of the Germanic churches, and the laws of the empire. *Charles* was under greater obligations to *Frederic* than to any other of the German princes, for it was chiefly by his efforts and zeal, that he had obtained the imperial dignity, in preference to his very potent rival *Francis I.*, king of France.⁴ In order, therefore, to gratify both this friend, to

these, *first*, that his enemies had burned his books, and he must burn theirs, in order to deter the people from reverencing them, and being led astray by them; and *secondly*, that he had found thirty abominable assertions in the canon law, which rendered the book worthy of the flames. *Tr.*]

¹ Both these bulls are in the *Bullarium Romanum*, [ed. Cherub. Luxemb. 1742, t. i. p. 610, &c. p. 614, &c. *Tr.*] and also in Christ. Matth. Pfaff's *Histor. Theol. Litterar.* ii. 42, &c. [The excommunicating bull was an attack upon the rights of the German churches. For *Luther* had appealed to an ecclesiastical council; and in

consequence of this appeal, the pope could no longer have jurisdiction of the case. Hence the number of *Luther's* friends increased the more, after the publication of this bull. *Schl.*]

² On the rapid progress of the Reformation in Germany, Dan. Gerdes treats particularly, in his *Hist. Renovati Evangelii*, t. ii. also Benj. Grosch, in his *Vertheidigung der Evangelischen Kirche gegen Arnold*, p. 156, &c.

³ [January 12th, 1519. *Tr.*]

⁴ [During the five months of the *interregnum*, *Frederic* had been at the head of the empire, had refused the imperial crown

whom he owed everything, and the pontiff as well, he determined to give *Luther* a hearing in the diet to be assembled at Worms, before any decree should be passed against him. It may seem strange and contrary to ecclesiastical law, that a religious cause should be discussed and subjected to examination before a diet. But it must be recollected, that as the archbishops, bishops, and some of the abbots had seats among the princes, those Germanic diets were likewise provincial councils of the German nation, to which, according to ancient canon law, the trial of such causes as that of *Luther* properly belonged.

§ 16. *Luther*, therefore, appeared at Worms, protected by a safe-conduct from the emperor; and on the 17th and 18th of April, pleaded his cause most resolutely before the diet. Being called upon and admonished to renounce the opinions that he had hitherto defended, and to become reconciled to the pope, he replied with great constancy, that he would never do so unless first convinced of error, by proofs from the Holy Scriptures or from sound reason. And, as neither promises nor menaces could move him from his purpose, he obtained indeed from the emperor the liberty of returning home unmolested; but, after his departure, on the 27th of May, by the joint voices of the emperor and the princes, he and his adherents were proscribed, and declared to be enemies of the Romano-Germanic empire. His prince, *Frederic*, foreseeing the storm, caused him to be intercepted on his return, near Eisenach, and to be conducted to the castle of Wartburg (perhaps with the emperor's privity), and in that castle, which he called his *Patmos*, he lay concealed ten months, beguiling the time very profitably with writing and study.¹

offered to himself, and had greatly exerted himself to secure the election of Charles. *Tr.*]

¹ See the writers, mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Centifolium Lutheranicum*, pt. i. c. xliii. p. 79—84, and pt. ii. p. 563, &c. [This journey to Worms was a very perilous undertaking for *Luther*. His friends advised him not to go; and even the electoral prince, his sovereign, did not allow him to go till he had obtained for him a safe-conduct from the emperor. This safe-conduct, however, would have afforded him no protection against the operations of the papal bulls, and the snares of his enemies, if the high-minded emperor had been willing to listen to those who whispered in his ear the inhuman and unchristian maxim, that a man is not to keep his promise to a heretic. But the emperor had nobler views; and *Luther* himself was so unshaken, that he would let nothing deter him from the journey; and when arrived in the territory of Worms, and some persons, in the name of his friend Spalatin, warned him of his danger, he replied, that he would go thither, if there were as many devils there, as tiles on the roofs of their houses. He therefore

proceeded fearlessly to Worms, and, when there, showed indescribable fortitude. He was conducted, in his monkish dress, from his lodgings, to the assembled diet, by the marshal of the empire, Von Pappenheim; and two questions were now put to him, by the official of the archbishop of Treves, namely, whether he acknowledged those books, that were laid upon a bench before him, to be his productions; and whether he would recall the opinions contained in them. To the first question, *Luther* was on the point of answering, at once, affirmatively; but Dr. Jerome Schurf, a jurist of Wittemberg, who had been assigned to him as his counsellor, reminded him, that he should first ascertain whether there were not some books among them that were not his. So he heard the titles read over; and then answered to the first question, *Yes*. But to the second question, at the suggestion of his counsellor, he requested to be allowed till the next day to consider of his answer. The following day he appeared, and the question being repeated, he answered by making distinctions. Some of his writings, he said, treated of a Christian's faith and life, others were directed against the papacy,

§ 17. From this *Patmos* of his, *Luther* returned to *Wittenberg*, in the month of March, 1522, without the knowledge or consent of the elector *Frederic*; being influenced by the pestilent commotions, which he had heard were then set on foot by *Carlstadt* and others, equally to the disadvantage of religion and the commonwealth. For, in *Luther's* absence *Andrew Carlstadt*, a doctor of *Wittenberg*, a man of learning, and not ignorant of the truth, whom the pontiff, at *Eck's* instigation, had excommunicated in conjunction with *Luther*, but a hasty person that knew not how to be moderate, had begun to destroy images, and put himself at the head of a fanatical sect, who in several places greatly abused, as usual, the dawning of liberty.¹ He therefore

and others against private individuals, who defended the Romish tyranny, and assailed his holy doctrines. As for the first, he could not renounce them, because even his enemies admitted, that they contained much good matter; nor could he renounce the second, because that would be lending support to the papal tyranny; in those of the third class, he freely acknowledged, that he had often been too vehement; yet he could not at once renounce them, unless it were first shown that he had gone too far. As the official now demanded of him a categorical answer, whether he would renounce, or not, he replied, that he could not, unless he was first convicted of error, either by Scripture, or by reason. And the official alleging, that he *must* have erred, because he had contradicted the pope and the councils, he answered: The pope and ecclesiastical councils have often erred, and have contradicted themselves. He at last closed with his declaration: *Here I stand: I can say no more; God help me. Amen.* After this, *Luther* appeared no more before the diet; but the emperor caused him to be informed, that as he would not be reconciled to the church, the emperor would do as law required; he must, however, repair to his usual residence within 21 days. On the 8th of May, the bill of outlawry was drawn up against him, which was published, a few days after his departure. (*Pallavicini* says, *Hist. Concil. Trident.* l. i. c. 28, § 7, that the bill was drawn up May 25th, and signed May 26th, but dated back to May 8th. The reason, it is said, was, that the bill was passed at the close of the diet, and when many of the members had retired, and it was wished to disguise that fact. *Tr.*) By virtue of this bill, after the 21 days of the safe-conduct expired, no man might harbour or conceal *Luther*, on pain of treason; but whosoever might find him in any place, was to apprehend him, and deliver him up to the emperor; and all his adherents were to be seized in the public streets, imprisoned and stripped of all their goods. This arbitrary decree of the emperor

contravened all the laws of humanity, as well as the rights of the German churches. For it required a man to renounce what he was not convinced was wrong; and on the assumption of the infallibility of the pope, condemned him, against an intervening appeal to a council. This bill of outlawry, however, produced very little effect; and indeed the emperor does not seem to have been much in earnest in respect to it. For, although the perplexed state of his affairs, the political movements of Europe, and the internal disquietude of his private territories, might call his attention to very different subjects from the execution of the edict of Worms, yet it is difficult to comprehend how *Luther* could safely return to *Wittenberg*, and there preach, and write, and teach, if the emperor wished in earnest to give him trouble. Nay, he might easily have discovered his retreat at *Wartburg*. But probably the emperor took no pains to discover him, in order to avoid collision, either with the pontiff, or the elector of Saxony. At *Wartburg*, *Luther* prosecuted the study of the Hebrew and Greek languages, commenced his German translation of the Scriptures, expounded some portions of the Bible, composed his *Postills*, and some other works. *Schl.*

¹ [*Andrew Bodenstein*, born at *Carlstadt* in *Franconia* (and hence called, in Latin, *Carlostadius*), was a doctor of biblical learning, a canon and archdeacon of the church of *Allsaints*, at *Wittenberg*, and professor in the university there. He supported *Luther* in the work of Reformation, as appears from the history of the conference at *Leipsic*, and was highly esteemed by him, and is mentioned with praise in his writings. But in respect to the manner of effecting the Reformation, these two men had very different views. *Carlstadt* would have the abuses of popery abolished at once, but *Luther* preferred a gradual process. *Luther's* fraternity at *Wittenberg*, the *Augustinians*, had, during his absence, begun to reform their monastery, and to abolish the mass; and they now wished to effect

first energetically repressed the impetuosity of this man; wisely declaring, that it is necessary to extirpate errors from the minds of men, before such objects as those errors have set up can be advantageously removed. And to establish this principle by facts, and by his own example, inviting certain learned men to aid him, he proceeded gradually to perfect and to finish the German translation of the Bible, which he had commenced.¹ The event confirmed the excellence of his plan: for the parts of this work being successively published and circulated, the roots of inveterate errors were soon extirpated from the minds of vast numbers.

§ 18. In the mean time *Leo X.* died, A.D. 1522. *Hadrian VI.*, of Utrecht, succeeded him, by the aid of *Charles V.*, whose tutor he had been. He was an honest man; and so ingenuous as to confess, that the Christian church laboured under ruinous maladies; and to promise, readily, that he would correct them.² By his legate to the diet of

the same reform in the city. But the court were afraid, lest it should give offence, both to other princes and cities, and also to the citizens themselves; and the elector, therefore, called for the opinion of the professors at Wittemberg. Their opinion was in favour of abolishing the mass; but this did not satisfy the court. Luther, whose opinion was also asked, assumed the rational principle, that the reformation should commence, not with the pictures, nor with other external things, among which he accounted the mass, but with the understandings of the people; and to his opinion all the professors now subscribed, except only Carlstadt. He gathered around him the common people; and as soon as he thought himself strong enough, he broke out, and with a throng of enthusiastic followers, rushed into the cathedral church, destroyed the pictures and the altar, and hindered the clergy from any longer saying mass. Melancthon was too timid to control this uproar. Luther therefore came forward, preached against these violent innovations, and restored tranquillity. From that time onward, there was a coldness between Luther and Carlstadt, which at length broke out into hostilities, that were no honour to either of them. *Schl.*—Luther has been taxed with opposing Carlstadt from motives of ambition, or unwillingness that another should take the lead in anything. And this censure is repeated by Maclaine, Bower, &c. But Seckendorf (*Historia Lutheranismi*, lib. i. § 121, p. 197, 198,) seems to have confuted the charge; which has no support, except a single sentence in one of Luther's letters, in which he charges Carlstadt with wishing to be foremost; a charge, which Melancthon advanced in quite as strong terms. For an account of Carlstadt prior to 1522, see Gerdes, *Miscellan. Groning.* i. 1, &c. *Tr.*

¹ A history of Luther's German trans-

lation of the Holy Scriptures, which contributed more than anything else to establish the Lutheran church, was published by Jo. Fred. Mayer, Hamb. 1701, 4to. A much fuller history was long expected from Jo. Melchior Kraft, than whom no one laboured upon the subject with greater care, assiduity, and success, during many years. But a premature death frustrated our expectations. Compare Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Centifolium Lutheranium*, pt. i. p. 147, &c. and pt. ii. p. 617, &c. [What Kraft was prevented by a premature death from accomplishing, has since been performed by Jo. Geo. Palm, in his *Historie der Deutschen Bibelübersetzung Luthers*; which was published, with notes, by Jo. Melchior Götze, Halle, 1772, 4to, and Gottl. Christ. Giese, *Historische Nachricht von dieser Bibelübersetzung*; published by Riederer, Altdorf, 1771, 8vo. *Schl.*]

² See Casper Burmann's *Hadrianus VI. sive Analecta Historica de Hadriano VI. Papa Romano*; Utrecht, 1727, 4to. [Hadrian was of humble parentage, but of great attainments in scholastic theology; and therefore long filled the office of a professor at Louvain. He had a natural aversion to pomp, extravagance, and luxury, and a very upright disposition. He therefore did not grasp the fire and sword, in order to still the complaints of the Germans, but commenced with the reformation of his own court, curtailed his own table, dismissed all superfluous servants, and required of the cardinals a more retired life, and retrenchment in their expenses. But this was so displeasing to the Romans, that they not only lampooned him much during his lifetime, but spoke very ill of him after his death. Indeed, it has been suspected, that they were instrumental in causing his death. So gratifying to the Roman populace was his decease, that the night after it took

Nuremberg, A.D. 1522, and onwards, *Francis Cheregato*, he indeed earnestly entreated, that the punishment decreed against *Luther* and his adherents, by the edict of Worms, might no longer be delayed; but at the same time he showed himself ready to correct the evils which had armed so great an enemy. The German princes, deeming this a favourable opportunity, while the emperor was absent in Spain, demanded a free council; which should be held in Germany, and should deliberate in the ancient manner on a general reformation of the church. They also exhibited, under one hundred heads, the grievances of which their country had to complain from the Roman court; lastly, they passed a decree, forbidding any further innovations in religious matters, till the council should decide what ought to be done.¹ So long, in fact, as the princes of Germany did not perceive that plans were under consideration in Saxony, for establishing a new church in opposition to that of Rome, they were pretty well united in opposing the pontifical power, which they all felt to be excessive; nor were they much troubled about *Luther's* controversy with the pontiff, which they regarded as little else than a private affair.

§ 19. The honest pontiff, *Hadrian*, after a short reign,² died in the year 1523;³ and was succeeded, on the 19th of November, by *Clement VII.*, a man less ingenuous and open-hearted.⁴ He censured immoderately, by another legate, *Laurence Campegio*, in the same diet, A.D. 1524, the lenity of the princes, in tolerating *Luther*; at the same time, craftily suppressing all notice of the promise of a reformation made by *Hadrian*. The emperor seconded the demands of *Campegio*, requiring by his minister adherence to the decree of Worms. Overcome by these remonstrances, the princes changed indeed the language of the decree, but in reality corroborated it. For they engaged to enforce the edict of Worms, to the extent of their power; but at the same time renewed their demand for a council, and referred all other questions to the next diet, to be held at Spire. After the

place, the front door of his principal physician was decorated with a wreath of flowers, surmounted with the inscription: *For the deliverer of his country.* *Schl.*—This pontiff was deeply sensible of vast corruption in the Roman church, and he was sincerely resolved to reform it, as fast as possible. In his instructions to his legate to the diet of Nuremberg, A.D. 1522, he authorised him to say: ‘*Scimus in hac sancta sede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, et omnia denique in perversum mutata. Nec mirum si ægrotudo in capite in membra, a summis pontificibus in alios inferiores prælatos descenderit. Omnes nos (the prelates) et ecclesiastici declinavimus, unusquisque in vias suas, nec fuit jam diu, qui faceret bonum, non fuit usque ad unum.*’ See Raynald’s *Annales Eccles. ad. ann. 1522, § 70.* *Tr.*]

¹ See Jac. Fred. George, *Gravamina Germanorum adversus Sedem Roman.* l. ii. p. 327. [The *Gravamina* are also in Flacius, *Catalogus Testium*, No. 187. *Schl.*]

² [Of two years and eight months. *Tr.*]

³ [September 24th. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Jac. Ziegler’s *Historia Clementis VII.* in Jo. Geo. Schellhorn’s *Amenitates Hist. Eccles.* ii. 210, &c. [Clement VII. was a kind of Leo X., and was previously called Julius de Medicis. He was of a very different spirit from Hadrian; was crafty and faithless, and made it his great aim, through his whole reign, to advance the interests of the pontifical chair. He therefore took all pains to thwart the designs of the Germans, in regard to a general council for reforming the abuses of the papal court. See Walch’s *Hist. der Römischen Päpste*, p. 379, &c. *Schl.*]

diet, the pontifical legate retired with a number of the princes, most of whom were bishops, to Ratisbon; and from them he obtained a promise, that they would enforce the edict of Worms in their territories.

§ 20. While the religious reformation by *Luther* was thus daily gathering strength, in almost all parts of Europe, two very serious evils arose to retard its progress, the one internal and the other external. Among those whom the Roman bishop had excluded from the privileges of his community, a pernicious controversy, respecting the *manner* in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the sacred supper, produced very great disunion. *Luther* and his adherents, while they rejected the dogma of the Romish school, that the bread and wine are transmuted into the body and blood of Christ, yet maintained, that persons coming to the sacred supper participated truly, though in an inexplicable manner, of the body and blood of Christ, together with the bread and the wine.¹ His colleague, *Carlstadt*, held a different opinion.² And after him *Ulric Zwingle* much more fully and ingeniously maintained, in published writings, that the body and blood of the Lord are not present in the holy supper; but that the bread and the wine are merely symbols or emblems, by which people should be excited to commemorate the death of Christ, and the blessings resulting to us from it.³ As this doctrine was embraced by

¹ [*Luther* denied *transubstantiation*, that is, a transmutation of the substance of the bread and wine into the flesh and blood of Christ; yet held to *consubstantiation*, that is, to a real and corporeal presence of the body and blood of Christ, *in, under, or along with*, the bread and wine; so that the sacramental substances, after consecration, became each of them twofold; namely, the bread became both bread and the flesh of Christ, and the wine became both wine and the blood of Christ. Sometimes, however, he represented the union of the two substances in each element, as constituting but *one substance*; just as the union of the divine and human natures in Christ, still constituted but *one person*. The ubiquity of Christ's body was an obvious consequence of his doctrine, and one which he did not hesitate to admit. See Hospinian's *Historia Sacramentaria*, pt. ii. p. 5, &c. *Tr.*]

² [*Carlstadt* supposed, that when Christ said, *This is my body*, he pointed to his body; so that the affirmation related solely to his real body, and not to the sacramental bread. His foes charged him with denying any kind of presence of Christ in the Sacrament, even a spiritual or sacramental presence. See Hospinian, l. c. p. 50, &c. *Tr.*]

³ See Val. Ern. Loescher's *Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, pt. i. lib. i. c. ii. p. 55. And on the other side, add Abraham Scultetus, *Annales Evangelii*;

in Herm. von der Hardt's *Hist. Litt. Reformat.* p. 74, &c. Rud. Hospinian [*Historia Sacramentaria*, pt. ii.] and the others among the Reformed, who give account of the origin and progress of the controversy. [The Roman doctrine of the real or corporeal presence of Christ in the Eucharist, which was brought into the church principally by the efforts of Paschasius Radbert, in the ninth century (see above, cent. ix. pt. ii. c. 3, § 19), but which was warmly contested by Berengarius in the eleventh century, and openly denied by Wickliffe in the fifteenth, early engaged the attention of the Reformers. As early as A.D. 1513, Conrad Pellican and Wolfg. Fabr. Capito, in a private interview, disclosed to each other their conviction of the absurdity of this doctrine. (See Gerdes, *Hist. Evang. Renov.* i. 113.) *Luther*, however, while he denied the Romish doctrine of *transubstantiation*, yet held to the real presence in the way called *consubstantiation*. Most of the other Reformers, especially in southern Germany and Switzerland, disbelieved the corporeal presence of Christ, and maintained only a spiritual presence. Yet they did not think it expedient to write or preach on the subject, till the public mind should be ripe for such a discussion. Indeed they were not fully settled in their own minds what form to give to the doctrine, or what interpretation to put upon the texts relied on in proof of the real presence. In Jan. 1524, *Zwingle*

nearly all the Swiss, and by not a few divines in upper Germany, and as *Luther* and his friends, on the other hand, strenuously contended

offered to the senate of Zurich his sixty-seven doctrinal theses; in No. 18 of which he declared the Eucharist to be *not a sacrifice* (non esse sacrificium), but a *commemoration* of the sacrifice once offered on the cross, and a *seal* of the redemption by Christ (sed sacrificii in cruce semel oblatis commemorationem et quasi sigillum redemptionis per Christum). (See Gerdes, l.c. Append. p. 223.) These theses were cordially adopted by the senate of Zurich; and they met the general approbation of the Reformed in that vicinity. As early as 1521, Cornelius Hone, a learned Dutch jurist, in a letter which was privately circulated, explicitly denied the corporeal presence, and maintained that the word *is*, in the declaration of Christ, *This is my body*, is equivalent to *represents* or *denotes*. (See the Letter, in Gerdes, l. c. Append. p. 228—240.) This letter Zwingle first read in 1524, and approving of it perfectly, he the next year caused it to be published. The same year, 1524, Zwingle wrote a letter to a friend, in which he fully declares his belief, that the bread and wine were merely emblems or representatives of Christ's body and blood; but he charged his friend not to make the letter public, lest it should produce commotion. The letter, however, was published the next year. At Wittemberg, Carlstadt was the first to reject and impugn the doctrine of the real presence. After his rebuke from Luther (for destroying the altars and images at Wittemberg, in 1522), he retired to Orlamund, not far from Leipsie, and there became a parish minister, inveighed against images and the mass, and denied the doctrine of the real presence. The people fell in with his views, to the great dissatisfaction of the elector and Luther. Therefore, in Aug. 1524, Luther was sent to reclaim the wandering people. At Jena he declaimed against the innovators, with great warmth. Carlstadt was present, and, feeling himself injured by this public attack, went to Luther's lodgings, and complained of his abuse. Hard words were used on both sides. Carlstadt taxed Luther with erroneous doctrine, particularly in regard to the real presence. Luther challenged him to a public controversy on the subject. Carlstadt accepted the challenge; but being soon banished from Saxony, and retiring first to Strasburg, and then to Basle, it was from the last of these places he issued his first publications. (See the account of the dispute at Jena, in Luther's Works, vol. ii. fol. 446, &c. ed. Jena, 1580.) Among the tracts here published by Carlstadt, one was entitled: On the words of Christ; *This is my body*. He supposed Christ to have *pointed* to his body,

when he uttered these words; and to have intended to indicate, that the sacramental bread was an *emblem* of his body. Luther now wrote to the Strasburgers, against Carlstadt. Capito and Bucer both published tracts on the dispute between Luther and Carlstadt, endeavouring to exhibit the difference in doctrine as not material, and to stop controversy on the subject. But early the next year, 1525, Luther issued his full and keen reply to Carlstadt, entitled, *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, in two parts. Œcolampadius, Zwingle, and others in south Germany and Switzerland, viewed Carlstadt as substantially correct in doctrine, but not happy in his statements and reasonings. Zwingle compared him to a new recruit, who did not know how to put on his armour. And as the subject of the Eucharist was now under discussion, and the writings of both Luther and Carlstadt circulating around them, they deemed it proper to engage in the controversy, and endeavour to enlighten and guide their people to right conclusions. Both Œcolampadius and Zwingle, therefore, published their views of the controversy. And in March, 1525, Zwingle published his *Commentarius de Vera et Falsa Religione*; in which he distinctly but concisely stated his views of the Eucharist; and in June following enlarged on that point, in his *Subsidium de Eucharistia*. Œcolampadius' principal publication was in the form of a letter, addressed to his friends in Swabia, and entitled, A Genuine Exposition of the Words of our Lord, *This is my body*, according to the most ancient authors. Zwingle and Œcolampadius both maintained the bread and wine to be mere *symbols* or *representatives* of Christ's body and blood. But they differed as to the interpretation of the words, *This is my body*. Zwingle adopted Hone's opinion, that the word *is*, is used catachrestically, for *represents*; but Œcolampadius placed the trope in the word *body*, supposing it to be used metonymically, for *memorial*, or *emblem of my body*. Bugenhagenus of Wittemberg now wrote against Zwingle and Œcolampadius; and Zwingle replied to him. In 1526, Brentius and fourteen other ministers of Swabia replied to Œcolampadius, in a work entitled *Syngramma Suevicum*; which was soon translated into German, and published with a harsh preface by Luther. Œcolampadius and Zwingle both replied to Luther's preface. Luther now published his sermon against the Enthusiasts; to which Zwingle wrote two letters in reply. Martin Bucer also wrote to Brentius and the other Swabians, censuring their indiscreet zeal. On the other

for *his* doctrine, a long and unmanageable controversy burst forth in the year 1524, which at last, after many fruitless attempts at a compromise, produced a lamentable schism among those that separated from the papal jurisdiction.

§ 21. Quite unconnected with *Luther's* followers, was a rising which took place, like some sudden tornado, in the year 1525. An innumerable multitude of seditious and senseless people then declared war, in various provinces of Germany, by a series of murders, robberies, and conflagrations, against the laws, the magistrates, and the whole

side, Jo. Pomeranus of Wittemberg published a letter against Zwingle and the Reformed; to which Zwingle and also Michael Cellarius of Augsburg replied. Conrad Pellican and Leo Juda appeared on the side of the Reformed; and Erasmus, Bilianus, and Osiander, on that of the Lutherans. In 1527, Zwingle addressed a work to Luther, entitled, *Amica Exegesis, id est, Expositio Eucharistiæ Negotii*. And about the same time Luther published his very severe German work, entitled, 'That the Words of Christ, *This is my body*, still stand fast against the enthusiastic spirits.' Ecclampadius replied, and also Zwingle; the latter in a German work, entitled, 'That the Words of Christ, &c., will ever have their ancient and only meaning, and that M. Luther, in his last work, has not substantiated his and the pope's sense.' In this year Pomeranus, Pirckheimerus, Clichtoveus, and bishop Fisher of England, came out against the Reformed; but Regius and Billicanus espoused their cause. In 1528, Luther published his most methodical work on this subject, entitled, *A Confession of Faith respecting the Lord's Supper*; to which both Ecclampadius and Zwingle replied; the latter in a long and elaborate work, addressed to John, elector of Saxony, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse. Bucer also replied to it. And Ecclampadius wrote to Melancthon, requesting him to use efforts for moderating the hostility of the Lutherans towards the Reformed, who only claimed toleration and brotherly affection. In 1529, several letters passed between Ecclampadius and Melancthon. The Strasburgers and Erasmus also exchanged polemic letters on the doctrine. In September of this year, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, invited the Lutheran and Reformed champions to a friendly conference at Marpurg. The Lutherans reluctantly attended, being resolved not to make peace with those who should deny the real presence, and despairing of convincing the Reformed on that subject. Luther, Melancthon, and Justus Jonas, from Saxony, Andrew Osiander of Nuremberg, Brentius of Halle, in Swabia, and Stephen Agricola of Augsburg, were present on the side of the Lutherans. On the side

of the Reformed, Zwingle, Ecclampadius, Bucer, and Hedio, attended, without hesitation. In the discussion, Luther and Ecclampadius were pitted against each other, and also Zwingle and Melancthon. They agreed perfectly on fourteen essential articles of faith; but could not agree respecting the real presence. The landgrave wished them, nevertheless, to view each other as brethren. Zwingle and his friends consented; but Luther refused. In November of this year, the Lutheran states entered into an alliance, called the league of Smalcald; but refused to admit the Strasburgers and the other reformed cities and states into it. In 1530, the Lutherans, the Strasburgers, and also Zwingle, severally presented confessions of their faith to the diet of Augsburg; all drawn up with moderation and care. The princes perceived their agreement in all essential points, and were disposed to admit the Reformed to the league. But Luther and Melancthon opposed it, and prevailed. Philip, however, landgrave of Hesse, entered into a league with the Reformed, for mutual defence against the papists. And Strasburg, Zurich, Bâle, and Bern, formed an alliance for the same purpose, for fifteen years. In this year, Melancthon published his testimonies from the fathers in favour of the real presence; and Ecclampadius replied, elaborately, in the form of a dialogue. In 1531, Zwingle and Ecclampadius both died; and the Reformed, weakened by the loss of these two great men, and pressed with danger from the papists, against whom their Lutheran brethren would not defend them so long as they denied the real presence, began to waver, and to try to swallow the Lutheran creed. Bucer led the way, and the Strasburgers followed him. The controversy subsided in a great measure. Yet the Swiss and numerous others continued to deny the real corporeal presence of Christ in the Eucharist. This controversy it was, produced the division of the Protestants into the two great bodies of Lutherans and Reformed. See, for the facts here condensed, the authors mentioned at the beginning of this note, and Schroeckh's *Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation*, i. 351, &c., and 420, &c. Tr.]

framework of society. The greatest part of this furious rabble consisted of peasants, who were discontented under the government of their lords: and hence this calamity has been commonly called the *war of the peasants*.¹ There is, however, no question, that not a few persons were engaged in it of various descriptions: some were fanatics; others vicious and idle characters, who were brought forward by nothing else than the hope of living comfortably on the fruits of other people's labour. This sedition, at its commencement, was altogether of a *civil* nature, as appears from the paper published by those engaged in it: for these peasants only wished to be relieved from some part of their burdens, and to enjoy greater freedom. Of religion there was no great notice taken. But when *Thomas Münzer*, a fanatical person who had before this deceived others by fictitious visions and dreams, and some people like him, had joined themselves to this widely-spread commotion, out of a civil war, especially in Saxony and Thuringia, a religious and holy one was made. The sentiments, however, of this dissolute and infuriate rabble were very different. Some demanded a freedom from the restraints of law, and the abrogation of all dominion of one man over another; others only wished to have their taxes and their burdens as citizens made lighter; others contemplated the formation of a new church free from every spot, and pretended to be full of the Deity; others again were merely hurried away by their passions, and a hatred of the magistrates, but had no very definite object in view. Hence, although one must confess that many of them misunderstood what Luther taught upon the liberty gained by *Christ*, and hence took occasion to run wild, yet it is a great mistake to lay upon his doctrines all the blame of this frenzy. Indeed *Luther* himself sufficiently refuted this calumny, by publishing books expressly against this turbulent faction. The storm subsided after the unfortunate battle of the peasants with the army of the German princes, at Mülhausen, A.D. 1525, in which *Münzer* was taken prisoner; and he underwent capital punishment.²

¹ Such insurrections of the peasants had been very common before the times of Luther, as appears from numerous examples. Hence the author of the *Chronicon Danicum*, published by Jo. Pet. a Ludewig, *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor.* ix, 59, calls them the *common evil* (*commune malum*). See also p. 80 and 133. This will not appear strange, if it be recollected that the condition of the peasants, in most places, was much more insupportable than at the present day; and that the oppression of many of the barons, prior to the reformation, was really intolerable. [In many places the peasants were treated as slaves, or serfs, and bought and sold with the lands to which they were attached. And the landlords were generally disposed to oppress their tenants. Hence they were perpetually rebelling. Thus, A.D. 1469, the Netherland peasantry appeared in arms, to the number of 6,000; and about the

same time there was an insurrection against the abbot of Kempten in Swabia. In the bishopric of Spire there was another, in 1503; and one at Wittemberg, in 1514. The next year there was one in the Austrian dominions, in which 2,000 peasants were slain. It spread into Hungary, and some other countries; 400 of the nobility and gentry were butchered by the insurgents; and the whole number that perished on both sides was estimated at 70,000. In 1517 there was another on the borders of Austria and Croatia. See Seckendorf's *Comment. de Lutheranismo*, l. ii. sec. 1. Tr.]

² Peter Gnodalius, *Historia de Seditione repentina Vulgi, præcipue Rusticorum*, A.D. 1525, tempore verno, per universam fere Germaniam exorta; Basil, 1570, 8vo. See also Ern. Salom. Cyprian's additions to Tenzel's *Hist. Reformat.* ii. 331, &c. [This

§ 22. When this alarming insurrection was at its height, *Frederic the Wise*, elector of Saxony, ended his life A.D. 1525. While he lived he had been a kind of mediator between the Roman pontiff and *Luther*; nor would he give up the hope that a righteous and honourable peace might finally be established between the contending parties, without the formation of separate communities under different regulations. Hence he did not thwart, but even favoured *Luther's*

commotion of the peasants began in 1524, in Swabia, where some subjects of the spiritual princes, civil dukes, and nobles, complained of their heavy burdens and feudal services, and demanded a relaxation. Their lords repulsed them harshly, cast some of them into prison, and put some to death. This rekindled their rage; and presently a host of peasants were to be seen in Swabia and Franconia, who roamed from one district to another, and united the disaffected to their standard. Their rulers now gave them kind words, but it was too late; and they refused to lay down their arms till certain articles were conceded to them. Among these, the first was, the right of electing their own preachers. And this was the only article that related to religion. They wished for preachers who would have no respect of persons. Yet they afterwards dropped this demand. They demanded, further, the abolition of personal slavery. The tithe of produce they were willing to pay, but it must go to the support of the preachers and the poor, and to promote the public interests of the people and the country. The tithe of cattle, or the lesser tithe, they demanded to be made free. They also demanded that hunting and fishing should be free in the public forests, seas, and rivers; and the cutting of timber likewise; and required a diminution of the personal services to be rendered to their landlords; and a reduction of the fines and penalties imposed, &c. At the same time they declared that they would withdraw their demands, and return to obedience to their lords, if it could be shown that their demands were unreasonable; for they were not insensible that the Scriptures required obedience to magistrates. (See their statement of their grievances in *Luther's* works, ed. Jena, 1580, vol. iii. fol. 111, followed by *Luther's* comments and exhortations to the peasants. *Tr.*) They named *Luther* for their arbiter; and he endeavoured to enlighten them by his sermons and writings. But the rulers themselves were the cause of the spread and prevalence of the insurrection. Fair promises were made to such as would lay down their arms, but the promises were not fulfilled; nay, many were violently seized and put to death. In this state of things fanatics came among them, and prompted the

irritated multitude to renew their first demand, to aim higher, and to wage war against the clergy and nobility with the greatest cruelty. The most prominent of these fanatics were *Thomas Münzer*, and one *Pfeiffer*, a renegade *Præmonstratensian*. *Münzer* was a friend of those visionaries, *Nicholas Stork*, *Mark Stubner*, and *Martin Cellarius*, who had begun the disturbances at *Wittenberg*, under the patronage of *Carlstadt*, but were expelled from *Wittenberg* on *Luther's* return from *Wartburg*. He had been a preacher at *Zwickau* and at *Alstadt*, and had clearly shown, by his writings and his sermons, that he was not satisfied with *Luther's* reformation. (See *Loescher's Stromata*, sec. x. p. 218, &c. and *Fuesslin's Beyträge*, v. 136, 410.) He wished to abolish all distinctions of rank, and all subordination, and to introduce a perfect equality in society; and he believed that *Christ Himself* would soon come, and set up the heavenly *Jerusalem* on the earth; in which there would be no civil laws, no penalties, no burdens imposed, &c. As he met with resistance, generally, in Saxony, he travelled over *Thuringia*, *Franconia*, and *Swabia*, as far as *Switzerland*, and blew the fire of insurrection everywhere. *Schl.*—Meeting opposition in the south, he returned to the north, and headed the insurgents of *Thuringia*, hoping for co-operation from those of *Swabia*. But the *Swabian* insurgents were attacked and slaughtered in their several camps, to the number, it is said, of 70,000. In the mean time, those of *Thuringia*, to the number of 8,000, were assembled at *Mülhausen*, with *Münzer* for their prophet and leader. The neighbouring princes offered them capitulation, which they refused, relying on the assurance of *Münzer*, that *God* would miraculously destroy their adversaries and preserve them. In the battle, 4,000 of the peasants (some say more) were slain. *Münzer* and *Pfeiffer* were taken and beheaded. Thus ended this war of the peasants in the summer of 1525; in which, according to some, near 130,000 persons lost their lives. See *Seckendorf, Comment. de Lutheranismis*, l. ii. sec. i. &c. *Schroeckh, Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* i. 339, &c. and *Arnold's Kirchen-und-Ketzzer-Historie*, ed. 1741. *Tr.*]

designs of purifying and reforming the church; yet he took little pains to organise and regulate the churches in his territories. *John*, his brother and successor, was of a very different character. Being fully satisfied as to the truth of *Luther's* doctrines, and clearly perceiving the utter impossibility of preserving them, if the pontiff's authority were preserved, he took upon himself an entire jurisdiction in religious matters; and did not hesitate to establish and organise a church totally distinct from that of the pontiff. He caused, accordingly, regulations, not only as to the constitution and government of the churches, the form and mode of public worship, the official duties and the salaries of the clergy, and other things connected with the interests of religion, to be drawn up by *Luther* and *Philip Melancthon*, and to be promulgated in the year 1527 by his deputies: but he likewise made provision for placing pious and competent teachers over all the churches, and for the removal of unsuitable ones. His example was soon followed by the other princes and states of Germany, that had cast off the dominion of the Roman pontiff; and nearly the same institutions that he had introduced, were adopted by them. This prince may therefore, not improperly, be considered as the second parent and founder of the Lutheran church; since he it was, who gave it salutary regulations, and the supports of law, and separated it wholly from the popedom. But then, it was from the time of this elector *John*, that the dissensions of the German princes, in regard to religious and ecclesiastical subjects, had their commencement, having previously been very slight. The prudence of *Frederic the Wise* had kept their minds under restraint, and in a good degree united. But when the various proceedings of *John* made it obvious, that he designed to separate the churches of his territory, entirely, from the church of Rome, instantly the minds of the princes, which had before moved in tolerable harmony, became at variance, some preferring the old religion of their fathers, and others the amended system.

§ 23. The patrons of the old religion, without much disguise, now laid plans for an attack upon the Lutheran party by arms and war. And they would, undoubtedly, have acted up to their intentions, if they had not been prevented by the troubled state of Europe. Being aware of this, the leading men, among those who had embraced the reformed religion, began also to consult together about forming an alliance among themselves.¹ Meanwhile, the diet of Spire, in 1526, at which *Ferdinand* the emperor's brother presided, had a more

¹ [The war of the peasants had caused repeated consultations between the neighbouring princes. And when the danger from that source began to diminish, the indications of a combination among the Roman Catholic princes, under the countenance of the emperor, led the Lutheran princes and states to hold correspondence and conventions, and at length to form alliances. In the winter of 1526, the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse, invited the senate of Nuremberg to meet

them at Torgau, for such a consultation. The senate excused itself; but the two princes met on the 4th of May, and entered into an alliance for mutual defence, much the same as the league of Smalcald, a few years after. They also invited other Lutheran states to come into this alliance; which was renewed, at Magdeburg, on the 12th of June, of the same year. See Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheranis*, lib. ii. § 15, addit. ii. Tr.]

favourable issue for the Lutheran cause than could have been anticipated. The emperor, by his envoys, required that all contentions respecting religious subjects should cease; and that the law passed at Worms against *Luther* and his associates, should be observed. But a majority of the princes declared themselves unable to obey this edict, or to pass any definite decisions on the subject, until a general council, duly assembled, should have examined and judged the case; for to such a body it pertained, to settle disputes upon religious questions. This sentiment prevailed, after long and various discussions; and a unanimous resolve was passed, that a petition should be presented to the emperor, urging him to call a free council without delay; and that, in the mean time, every one should be at liberty to manage the religious concerns of his own territory, in the manner he saw fit, yet under a due sense of his accountability to God and to the emperor, for the course that might be taken.

§ 24. Than this decree nothing could be more favourable to the cause of those who deemed a religious reformation necessary. For the emperor was so occupied and perplexed with his French, Spanish, and Italian affairs, that during several years he could not give much attention to the concerns of Germany, and especially to the difficult subject of religion. And if he had been able to do something for the pope, during the German disputes upon religion, undoubtedly he would not have been inclined. For the sovereign pontiff, *Clement VII.*, after *Francis I.*, king of France, had been vanquished, dreading the emperor's power in Italy, entered into an alliance with the French and the Venetians against him: and this so inflamed the resentment of *Charles*, that he abolished the pontifical authority throughout Spain, made war upon the pope in Italy, captured the city of Rome in 1527, by his general, *Charles of Bourbon*, besieged the pontiff himself in the Castle of St. Angelo, and permitted him to be treated with much personal abuse and indignity.¹ The professors of the reformed religion, therefore, improved this opportunity and [the liberty given by] the edict of Spire, with great advantage, for strengthening and extending their cause. Some, whom the fear of punishment had hitherto restrained from attempting any innovations, now unhesitatingly expelled inveterate superstitions from their territories, and caused such a system of religion and such forms of worship to be introduced, as had been adopted in Saxony. Others, though they did not themselves attempt anything against the papal interests, yet gave no molestation to such as persuaded their people to renounce the pontiff; nor did they oppose the assembling in private of such as had withdrawn from his allegiance. And all those in Germany, who had before rejected the Roman authority, now carefully employed the liberty afforded them to strengthen their cause, and to regulate properly their religious affairs. During this period, *Luther* and his associates, especially those who resided with him at Wittemberg, by

¹ [See Wm. Robertson's *His'cry of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V.* vol. ii. (book iv.) Jo. Sleidan's *Commentar. de Statu Re'ig. et Reipubl.* lib. iv. and others. — *Schl.*]

their writings, their preaching, their admonitions, and their refutations, added courage to the irresolute, and imparted light and animation to all.¹

§ 25. This tranquillity was interrupted by the second diet of Spire, in 1529, which the emperor called in the early spring, after settling in some measure the disquieted affairs of his empire, and coming to a compromise with the pontiff, *Clement VII.* For the major part agreed to a revocation of the power, granted three years before to every prince, of regulating religious matters in his own territories as he saw fit until the meeting of a general council, and all changes in the public religion were declared to be unlawful, until the council should have passed its judgment on them. This decree could not fail to appear grievous and insupportable to the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and the other patrons of the Reformation. For nobody knew so little of affairs as to consider the promise of a council to be soon assembled, anything else than an artifice to keep people in good humour: the last concession likely to be gained from the Roman pontiff being a legitimate and free council. Therefore, when they found that their arguments and reasoning made no impression upon *Ferdinand*, the emperor's brother, who presided in the diet, and upon the adherents to the old religion, who were guided by the pontifical legate, they publicly remonstrated against this decree, or, in the language of the jurists, they *protested* against it on the 19th of April, and appealed to the emperor and to a future council. Hence originated the name of PROTESTANTS, borne from this time onward by those who have forsaken the communion of the Roman pontiff.²

¹ [In this interval, or from A.D. 1526, the elector of Saxony caused the noted visitation of the churches throughout his dominions. Luther being sick, Melancthon with the aid of two or three civilians drew up the instructions to the visitors. The elector's territories were divided into four districts, and different sets of visitors appointed for each, consisting of one or two clergymen, and three or more civilians. Luther was the clerical visitor for Saxony proper; and Melancthon was a visitor for Meissen. The visitors were to take account of the state of all the parishes, monasteries, schools, and cathedrals. They were to examine into the character and conduct of all the clergy, the monks, and school teachers; with power to remove improper men, to supply vacancies, and to assign and regulate the salaries of all. They were also to appoint superintendents, who were to be competent clergymen, commissioned to examine all young ministers, and to watch over the clergy within certain limits, to admonish the unfaithful, and, if they did not reform, to report them to the civil authorities, that the sovereign might call them to account, or dismiss them,

as he saw fit. The visitors were also to see that schools were set up in all parishes, and provided with competent teachers; to assign the salaries of the masters, and to prescribe rules and regulations for the schools. They were directed not to spare the vicious and profligate; but to deal tenderly with the ignorant, the aged, and infirm, and such as laboured under honest prejudices. They must cause the true faith, and sound practical religion, to be everywhere preached; and if they found any that conscientiously desired other preaching, they were to afford them every facility to remove to places where they could enjoy it. Similar visitations were instituted by other Lutheran princes. On his return from this visitation, Luther was so impressed with the ignorance of both the clergy and laity, in a large part of the country, that he sat down to write his catechisms for their use. See an account of this visitation in Seckendorf's *Comment. de Lutherismo*, l. ii. § 36, 37, p. 100—108. *Tr.*]

² [The princes and states that joined in this protest were, the elector John of Saxony, the margrave George of Brandenburg, Onolz-

§ 26. The protectors of the reformed churches, or the *Protestant* princes, as they were called, immediately despatched envoys to the emperor, then on his way from Spain to Italy, to let him know what they had done at the diet of Spire. These envoys, as they had been instructed, using a manly tone, and boldly emulating the constancy of those who had sent them, were put under arrest by order of the emperor, and were kept some days confined. The princes anxious for the Reformation, on learning this fact, concluded that their own safety depended wholly on their union and power to defend themselves; wherefore, they held several conventions at Rothach, Schwabach, Nuremberg, Smalcald, and other places, for the purpose of entering into a closer alliance to repel the attacks of their enemies. But nothing definite was agreed upon, in consequence of the diversity of their opinions and views.¹

§ 27. Among the hindrances to a cordial union among those who withdrew from the Roman church, a prominent one was the disagreement between the Saxon and Helvetic reformers respecting the Lord's Supper. Hence, in order to bring this controversy to a close, *Philip*, landgrave of Hesse, appointed a conference between *Luther* and *Zwingle* and some other principal doctors of both parties, to be held at Marburg, in 1529, with a view to a compromise. But this prince, *magnanimous* in reality and name, was disappointed in his expectations. The assembled theologians disputed in presence of the landgrave four days, or from the first day of October till the fourth, and particularly *Luther* with *Ecolampadius*, and *Melancthon* with *Zwingle*, on the various allegations against the Helvetians. For *Zwingle* was regarded by the Saxons as not only teaching falsely respecting the Lord's Supper, but also as holding erroneous views respecting the divinity of the Saviour, the efficacy of the divine word, original sin, and some other subjects. *Zwingle* and his companions replied to these accusations in such a manner as to satisfy *Luther* in regard to most of them. But the disagreement respecting the Lord's Supper could not be at all removed, both parties firmly persisting in

bach and Culmbach, the dukes Ernest and Francis, of Lüneburg, the landgrave Philip of Hesse, Wolfgang prince of Anhalt; and fourteen imperial cities, namely, Strasburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Constance, Reutlingen, Windsheim, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempten, Heilbron, Isny, Weissenberg, Nordlingen, and St. Gall. They appealed to the emperor, to a future general or free council of the German nation, and lastly to every impartial judge. For they believed that a majority of votes in a diet could decide a secular question, but not a spiritual or religious question. They appealed to the emperor, not as recognising him as their judge in a matter of religion, but merely that he might allow their appeal to a council to be valid. And they subjoined the appeal to a council, because, according to the eccle-

siastical law of Germany, religious controversies are not to be decided by decrees of a diet, but by a national council. We may also here remark that this was not the *first* protest; but that, in 1523, at the diet of Nuremberg, the elector of Saxony, and the evangelical dukes, and imperial cities, protested against the decree of the diet. See Dr. Walch's *Diss. Historica de Liberis Imperii Civitatibus a Pace Religionis nunquam exclusis*. Götting. 1755, 4to. Schl.]

¹ See Christ. Aug. Salig's *History of the Augsburg Confession*; written in German, t. i. l. ii. c. i. p. 128, but especially Jo. Joach. Müller's *Historie von der Evangelischen Stände Protestation gegen den Speyerschen Reichsabschied von 1529, Appellation, &c.* Jena, 1705, 4to.

their respective opinions.¹ The only advantage, therefore, derived from the conference, was, that the parties entered into a kind of truce, and depended on God and the influence of time to heal the dissension.

§ 28. The ministers of those churches which approved *Luther's* doctrines, were preparing a new embassy to the emperor, when it became known that he was coming into Germany, with an intention to examine and decide the controversies respecting religion, at the diet to be held at Augsburg. The emperor, in fact, had been convinced by men of great penetration, that matters were becoming serious. Hence his mind was considerably softened, and, as a first step, he had laboured with great earnestness, at Bologna, to persuade the pope that a council must be called. But being utterly unable to prevail; and the pontiff urging in return that it was the emperor's duty to succour the church, and to punish without delay the perverse faction of the *heretics*; he came to the conclusion, that it would be unjust, and a violation of the imperial laws of Germany, to condemn worthy citizens unheard, and to make war upon them. At that time there was not extant any tangible exposition of the religion professed by *Luther* and his friends, from which might be learned clearly what were their views on doctrinal subjects, and what the grounds of their opposition to the Roman pontiffs; and as the approaching solemn investigation of the whole question rendered such a document absolutely necessary, *John*, the elector of Saxony, directed *Luther* and some other of the most eminent doctors to draw up a brief summary of the reformed religion. *Luther* conceived that the seventeen articles agreed to in the convention at Schwabach, in the year 1529, were sufficient; and accordingly he exhibited them to the elector at *Torgau*, whence they were called the *Articles of Torgau*.² From these articles as the basis, *Philip Melancthon*, by order and authority of the princes, drew up and put into more free and agreeable language, partly at Coburg and partly at Augsburg, holding consultation all the while with *Luther*, that confession of faith which is called the *Augsburg Confession*.

§ 29. During these transactions there was scarcely any part of Europe on which the light of the religious reformation by *Luther* did

¹ Val. Ern. Loescher's *Hist. Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, t. i. l. i. c. vi. p. 143, &c. Henry Bullinger's *Historia Colloquii Marpurgensis*, in Jo. Conr. Fuesslin's *Beyträgen zur Schweitzer. Reformat. Geschichte*, iii. 156; also Fuesslin's Preface, p. lxxx. Abrah. Scultetus, *Annales Reformat. ad ann. 1529*. Rudolph Hospinian's *Hist. Sacramentaria*, pt. ii. p. 72, &c. [See above, § 20, note. Hospinian's History contains (pt. ii. p. 123, &c. ed. Geneva, 1681) the whole proceedings of the conference, by Rodolph Collin, a schoolmaster of Zurich, who attended Zwingli to Marburg, took minutes of all the discussions, and then filled them out into a regular account;

likewise, accounts of this conference, given in private letters to their friends, by Melancthon (p. 132 and 134), by *Luther* (p. 135), by Ecolampadius (p. 137), and by Bucer (p. 138); also a reply of the ministers of Zurich, A. D. 1544, to false reports respecting the conference. *Tr.*]

² See C. A. Heumann's *Diss. de Lenitate Augustanæ Confess. in the Sylloge Dissert. Theologicar.* i. 14, &c. Jo. Joach. Müller's *Hist. Protestationis*; and most of the historians of the Reformation and of the Augsburg Confession. [For instance, J. G. Walch's *Introductio in Libros Eccles. Luth. Symbolicos*, l. i. c. iii. § 2—9. *Tr.*]

not shed its radiance, and likewise animate with the hope of regaining its liberty. Some of the more important countries also had now openly rejected the Romish institutions and enactments. The Roman bishop, therefore, had sufficient reason for representing to the emperor the necessity of crushing the factious without delay, and for fearing the overthrow of his whole community. Not long after the commencement of *Luther's* attack upon the Roman church, *Olaus Peterson*, a disciple of *Luther*, first imbued the Swedes with a knowledge of the truth. His efforts were nobly seconded by *Gustavus Vasa*, whom the Swedes, after expelling *Christiern*, king of Denmark, had created king,¹ and who was an heroic prince and very zealous for the public good. He had been in exile while *Christiern* was laying waste his country, and had acquired at Lubeck some knowledge of the Lutheran religion, which he considered not only as the true religion of the Scriptures, but also as salutary for Sweden in its present state. That he might not appear to do anything rashly while the minds of the people were distracted between the old religion and the new, or to depart from the principles of the Lutheran religion, he determined to proceed gradually and with caution. He first invited, therefore, learned men from Germany who were competent teachers, and directed them to instruct the people in a knowledge of the Bible; and he caused the Holy Scriptures, as translated by *Olaus Peterson*, to be published and disseminated. He next, in the year 1526, directed this translator of the Bible to hold a public discussion on religious subjects, at Upsal, with *Peter Galle*, a strenuous defender of popery. And *Galle* being vanquished in the discussion, he at length, in the assembly of the states at Westeras, A.D. 1527, so powerfully and judiciously recommended the reformed religion of *Luther* to the representatives of the nation, that all of them decreed, after long discussions, and strenuous opposition from the bishops, that the reformed religion should be introduced. This decision was the effect especially of the firmness and resolution of the king, who declared publicly that he would rather resign his crown and retire from the kingdom, than rule over a people subjected to the laws and the authority of the Roman pontiff, and more obedient to their bishops than to their king.² From this time, therefore, the Roman pontiff's power entirely ceased among the Swedes.

§ 30. *Christian II.*, commonly called *Christiern*, king of Denmark,³ who was, either from natural temperament or from the influence of bad counsels, an oppressive and cruel monarch, endeavoured to imbue

¹ [A.D. 1523—1561. *Tr.*—For an account of *Olaus Peterson* and of the Swedish Reformation in general, read *Anjou's History of the Reformation in Sweden*, translated by Dr. Mason, New York, 1859. *Ed.*]

² *Jo. Baaz, Inventarium Ecclesie Sueo-Gothorum*, Lincöping, 1642, 4to. *Abrah. Scultetus, Annales Evangelii Renovati*; in *Herm. von der Hardt's Hist. Littér. Re-*

format. pt. v. p. 83 and 110, &c. *Raynal's Anecdotes Histor., Politiques, Militaires*, t. i. pt. ii. p. 1, &c. and others. [*Gerdes, Hist. Evang. renovati*, iii. 277, &c. *Schroeckh's Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* ii. 3, &c. *Tr.*—The episcopal succession was, however, preserved in Sweden. See the *Colonial Church Chronicle* for 1861. *Ed.*]

³ [A.D. 1513—1523. *Tr.*]

the Danes with a knowledge of the Lutheran religion as early as the year 1521. For he first invited *Martin Reyuhard*, a disciple of *Carlstadt*, from Saxony, in the year 1520, and made him professor of theology at Copenhagen; and on his leaving the kingdom, in 1521, he invited *Carlstadt* himself to Denmark; who, however, soon returned to Germany. The king even invited *Luther* to come to Denmark, but without success; and he adopted other measures calculated to subvert the authority of the Roman pontiff in his territories. But in all this *Christiern* was not actuated by zeal for true religion, but by the desire of increasing his own power and grandeur. At least it seems evident from his conduct that he patronised the Lutheran religion in order to obtain by it absolute dominion, and to wrest from his very powerful bishops their possessions and authority.¹ But his projects were unsuccessful. For the different orders of the realm, conspiring against him in 1523, deposed and banished him from the kingdom; as well on account of his various acts of cruelty and oppression, as for his attempts to destroy the liberties of Denmark and to abolish the established religion.² In place of him, *Frederic*, duke of Holstein and Sleswick, uncle to *Christiern*, was called to the throne.

§ 31. This *Frederic*, the successor of *Christiern*,³ proceeded with more prudence and moderation. He permitted *George Johanson*, *Jo. Tausson*, and others, publicly to preach in the realm the doctrines which they had learned from *Luther*:⁴ but he did not venture to change the ancient government and constitution of the church. He greatly aided, however, the progress of the reformed religion, by procuring a legislative decree, at the diet of Odensee, A.D. 1527, which gave the citizens free liberty, either to continue in the old religion or to embrace the new. For, under the protection of this decree, the

¹ See Jo. Gramm's *Diss. de Reformatione Daniæ a Christierno tentata*: in tom. iii. *Scriptor. Societ. Scientiar. Hafnensis*, p. 1—90.

² See the *Causes which induced the States of Denmark to renounce subjection to King Christiern*, in Jo. Pet. a Ludewig's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor.* v. 315, &c. where those states thus express themselves, p. 321: 'Lutheranæ hæresis pullulatores contra jus pietatemque in regnum nostrum catholicum introduxit. Doctorem Carolostadium, fortissimum Lutheri athletam, enutrivit.' [The grounds of the reformation were much the same in Denmark, as in Sweden. The interests of the state demanded a depression of the clergy. Denmark was an elective monarchy; and the power of the kings was greatly limited by the council of the state, which consisted partly of clergymen, and partly of civilians. The civil counsellors were from the highest nobility; the clerical were archbishops and bishops. The revenues of the kings were small; and the clergy were in possession of the most important castles

and fortresses. Hence there was constant jealousy between the nobility and the clergy; and the former wished to see the latter humbled. Christiern so dexterously availed himself of this jealousy, that by it he stripped the clergy of their power, and introduced the reformation into the kingdom. He forcibly took from the papal preacher of indulgences, Arcembold, a large sum of money, collected by the sale of indulgences; and he caused a Danish translation of the New Testament to be made. After his deposition, he heard Luther preach in Germany, with great pleasure; yet, as he was hoping for succour from Charles V., he did not openly profess the Lutheran doctrine. But his queen Isabella, sister to the emperor Charles V., professed it, and died in it, with great constancy, in 1525. *Schell.*]

³ [A. D. 1523—1533. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Jo. Mölleri *Cimbria Litterata*, ii. 886, &c. Christ. Olivarius, *Vita Pauli Eliæ*, p. 108, &c. Eric Pontoppidan's *Annales Eccles. Daniæ*, iii. 139, &c.

preachers of the reformed religion discharged their functions with so much success, that the greatest part of the Danes, in time, abandoned the Roman pontiff. Yet the glory of delivering Denmark altogether from the Roman bondage, was reserved for *Christian III.*,¹ a king of distinguished piety and prudence. For he, after stripping the bishops of their envied power, and restoring to their lawful owners a great part of the possessions which the church had gained by exceptionable arts, called *John Bugenhagen* from Wittenberg, and with his aid regulated the religious affairs of the whole realm, in an enlightened and judicious manner; and then in the assembly of the states at Odensee, in 1539, persuaded the leading men to sanction the reformation in religion that had taken place.²

§ 32. In regard, however, to the reformation both in Sweden and Denmark, we should carefully discriminate between a reformation or change of *religion*, and a reformation of the *bishops*; two things nearly related indeed, yet so distinct that either may exist without the other. For the religion of a people might be reformed, while the rank and power of the bishops remained the same; and on the other hand, the bishops might be deprived of a portion of their wealth and authority, and yet the old religion be retained. In the reformation of religion and worship,³ there was nothing that deserved censure, for no violence or fraud was practised, but everything was done in a reasonable and religious manner. But in the reformation of the bishops and clergy, there appears to have been something defective. For violent measures were adopted; and the bishops, against their wills and their efforts to the contrary, were deprived of their honours, their prerogatives, and their possessions. This reformation of the *clergy* in both these northern kingdoms was, however, not a religious but a mere civil and secular transaction; and it was so necessary, that it must have been undertaken if no *Luther* had arisen. For the bishops, by corrupt artifices, had gotten possession of so much wealth, so many castles, such revenues, and so great authority, that they were far more powerful than the kings, and were able to govern the whole realm at their pleasure: indeed they had appropriated to themselves a large portion of the patrimony of the kings, and of the public revenues. Such, therefore, was the state, both of the Danish and the Swedish commonwealths, in the time of *Luther*, that the bishops, who shamefully abused their riches, their prerogatives, and their honours, must have been divested of the high rank they held in the commonwealth, and deprived of a large portion of their ill-gotten wealth; or the ruin of those kingdoms, the irreparable detriment of the public safety and tranquillity, and the sinking of their kings into con-

¹ [A.D. 1534—1559. *Tr.*]

² Eric Pontopiddan's *Concise History of the Reformation in Denmark*, written in Danish, Lubeck, 1734, 8vo, and his *Annales Eccl. Danicæ*, ii. 790, &c. iii. 1, &c. Henry Muhlus, *De Reformat. Religionis in vicinis Daniæ Regionibus et potissimum in Cimbrica*; in his *Dissert. Historico-Theologica*, p. 24,

&c. Kilias, 1715, 4to. [*Gerdes, Hist. Evang. renov.* iii. 338, &c. Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* ii. 59, &c. *Ecclesiastical History of Denmark*, by Fr. Münster, bishop of Seeland. [Leipsic, 1825.] *Tr.*]

³ [In these countries. *Tr.*]

tempt, with an utter inability to protect the people, must have been anticipated.

§ 33. In France, *Margaret*,¹ queen of Navarre, and sister to *Francis I.*, king of France, the perpetual enemy and rival of *Charles V.*, became charmed with the light of a better religion: hence, several pious men, well acquainted with the Scriptures, under cover of her protection ventured not only upon teaching this religion, but also upon forming congregations in various places. It appears, from documents of unquestionable authority, that, as early as the year 1523, there were, in most of the provinces of France, a multitude of persons opposed to the principles and the laws of the Roman church; among whom were men of high character, and even bishops. As this number continually increased, and as religious commotions took place here and there, the king and the magistrates protected the ancient religion by the sword, and by penal inflictions, and a large number of pious and good persons were cruelly put to death.² But this cruelty

¹ [b. 1492, d. 1549. Tr.]

² See Theod. Beza's *Histoire des Eglises Réformées de France*, t. i. l. i. p. 5, &c. Elias Benoist's *Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, t. i. l. i. p. 6, &c. Christ. Aug. Salig's *Hist. der Augsburgischen Confession*, ii. 190, &c., and others. [Gerdes, *Hist. Evang. renov.* iv. i. &c. Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat.* ii. 208, &c.—France was the first country, where the reformation that began in Germany and Switzerland, very soon, and under the severest oppressions, found many adherents. No country seems to have been so long and so well prepared for it, as this: and yet here it met the most violent opposition; and nowhere was it later, before it obtained legal toleration. Nowhere did it occasion such streams of blood to flow; nowhere, give birth to such dreadful and deadly civil wars. And nowhere have state policy, court intrigue, political parties, and the ambition of greatness, had so powerful an influence on the progress and fortunes of the reformation, as in France. Schroeckh.—The friendship of Francis I. to the sciences, and his attachment and generosity to learned men, induced many persons of genius, who were favourable to the reformation, to take up their residence in France; and thus the writings of the Reformers, which were in general better compositions than the books of the Papists, were introduced extensively into France, and were there eagerly read; and by these writings such as had before taken no part in the religious contests, were convinced of the necessity of a reformation, and brought to desire it. The university of Paris indeed had already, in 1521, declared expressly against Luther and his writings. (See the *Determinatio Facultat. Theol. Paris. super Doctrina Lu-*

therana; in Gerdes, *Hist. Evang. renovati*, t. iv. Append. No. ii. p. 10, 11.) Yet the doctrine of Luther and Melancthon, from the first, had many friends in France; indeed there was a time when Francis I., to gratify the wishes of his sister, queen Margaret, was disposed to invite Melancthon to take up a residence in France. The first movement with a direct view to produce a reformation, was at Meaux; where the devout and learned bishop, William Brissonet, gave support and protection to James le Fevre, William Farel, and Gerard Roussel; and permitted them openly to preach against the old superstitions and abuses of the Roman church, and to gather a small congregation. But as soon as the thing became extensively known, the parliament, in 1533, ordered a rigorous investigation of the subject. John le Clerc, a wool-spinner, who had become preacher to the new congregation at Meaux, published in this year a letter against indulgences in which the pope was represented as Antichrist. He was therefore beaten with rods, branded with a hot iron, and banished; and afterwards died a martyr at Metz. The congregation were dispersed all over France. Brissonet, terrified by the resentment of the king, drew back, and now condemned the doctrines he had hitherto approved. Farel went to Switzerland; reformed Mumpelgard; and adhered firmly to the reformed doctrines till his death. Le Fevre and Roussel betook themselves to Navarre, to queen Margaret; where they did not, indeed, openly break with the Roman church, yet greatly promoted the spread of pure doctrine. In the mean time, the evangelical multiplied exceedingly in Bearn and Guienne, through the protection of Margaret. Francis, therefore, being prompted by the bishops, sent

advanced rather than retarded the progress of the new religion. The friends of reformation, however, in France, experienced various fortune, sometimes adverse, and sometimes tolerable, during the reign of *Francis I.*¹ For the king being either of no religion, or of a dubious one, conducted himself towards them just as his own advantage, or state policy, seemed to require. When he wished to conciliate the good will of the German protestants, and by them inflict a wound upon his enemy, *Charles V.*, he was mild, humane, and equitable towards them: but on a change of circumstances he assumed a different character, and showed himself implacable towards them.

§ 34. The other countries of Europe did not exhibit so many and so clear indications of a defection from the Romish institutions and customs, prior to the presentation of the Confession of Augsburg. And yet it can be proved by the most credible testimony, that Spain,²

for this queen, and rebuked her for suffering these innovations to take place. She promised him she would go no further in this thing, provided the following concessions were granted her: 1st, That no mass should be said unless there were persons to receive the Eucharist. 2nd, That the elevation of the host should cease. 3rd, The worship of it also. 4th, That the Eucharist should be administered in both kinds. 5th, That in the mass there should be no mention made of Mary and the saints. 6th, That common ordinary bread should be taken, broken, and distributed. And 7th, That the priests should not be compelled to a life of celibacy. But these propositions were rejected; and the preachers she had brought with her to Paris were thrown into prison, and with great difficulty, at her intercession, set at liberty. At last cardinal Tournon so far wrought upon the king, by his fierce persecuting zeal, that he strictly commanded his sister to avoid all innovations in religious matters; and notwithstanding the intercession of the protestant princes of Germany, he caused the evangelical to be punished in the most cruel manner. Gallows were erected, and the flames kindled, against the professors of the reformed doctrine; and yet they were so far from being exterminated, that their number increased continually. The persecution became still heavier, in 1534, when some inconsiderate persons, in their rash zeal, posted up satirical papers against the mass in various places, and even on the royal palace. The blood of the unhappy protestants now smoked till the death of the king. Especially the honest Waldensians, in the mountains of Provence, at Merindol, and Cabrieres, became the victims of a most cruel persecution. Merindol was destroyed, and its inhabitants, who had chiefly taken refuge at Cabrieres, were either butchered, or burnt alive, or sent to the galleys. Cardinal Tournon was the instigator, and

D'Oppeda, the president of the parliament of Aix, was the chief actor in the bloody scene. Yet all was done with the consent of the king; though in the end he could not approve of all that had taken place, but execrated this worse than barbarian deed; and, on his death-bed, enjoined upon his successor to subject it to an investigation. *Schl.*]

¹ [A.D. 1515—1547. *Tr.*]

² [The emperor Charles V. being king of Spain, and carrying on extensive wars in Italy, Germany, and Spain, his Spanish and German subjects, of all ranks and professions, were necessarily brought into close contact. Many Spanish officers and soldiers, and also statesmen and theologians, of course learned something of the reformed religion, and not a few of them embraced it. Yet the rigours of the inquisition, and the complete ascendancy of popery in Spain, induced the evangelical Spaniards, for a long time, either to conceal their religious sentiments, or to propagate them in the most covert manner. Yet before 1550, protestants had become so numerous in Spain that they ventured to appear openly. They could number a great many persons of distinction, and had increased so rapidly, that it seemed as if the whole nation would soon embrace the reformed religion. But the catholics taking the alarm, a most violent persecution ensued, which raged till not a heretic dared to show his head in that country. See Michael Geddes, *Martyrology of Protestants in Spain*; in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, i. 545, &c. and Latin, in Mosheim's *Dissert. Hist. Eccles.* i. 663, &c. Reginald Gonsalvi, *Relatio de Martyribus Protestantium in Hispania*; in Dan. Gerdes' *Miscellanea Groning.* iv. 681, &c. and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* ii. 791, &c. *Tr.*—Full information upon Spanish protestantism will be found in the *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain*, an able work published by

Hungary,¹ Bohemia,² Britain,³ Poland,⁴ and also the Nether-

the late Dr. M'Crie, in 1829. He had published, two years before, a similar work of great value, respecting Italy. S.]

¹ [Hungary early received some light from the Reformation; but it was resisted so strenuously that it never absolutely triumphed, and never became the religion of the state. As early as 1522, several Hungarians, educated at Wittenberg, introduced the Lutheran doctrines into their country. These spread rapidly, and other Hungarians, trained in the school of Luther, became successful preachers to their countrymen. But persecution commenced in 1525, and was renewed from time to time, with such success as nearly to destroy the reformed churches. There were some Moravians, or Hussites, in the country, before the time of Luther, and likewise some Waldensians. Mary, widow of Lewis II., and sister to Charles V., was friendly to the Lutherans; and she checked the persecuting zeal of her brother king Ferdinand. In 1530, five free cities in the north of Hungary declared for Lutheranism, and presented a confession of their faith to the king. The next year Matthias Devay, the Luther of Hungary, began his career. The most rapid increase of the reformed was about 1550. In 1555, the five above-named free cities, and also twelve market towns in the county of Zips, with a few towns in lower Hungary, and several noblemen, obtained liberty to practise the reformed religion. See Schroeckh, l. c. ii. 723, &c. Tr.]

² [As early as 1519, the Hussites in Bohemia opened a friendly correspondence with Luther, and exhorted him to persevere in the good work, assuring him there were very many in Bohemia who prayed night and day for the success of his cause. (Luther's Lat. Works, ed. Jena, i. 366, &c.) The intercourse continued free, and was salutary to both the Bohemians and the Lutherans, till 1525, when it was suspended for ten years, in consequence of some slanderous reports respecting Luther, propagated in Bohemia. But in 1535, the intercourse was renewed; evangelical doctrines spread in the country; and the Hussites corrected their former creed, without entirely abandoning it. The evangelical were divided among themselves, and were exposed to persecution; yet they multiplied greatly, and finally obtained free toleration. See Adr. Regenvolscei *Systema Historiæ Chronolog. Ecclesiær. Slavonicar.* c. ix. p. 54, &c. and Jo. Th. Elsner's *Brevis Conspectus Doctrinæ Fratrum Boëmorum*; in Gerdes, *Miscellanea Groning.* t. vi. pt. i. p. 381, &c. Tr.]

³ [In England, the Wickliffites, though obliged to keep concealed, had not been exterminated by 150 years' persecution. Luther's writings were early brought into England, and there read with avidity. This quickened persecution; and six men and one woman were burnt at the stake, in Coventry, in Passion week, A.D. 1519. In 1522, Henry VIII. wrote a confutation of Luther's doctrines; but to no purpose. Bilney, Latimer, and others at Cambridge, formed a society, which read and circulated Luther's book, as early as 1523. William Tindal made an English translation of the New Testament, which he printed at Antwerp, and circulated in England, in 1526. The next year king Henry began to question the legality of his marriage with his brother's widow, and proceeded to solicit from the pope a divorce. The negotiation was protracted till the king was out of all patience, and he proceeded, without the pope's consent, to divorce his queen. The pope censured his conduct, and a quarrel ensued, the result of which was, that Henry, with the consent of the parliament, abolished the papal authority in England, A.D. 1533. During this period, though persecution had been kept up, the number of the reformed had greatly increased, and the nation was ripe for a secession from Rome. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, book i. ii. Gerdes' *Hist. Evang. renov.* iv. 172, &c. Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit d. Ref.* ii. 505, &c. — Through England, some of the writings of the early reformers might reach Scotland, then sunk in ignorance, superstitiously devoted to its priests, and still more passionately attached to its nobles, the heads of the Scottish clans. Patrick Hamilton, a young nobleman, and abbot of Ferne, eager to know more of the reformed religion, went to Germany, and studied some time at Marburg. Returning with one of his three companions to Scotland, he began to preach the doctrines of the Reformers. The priests arraigned him for heresy, convicted him, and he was burnt alive, at St. Andrew's, A.D. 1527, in the 24th year of his age. From this time the Protestant doctrines made a slow but constant progress, amidst ever-wakeful persecution, in Scotland, till 1547, when the famous Scottish reformer, John Knox, arose. See Schroeckh, l. c. p. 435, &c. Robertson's *Hist. of Scotland*; Gerdes' *Hist. Evang. renov.* iv. 210, &c. 229, 224, 291, &c. 304, &c. 321. Tr.]

⁴ [Before the Reformation, a considerable body of Hussites had removed from Bohemia to Poland, where their doctrines spread considerably, especially among the nobility, and roused the spirit of persecution. Lu-

lands,¹ now abounded in great numbers of friends to the doctrines inculcated by *Luther*; some of whom repaired to Wittenberg, for the sake of enjoying the instruction of so great a master and guide. Some of these countries afterwards made themselves wholly free from the Romish yoke; in others, numerous societies arose that rejected the decrees of the pontiff, and which have existed down to the present times, though amidst various molestations; in some, again, the most cruel persecutions and inhuman laws, after a short time, extinguished the knowledge that had been obtained and widely circulated of the reformed religion. It may be unhesitatingly asserted,—for the adherents of the Roman pontiffs themselves admit it,—that the entire fabric of the Roman church would have been quickly demolished had not its defenders opposed the multitude of assailants already in the breach, with fire and sword.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, FROM THE PRESENTATION OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION [1530], TILL THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR OF SMALCALD [1546].

§ 1. The Augsburg Confession presented to the emperor — § 2. Its character — § 3. Confutation of it — § 4. Deliberations for settling the religious controversies — § 5. Result of the diet of Augsburg — § 6. The league of Smalcald — § 7. The peace of Nuremberg — § 8, 9. The council — § 10. Commotion of the Anabaptists — § 11. Revolt of Great Britain from the pontiff — § 12. Character of this Reformation — § 13. Renewed attempts at compromise. The conference at Worms. The diet of Ratisbon — § 14. Preparations for war.

§ 1. *Charles V.* made his entry into Augsburg on the 15th of June,² and on the 20th of the same month the diet was opened. As the

ther's writings at once circulated among the dissenters from the church of Rome, corrected their views, and strengthened their opposition to popery. Even some of the bishops favoured evangelical doctrines; and as early as 1525, there were several evangelical preachers in Poland, and also in Polish Prussia. But so vigorous a persecution was kept up, that Protestant worship could be maintained only in private till near the middle of the century. See *Regenvolscii Systema Hist. Chronol. Ecclesiar. Slavonicar.* l. i. c. 13, p. 71, &c. Schroeckh, l. c. ii. 666, &c. *Tr.*—See also Count Valerian Krasinski's *Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland*, Lond. 1838. *S.*]

¹ [The seventeen Belgian provinces, composing the Netherlands, were a part of the hereditary dominions of Charles V., which he governed by his viceroys. Here, from the fourteenth century, various religious

reformers had appeared, as Gerhard Groot, John Wesselius, Thomas à Kempis, John of Goch, and Cornelius Grapheus. Here also arose the famous Erasmus. The writings of Luther were early and eagerly read by the Netherlanders. The Roman Catholics were alarmed; and through their instigation, the government introduced the inquisition, in 1522, and kept up a hot persecution of the reformed for many years. It was computed that, in these provinces, during the reign of Charles V., not less than 50,000 persons lost their lives, in consequence of their defection from the Church of Rome. Yet the number of the reformed continually increased; and when at length seven of these provinces revolted, and became an independent state, they adopted the Protestant religion. See Gerdes, *Hist. Evang. renov.* iii. 1, &c. Schroeckh, l. c. ii. 348, &c. *Tr.*]

² [1530. *Tr.*]

nobles had agreed that religious affairs should be despatched before any deliberation upon a Turkish war, the Protestant members present received permission from the emperor to exhibit a summary view of the religion which they professed, in the session of the princes, on the 25th of June. Accordingly, in the palace of the bishop of Augsburg, that confession of faith which, from the city where it was presented and read, is called the Augsburg Confession, was read in German, by *Christian Bayer*, the chancellor of Saxony. There was not one of the princes who did not listen to it with eager attention; and some of them, who before had little acquaintance with the religious views of *Luther*, expressed approbation of the purity and innocence of its doctrines. *John*, elector of Saxony, and four princes of the empire, *George*, margrave of Brandenburg, *Ernest*, duke of Lüneburg, *Philip*, landgrave of Hesse, and *Wolfgang*, prince of Anhalt, with the two imperial cities, Nuremberg and Reutlingen, subscribed their names to the copies¹ delivered after the reading to the emperor, in testimony of the accordance of the doctrines there expressed with their own views.²

§ 2. Since the Augsburg Confession has been adopted as a public standard of faith, by the whole body of³ Protestants, no one of them should be ignorant of its character and contents. The style is *Philip Melancthon's*, which is as much as to say, that it was drawn up in polished, perspicuous language, well adapted to the subject. The argument and matter, it is certain, were supplied principally by *Luther*, who was at Coburg, a town not far from Augsburg, at the time of the diet. He likewise examined and approved the form which it owes to *Melancthon's* genius. It is comprised in twenty-eight articles, of which twenty-one state in suitable terms the sentiments upon religious questions of those who had seceded from the Roman church, and seven recount the errors, or *abuses*, as they are called, on account of which the parties had withdrawn from the Romish body.⁴

¹ [The one Latin, the other German. *Tr.*]

² A history of this *diet*, in a large folio volume, by George Cælestine [a Lutheran], was published at Frankfort on the Oder in 1577. Histories of the *Augsburg Confession* were composed by David Chytræus, and by others; and especially, in the 18th century, by Ern. Salomon Cyprian, and by August. Salig, in the German language. Salig's work is prolix, and is more properly a history of the *Reformation* than a history of the *Augsburg Confession*. Cyprian's history is shorter and more compact, and is corroborated with well-selected documents. It therefore deserves to pass to a third edition. [G. G. Webber's *Critical History of the Augsburg Confession*, Frankf. on Mayn, 1783, &c. 2 vols. 8vo.—The original subscribers to the confession are mentioned in the text. Before the diet rose, the cities, Kempten, Heil-

bronn, Windsheim, and Weissenburg, also subscribed; and afterwards many more. It was immediately printed, and soon spread all over Europe, and was translated into various foreign languages. It thus became of great service to the protestant cause; for it was a very able document, and was drawn up in a most judicious manner. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* i. 445, &c. *Tr.*]

³ [Lutheran. *Tr.*]

⁴ [The Articles in this Confession, or as it might be called *Apology*, are of very unequal length. Some are in the form of answers to slanders reported of the Lutherans; others are short essays; most of them include proofs of argumentation; and several of them are followed by renunciations of the opposite tenets of heretics ancient and modern. A summary is here subjoined:—

§ 3. The friends of the pontiff present at the diet drew up a *confutation* of the *Protestant Confession*; of which *John Faber*, afterwards bishop of Vienna, with the aid of *John Eck* and *John Cochläus*,

Art. 1st treats of God and the Trinity, in accordance with the Nicene Creed.

Art. 2nd affirms, that all men, since the fall, are born with sin; that is, destitute of faith and the fear of God, and with corrupt propensities; for which hereditary sin they are exposed to eternal death, until they are regenerated by baptism and the Holy Spirit. It rejects the Pelagian doctrine, and denies man's ability to obtain justification by his own works.

Art. 3rd treats of the person and mediation of Christ, in accordance with the Apostles' Creed.

Art. 4th asserts justification to be solely on the ground of Christ's righteousness imputed to the believer, and not on the ground of his personal righteousness; agreeably to Rom. iii. iv.

Art. 5th asserts, that the word, preaching, and the sacraments, are the medium through which God imparts the Holy Spirit to whom he will; in consequence of which, they believe unto righteousness. It rejects the doctrine of the Anabaptists, that men can obtain the Holy Spirit by their own efforts, and without the means above stated.

Art. 6th asserts, that true faith always produces good works; which every man is bound to perform, yet must not rely upon for salvation.

Art. 7th affirms the existence of a holy Catholic Church, consisting of all the faithful; and which is known not by a uniformity in ceremonies, but by the efficacious preaching of the word, and the administration of the sacraments in their purity.

Art. 8th asserts, that the Christian Church, though composed of saints, yet has hypocrites in it; and that the efficacy of the sacraments is not destroyed by hypocrisy in the administrators.

Art. 9th asserts, that baptism is necessary, and is a means of grace; and that infants are to be baptized.

Art. 10th asserts that the real body and blood of Christ are truly present in the Eucharist, under the elements of the bread and wine, and are distributed and received.

Art. 11th retains private confession of sins to the pastors, and absolution by them; but denies the necessity of a particular enumeration of all sins.

Art. 12th maintains, that those who sin after baptism, if they repent, should always be restored by the church; that repentance consists in sorrow and regret for sin and reliance on Christ for pardon, and is productive of good works. It denies sinless perfection in this life, the Novatian error of

refusing absolution to the penitent, and all dependence on our own satisfaction for sin.

Art. 13th asserts, that the sacraments are not merely significant signs, but are tokens and evidence of God's gracious disposition towards us, calculated to awaken and strengthen our faith, and requiring faith to a worthy receiving of them.

Art. 14th asserts, that no one should preach publicly, and administer the sacraments, unless duly called.

Art. 15th. Rites of human institution, so far as they are not sinful, and tend to peace and good order in the church (as certain feasts, fasts, &c.), are to be observed. But all human institutions, designed to appease God, are contrary to the Gospel.

Art. 16th. Civil government is ordained of God; and Christians may lawfully hold offices, civil and military, and may pursue the various occupations of citizens; contrary to the views of the Anabaptists, and such as deem all worldly business inconsistent with a truly religious life.

Art. 17th asserts, that, at the last day, Christ will come, will raise the dead, and will adjudge the believing and elect to eternal life, and wicked men and devils to hell and eternal torment. It rejects the Anabaptist notion of a final restoration of devils and the damned; and also the Jewish notion of a temporal reign of Christ on the earth, prior to the resurrection.

Art. 18th asserts, that men have some free-will to live reputably, to choose among objects which their natural reason can comprehend; but that without the gracious aids of the Holy Spirit they cannot please God, nor truly fear him, exercise faith, or overcome their sinful propensities. 1 Cor. ii.

Art. 19th asserts, that God is not the cause and author of sin; but that the perverse wills of ungodly men and devils are the sole cause of it.

Art. 20th maintains, that the Reformers do not discourage good works, though they inculcate the doctrine of justification by faith alone; but only discourage useless works, as the rosary, worshipping saints, pilgrimages, monastic vows, stated fasts, &c.; and it evinces, at considerable length from Scripture and the fathers, that a man cannot be justified by works.

Art. 21st admits, that the saints are to be respected and to be imitated as patterns of piety; but denies that they are to be worshipped, prayed to, or regarded as mediators.

Such, for substance, is the doctrine (say they) taught in our churches; and being

is said to have been the composer. This confutation being likewise read before the diet on the 3rd of August, the emperor required the protestants to acquiesce in it, and to abandon the whole cause and

the doctrine of the Bible, we cannot but hold to it. All should embrace it.

The *abuses* (they say) which have crept into the church, and which we could not conscientiously endure, are chiefly the following:—

Art. 22nd. Denying the *sacramental cup* to the laity; contrary to Scripture and early Christian practice.

Art. 23rd. Imposing *celibacy on the clergy*; contrary to reason, and Scripture, and the practice of the purer ages, and with very injurious consequences.

Art. 24th. The protestants had not abolished the *mass*. They only purified it; and discarded the idea of its being a work of merit, an offering for the sins of the living and the dead, which militates against the Scriptural doctrine that Christ's sacrifice is the only sin-offering.

Art. 25th. The protestants had not abolished *private confession*; for they made it a necessary preparation for the Eucharist. Yet they did not consider it a sacrament, nor require a particular enumeration of sins.

Art. 26th censures the multitude of *fasts and other ceremonies* of human invention, and the undue stress laid upon them as meritorious acts; thus obscuring the doctrine of salvation by faith, holding these human prescriptions more sacred than the commands of God, and burdening the consciences of men with them.

Art. 27th represents the whole system of *monkery* as a great abuse, and exceedingly injurious to piety.

Art. 28th discriminates between *civil and ecclesiastical power*, and allows neither to infringe upon the other. The spiritual or episcopal power is limited to preaching, administering the sacraments, and loosing and binding sins. If bishops teach contrary to the Scriptures, they are, and must be treated as false prophets. If allowed to try causes relating to marriage and tithes, it is only as civil officers. They have no legislative power over the church; and they can bind the conscience only by showing that the Gospel enjoins what they inculcate. As to Sundays and other holy days, and rites and forms of worship, bishops may and should appoint such as are convenient and suitable; and the people should observe them,—not as divine ordinances, but as conducive to good order and edification.

Though the Lutherans expressed their doctrine of consubstantiation in the most inoffensive terms that would be explicit, yet the Reformed or Zwinglians could not subscribe to the Augsburg Confession.

Hence the imperial cities of Strasburg, Constance, Lindau, and Memmingen, offered a separate confession, called the *Confession of the four cities*, *Confessio Tetrapolitana*. It agreed, substantially, with the Augsburg Confession, except in regard to the corporeal presence. They held to a real, yet a spiritual or sacramental presence; a presence which the devout soul could feel and enjoy, but which implied no physical presence of Christ's body. Yet they expressed themselves in terms which need not have given offence to the Lutherans. They say: 'All that the evangelists, Paul, and the holy fathers, have written respecting the venerable sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, our preachers teach, recommend, and inculcate, with the greatest fidelity. Hence, with singular earnestness, they constantly proclaim that goodness of Christ towards his followers, whereby, no less now than at his last supper, to all his sincere disciples, as oft as they repeat this supper, he condescends to give, by the sacraments, his real body and his real blood, to be truly eaten and drunken, as the food and drink of their souls, by which they are nourished to eternal life; so that he lives and abides in them, and they in him.' This confession they presented to the emperor, in Latin and German; but he would not allow it to be read in public. Yet, when the popish priests had made out a confutation of it, he called them before him, to hear that confutation read; and then, without allowing discussion, or permitting them to have a copy of the confutation, demanded of them submission to the church of Rome. They refused. This confession of the four cities, which was drawn up by Martin Bucer, and had been adopted by the senate and people of Augsburg, was the confession of that city for a number of years. But afterwards, the four cities, feeling the necessity of a union with the Lutherans, lest their popish enemies should swallow them up, brought themselves to believe, that the Lutherans and they differed more in words than in reality; and therefore they subscribed to the Augsburg Confession, and became a part of the Lutheran church. See Hospinian's *Historia Sacramentaria*, pt. ii. p. 162, &c.—At the same diet, Zwingle presented his private confession; which is a long and elaborate performance. He says: 'Grace is conferred along with the sacraments; but not by them, as the channels; or, in other words, that the Holy Spirit imparts grace to the devout communicants, in the ordinance; but does not annex the

controversy. But they declared themselves not satisfied with this answer of the papal divines, and wished to have a copy of it, that they might point out its fallacies. The emperor, more obedient to the exhortations of the pontiff's legate and his companions than to the demands of right and of equity, refused their request, and would not allow the controversy to be protracted by any new writings about it. Nevertheless, the protestants caused an answer to be drawn up by *Philip Melancthon* to so much of the pontifical confutation as the theologians had been able to gather from hearing it read; and on the 22nd of September they presented it to the emperor, who refused to receive it. This answer (though afterwards corrected and enlarged by *Melancthon*, upon obtaining a copy of the pontifical confutation) is that *Apology for the Augsburg Confession*, which was afterwards published in the year 1531, and which constitutes a part of the symbolical books of the Lutheran church.¹

§ 4. Three modes of getting rid of these very troublesome contentions remained. One was, to permit those who would not obey the mandates of the pontiff, to enjoy their own sentiments on religion, and to worship God as they saw fit, without allowing the public tranquillity to be thereby destroyed. Another was, to compel them, by force of arms, to give over their dissent from the Roman church, and make them return to the repudiated friendship of the Roman prelate. A third was, to attempt an honourable and equitable compromise, by persuading each party to relinquish some portion of the claims which it considered as its due. The first method was accordant with reason and justice, and would meet the wishes of the wise and good; but it was totally repugnant to the arrogant claims of the pontiff, and to the ignorance of the age, which abhorred all liberty of opinion concerning religion. The second accorded with the customs and views of the age, and with the violent counsels of the Roman court; but it was abhorrent to the prudence, the moderation, and the equity, both of the emperor and of all good men. The third, therefore, was adopted, and met the approbation of all who were solicitous for the

grace to the sacrament, so that it goes along with it, as water through a channel, or by a physical process.' And respecting the Lord's Supper, he says: 'I believe, that in the holy Eucharist, or supper of thanksgiving, the real body of Christ is present, to the eye of faith (fidei contemplatione): that is, those who thank the Lord for the benefits conferred on us in Christ his Son, acknowledge that he assumed a real body, truly suffered in it, and washed away our sins in his own blood; and thus the whole that Christ has done is, as it were, present to the eye of their faith. But that the body of Christ, in substance and reality, or that his natural body, is present in the supper, and is received into our mouth, and masticated by our teeth,—as the papists, and some who look back upon the flesh-pots of Egypt, represent,—that I not only deny,

but unhesitatingly pronounce an error, and contrary to the word of God.' He subjoins elaborate proofs, from the Scripture, reason, and the fathers, in support of these views. To this confession, Eck replied; and Zwingle, on the 27th of August, defended himself in a letter addressed to the emperor and to the protestant princes. See Hospinian, l. c. p. 167, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ [Melancthon composed the *Apology* in Latin; but Justus Jonas afterwards translated it into German, in which language it was published in the first collection of all the symbolical books of the Lutheran church, Dresden, 1580, fol. 21—134. The *Augsburg Confession* in German immediately precedes it, fol. 3—20. See J. G. Walch's *Introductio in Libros Symbolicos*, l. i. c. 4, p. 409, &c. *Tr.*]

good of the empire; nor did the sovereign pontiff himself seem to be wholly averse from it. Hence various consultations were held between select individuals of both parties; nor was anything omitted that seemed calculated to allay mutual hatred, and bring discordant minds to harmonise. But the contending parties were so far apart in their demands, that nothing could be effected. In these discussions, the character of *Philip Melancthon*, whom, as the principal doctor among the protestants, the adherents to the pontiff took especial pains to conciliate, very clearly appeared. He seemed easy of access, and ready to make concessions, when his adversaries dealt in compliments and promises; but when they would terrify him by threats and denunciations, he showed himself quite another person, bold, courageous, and regardless of life with its outward advantages. For, in this great man, a mild and tender spirit was united with the strictest fidelity, and an invincible attachment to that which he knew to be the truth.

§ 5. This middle course having been tried in vain sufficiently long,¹ the better mode of ending the disputes which religion had occasioned, seemed to be the one that reason and the principles of Christianity equally condemn, but which the perverseness of the times recommended. Accordingly, on the 19th of November, a severe decree was passed by command and authority of the emperor, in the absence of those leaders of the protestants, the landgrave of Hesse and the elector of Saxony; in which there was nothing that could solace the protestants except an equivocal and deceptive promise of a council to be called within six months by order of the pontiff. For the dignity and excellence of the old religion were extolled extravagantly; new force was added to the edict of Worms against *Luther* and his followers; the religious reformations entered upon in various places were severely censured; and the princes and the cities that had become alienated from the pontiff were admonished to return to their duty within some months, unless they wished to incur the vengeance of the emperor, in his capacity of patron and protector of the church.²

§ 6. On learning this sad issue of the diet, the elector of Saxony and his associates, in the year 1530 and the year following, assembled at Smalcald, and afterwards at Frankfort; and formed a league among themselves, for their mutual protection against the evils which the edict of Augsburg portended, but excluding all offensive operations against any one.³ They also took measures to bring the kings

¹ [The conferences continued, with repeated changes of the delegates, from the second day of August, till the end of the month. *Tr.*]

² See, in addition to the authors before mentioned, Jo. Joach. Müller's *Historie der Protestation und Appellation der Evangelischen Stände*, book iii. ch. 48, p. 997.

³ [The first meeting of the protestants, subsequently to the diet, was held at Smal-

cald, on the 22nd of December, 1530. But it was found, that many of the representatives of cities had received no instruction, in regard to a confederacy; and that many other cities were to be invited to join them. As the emperor had entered into a coalition with the catholic states against them, they assembled again, in the following year, on the 29th of March, to form a closer union for their mutual defence. The landgrave

of France, England, and Denmark, as well as other princes and states, into the confederacy.¹ When things began to wear this warlike aspect, the electors of Mentz and the Palatinate interposed as mediators between the parties. And *Charles V.* had various reasons of his own that made him very anxious for peace. For the protestants would not lend him the aid in a Turkish war, which he exceedingly needed; and they also contended that his brother *Ferdinand*, who had been created king of the Romans by the major part of the princes in the diet of Cologne, A.D. 1531, was elected contrary to the laws of the empire.

§ 7. After various consultations, therefore, in the year 1532, a peace was concluded at Nuremberg, between the emperor and the

of Hesse took great pains to have the Swiss included in the confederacy. But the elector of Saxony, who was guided by Luther, absolutely refused to admit them. And in general, Luther had great scruples in regard to the whole transaction; and the jurists had much debate with him respecting the lawfulness of such a confederacy; for he, according to his monkish principles, held all human means for preserving peace in religious matters, to be unallowable; and supposed, that men should repose themselves wholly on the providence of God, without venturing upon any measures suggested by policy in such cases. But the jurists informed him, that the constitution of the empire allowed the states to combine together, and probably also to declare war against the emperor: for, by virtue of the compact between the emperor and the states, the emperor engaged not to infringe upon the laws of the empire, and the rights and liberties of the Germanic church. This compact the emperor had violated; and therefore the states had a right to combine together against him. Luther replied, that he had not been aware of this; and that if it was so, he had no objections to make; for the Gospel was not opposed to civil government. Yet he could not approve of an *offensive* war. *Schl.*]

¹ [In their meeting at Smalcald, A.D. 1531, after forming a league for mutual defence, for six years, they drew up an *apology* for their conduct; in which they gave a concise history of the Reformation, the necessity there was for it, and the sufferings and dangers to which they were exposed on account of it. Copies of this apology they sent to Francis I. of France, and Henry VIII. of England. Both those kings returned very civil answers; but nothing was said, on either side, about an alliance for mutual defence. See Seckendorf's *Hist. Lutheranismi*, l. iii. § 1. Gerdes, *Hist. Evang. Renov.* iv. 222, &c. In 1535, the protestants had another meeting at

Smalcald, in which they extended their league of 1531 for ten years longer. About this time, Dr. Barnes, an English bishop, arrived in Saxony, as envoy from the king of England; and he was soon followed by Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford, and Nicholas Heath, an English archdeacon. They attended the convention at Smalcald, and a negotiation was held for forming a coalition of some sort between the German confederates and the king of England. See Seckendorf, l. c. lib. iii. § 39. In 1538, the German confederates sent an embassy to the king of France (which, however, effected very little), and also three ambassadors to the king of England. They proposed to king Henry to adopt the Augsburg confession, and consent to be the head and patron of the protestant confederacy; they also stated what aid each should afford to the other in case of attack from the enemy. But Henry was not yet prepared to go so far in the Reformation; nor did he wish to embroil himself with the emperor. See Seckendorf, l. c. lib. iii. § 66, p. 197, &c. Gerdes, l. c. p. 287, &c. Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, book iii. vol. i. p. 329, &c. ed. Lond. 1825. *Tr.*—Dr. Robert Barnes never was a bishop. He had been prior of the Austin friars, at Cambridge, but having embraced scriptural opinions, and attacked Cardinal Wolsey, he was apprehended. Escaping, he fled for his life to the Continent. Bishop Fox found him in Germany, and, gladly using the services of an Englishman well used to that country, recommended him to Cromwell, the vicar-general, by whom he was employed in treating with the members of the Smalcaldic league. After returning to his own country, he was again sent into Germany, on the business of Henry the Eighth's unfortunate marriage with Anne of Cleves. This, of course, rendered him anything rather than a favourite at court; and Romish influence having revived, he was burnt, under a parliamentary attainder, in 1540. *S.*]

protestants, on the following terms: that the latter should contribute money for the Turkish war, and should acknowledge *Ferdinand* as king of the Romans; and that *Charles* should annul the edicts of Worms and Augsburg, and should allow the followers of *Luther* full liberty to regulate their religious matters as they pleased, until either a council (which was to be held within six months), or a diet of the empire, should determine what religious principles were to be adopted and obeyed. Scarcely was the apprehension of war removed by this convention, when *John*, the elector of Saxony, died, and was succeeded by his son, *John Frederic*, an unfortunate prince, though possessed of invincible fortitude and of extraordinary magnanimity.

§ 8. The truce of Nuremberg with the emperor gave so much spirit and resolution to the concealed and feebler enemies of the pontiff, that they would no longer obey his mandates. Evidence of that fact is afforded by various regions and towns of Germany, which year after year, from this time onward, professed without fear the religion that *Luther* had restored. Moreover, as the only hope of removing the disagreement about religion now depended on the promised council, the emperor did not cease to urge the sovereign pontiff, *Clement VII.*, to hasten the meeting of such a body. He was, however, so alarmed by the proceedings of former councils, that his head ran only upon delays, and he looked eagerly to arms rather than consultations for setting his affairs straight.¹ He promised, indeed, by his legate, in 1533, that a council should be called in Italy, either at Mantua, Piacenza, or Bologna. But the protestants declared themselves not satisfied with an *Italian* council, and maintained that a controversy which arose among Germans ought to be decided within the limits of Germany. And the pontiff himself, artfully, so managed as to get rid of his own promise; and soon after died, in the year 1534.²

§ 9. His successor, *Paul III.*, seemed more tractable when the emperor addressed him on the subject of a council. For he first made a promise in 1535, that he would assemble a council at Mantua; and afterwards, A.D. 1536, he actually proclaimed one by letters despatched through all provinces of the Roman world. The Protestants, on the other hand, foreseeing that in such a council everything

¹ [Besides the causes which, since the councils of Constance and Bale, had divested the popes of all relish for such clerical parliaments, pope Clement had his own peculiar reasons. It was his misfortune to be the illegitimate son of Julian de' Medici; and he was afraid his enemies in the council might avail themselves of this circumstance, to pronounce him therefore unworthy of the papal dignity. For it was a disputed point, which had never been decided, whether a bastard could ever be a legitimate pope. See Paul Sarpi, i. 54, &c., and Jac. Ziegler's *Hist. Clementis VII.* in Schelhorn's *Amœni-*

tates Hist. Eccles. et Litterar. i. 210, &c. *Schl.*]

² Everything pertaining to this council is fully and intelligently stated pre-eminently by Paul Sarpi, *Historia Concilii Tridentini*, lib. i. [The protestants met at Smalcald, to consider the proposed plan of an Italian council; and remonstrated against it, as being to be held in Italy. They also insisted, that the pope, as one of the parties whose cause was to be tried, should have no authority over the council; and that the decision should be founded solely on the Holy Scriptures. *Tr.*]

would go according to the opinion and the pleasure of the pontiff, declared in a convention held at Smalcald, in 1537, their entire dissatisfaction with such a servile council; nevertheless, they procured a new summary of their religious faith to be drawn up by *Luther*, which they might present to the assembled bishops, if occasion should call for it. This writing of *Luther* is called the *Articles of Smalcald*; and it has been admitted among the books from which the religious sentiments of those called Lutherans are to be learned.¹

§ 10. During these consultations, two very remarkable events occurred; one of them highly injurious to the general interests of religion, and especially to the cause of the Reformation; the other, no less so to the papal dominion. The former was a new sedition of the furious and fanatical tribe of the *Anabaptists*: the latter was a revolt of *Henry VIII.*, king of Great Britain,² from the Roman pontiff. In the year 1533, certain persons of the class of *Anabaptists*, who were more insane and distracted than the rest, came to Münster, a city of Westphalia, and gave out that they were divinely commissioned to set up a sort of holy empire on the ruins of all

¹ [The Articles of Smalcald were drawn up in German, by *Luther*. The Augsburg Confession was intended to soften prejudice against the Lutherans, and to conciliate the good-will of the Roman catholics. Of course the gentle Melancthon was employed to write it. The Articles of Smalcald, on the contrary, were a preparation for a campaign, against an enemy with whom no compromise was deemed possible, and in which victory or death was the only alternative. Of course all delicacy towards the catholics was dispensed with, and *Luther's* fiery style was chosen, and allowed full scope. In words, the Articles flatly contradict the Confession, in some instances; though in sense they are the same. Thus the Confession (Article xxiv.) says: 'We are unjustly charged with having abolished the mass. For it is manifest that, without boasting, we may say, the mass is observed by us with greater devotion and earnestness than by our opposers.' But in the Articles of Smalcald (pt. ii. art. ii.) it is said, 'that the popish mass is the greatest and most horrid abomination, as militating directly and violently against these Articles; and yet it has become the chief and most splendid of all the popish idolatries.' In the Confession, they applied the name of the mass to the Lutheran form of the *Eucharist*. But in these Articles, they confine that term to its proper import, the ordinary public service among the catholics.—The Articles of Smalcald cover 28 folio pages; and are preceded by a preface, and followed by a treatise on the power and supremacy of the pope. The first part contains four concise articles, respecting God, the Trinity, and the incarnation, passion, and ascension of Christ; in

accordance with the Apostles' and the Athanasian Creeds. On these articles the protestants professed to agree altogether with the papists. The second part, also, contains four articles of fundamental importance; in which the protestants and papists are declared to be totally and irreconcilably at variance. They relate to the nature and grounds of justification, the mass and saint-worship, ecclesiastical and monkish establishments, and the claims of the pope. The third part contains 15 articles, which the protestants considered as relating to very important subjects, but on which the papists laid little stress. The subjects are *sin*, the law, repentance, the gospel, baptism, the sacrament of the altar, the keys (or spiritual power), confession, excommunication, ordination, celibacy of the clergy, churches, good works, monastic vows, and human satisfactions for sin. When the protestants subscribed these Articles, Melancthon annexed a reservation to his signature, purporting that he could admit of a pope, provided he would allow the Gospel to be preached in its purity, and would give up his pretensions to a divine right to rule, and would found his claims wholly on expediency and human compact. In consequence of this dissent from *Luther*, Melancthon was requested to draw up an article on the power and supremacy of the pope. He did so; and the protestants were well pleased with it, and subscribed to it. It is annexed to the Articles of Smalcald. See J. G. Walch's *Introductio in Libros Symbol.* lib. i. cap. v. Tr.]

² [This is incorrect. James I. was the first king of Great Britain. Henry was king of England. S.]

human institutions. The whole city being stirred up, and thrown into great commotion, they proceeded to erect the new commonwealth, conformably to their crude opinions and fancies, and placed *John Bockholt*, a tailor of Leyden, at the head of it. But the city being taken in the year 1535 by the bishop of Münster, who was aided by other German princes, this delirious king and his associates were executed without mercy, and the new republic was thus overthrown soon after its establishment. This seditious procedure of certain *Anabaptists* induced most of the princes of Europe to enact severe laws against the whole race; in consequence of which, in subsequent years, vast numbers of them, as well innocent as guilty, were miserably put to death.¹

§ 11. *Henry VIII.*, king of Great Britain, the same that had before warmly opposed *Luther*, a prince falling behind none of his age, either in vices or talents, becoming enamoured of *Anne Boleyn*, an English virgin of high birth, in order to marry her, wished to be divorced from his queen, *Catharine* of Arragon, aunt to *Charles V.*, and therefore applied to the sovereign pontiff, *Clement VII.*, to sanction such a measure.² He declared, however, that his conscience would not allow him to cohabit with his queen, *Catharine*, because she had been married to his deceased brother, *Arthur*; a marriage with a brother's widow being contrary to the law of God. *Clement*, through fear of offending *Charles V.*, contrived various evasions, and endeavoured to delude and disappoint *Henry*. In consequence, he

¹ Herm. Hamelmann's *Historia Ecclesiast. renati Evangelii, per Inferiorem Saxoniam et Westphaliam*, pt. ii. p. 1196, &c. in his collected works. M. E. von Printz, *Specimen Historiæ Anabaptist.* cap. x. xi. xii. p. 94. [Jo. Sleidan's *Commentarii de Statu Relig. et Reipublicæ sub Carolo V.* lib. x. Gerdes, *Miscellanea Groningensia*, ii. 377, &c. 569, &c. Robertson's *Hist. of the Reign of Charles V.* book v. p. 245—250, ed. New York, 1829. Tr.]

² [Mosheim errs in representing Henry's passion for Anne Boleyn, as the first and grand cause of the king's wish to be divorced from his queen. His father had scrupled about the legitimacy of the marriage; a foreign court had made it an objection to intermarriage with his children by this wife; and his subjects, very generally, entertained apprehensions respecting the succession to his crown, from the same cause. It was state policy which first led to the marriage; but it appears never to have given entire satisfaction to any one. Doubtless Henry was sincere in professing to have scruples of conscience on the subject. But there were also other causes. The queen's beauty had faded, and some diseases had rendered her person less agreeable. Political considerations, or apprehensions respecting his successor, had influence. And after these causes had operated some time, Anne Boleyn

came to court, and the king was charmed with her. This, though the last, was, henceforth, probably, not the least reason for his final resolution to divorce his queen. See Hume's *History of England*, ch. xxx. vol. iii. p. 288, &c. Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. book ii. at the beginning. Tr.—Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, had remonstrated against any application to the pope to legitimise this marriage, and Henry himself, when arrived at the age of fourteen, had made a formal protest against it, by his father's desire. When his father also was on his death-bed, he entreated him to forbear from the consummation of this marriage. Thus Henry fulfilled his childish engagement with Catharine, not only in defiance of the religious scruples generally entertained, but also of his own father's deliberate judgment. Eventually, his queen bore him three sons; and one of them, named after himself, lived six weeks; but, at last, all hope of male progeny from Catharine vanished. This appears to have been felt not only as a bitter disappointment, but also as a judicial visitation for the punishment of a connexion intrinsically sinful. Henry's conduct, therefore, however indefensible in many points, was not so much so in this as it is commonly represented. S.]

became impatient, and at the suggestion of *Thomas Cranmer*, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, a secret friend of *Luther* and his improvement in religion, consulted nearly all the universities of Europe on the question; and as most of them pronounced marriage with a brother's widow to be unlawful, the king divorced *Catharine* without the pope's consent, and married *Anne Boleyn*. *Henry's* defection from the pontiff soon followed. For the king being declared, by the parliament and people of England, *supreme head of the British church*, in the year 1533, ejected the monks, disposed of all their property, and abolished altogether the authority of the Roman pontiff in England.¹

§ 12. This downfall of the popish power in England, however, was of little advantage to the lovers of a pure religion. For the king, though he destroyed the empire of the pontiff, yet retained, for the most part, the old religion; and persecuted, and sometimes punished capitally, those who thought differently from himself on religious subjects. Besides, he understood the title that he had assumed, of *supreme head of the British church*, as investing him with the Roman pontiff's power, so that he had a right to make decrees respecting religion, and to prescribe to his people what they must believe and practise. During his life, therefore, religion in England was coincident with the king's character, that is, uncertain and changeable. Yet the archbishop of Canterbury, *Thomas Cranmer*, who had the king's confidence, and was a patron of the purer religion, exerted himself as much as he prudently could, and as the instability of the king and other difficulties would allow, by his writings and his actions, to diminish continually, in some degree, the old superstition and ignorance, and to increase the number of *Luther's* friends.²

¹ Besides Gilbert Burnet, and others who have composed direct histories of the Reformation in England, the *Acts* of this memorable event, as collected by David Wilkins, in his *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae*, iii. 424, &c. should be consulted. See also Raynal's *Anecdotes Historiques, Politiques, Militaires*, t. i. pt. ii. p. 90, &c. and the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Crit.* ii. 388, article *Bolena*. [Henry was never acknowledged head of the *British church*. Scotland was not civilly subject to him, and neither he, nor any other layman, thought of more than the concurrence of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The act of 1533 prohibited appeals to Rome under penalty of a *præmunire*. This was a virtual abrogation of the papal authority over England, its essence lying in the established habit of appealing to it. The king's supremacy had been recognised in convocation, two years before, archbishop Warham having moved that he should be styled *supreme head, so far as it is allowed by the law of Christ*, and this motion having

been carried after a considerable debate. S.]

² Besides Burnet, see Dan. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. ch. i. p. 11, &c. [In 1536, king Henry, with the sanction of the convocation, prescribed what doctrines should be taught in the churches; the substance of which may be seen in Burnet, *Hist. Reform.* i. 280, &c. ed. Lond. 1825, and in Neal, l. c. p. 69, &c. ed. Portsm. 1816. Mr. Neal remarks upon these instructions: 'One sees here the dawn of the Reformation: the Scriptures and the ancient creeds are made the standards of faith, without the tradition of the church or decrees of the pope; the doctrine of justification by faith is well stated; four of the seven sacraments are passed over, and purgatory is left doubtful. But transubstantiation, auricular confession, the worshipping of images and saints, are still retained.' In 1539, the king and the opposers of the Reformation procured a statute to be passed, in both houses of parliament, making it penal to speak or write, at all, against any one of the six following

§ 13. After the pontiff's first proposed council was set aside, various negotiations for restoring peace and harmony were held between the emperor and the protestants, but without any determinate and solid benefit, because the pontiff, by his legates and others, generally disconcerted all their measures. In the year 1541 the emperor, much to the pope's displeasure, ordered select individuals of both parties to confer together respecting religion at Worms. Accordingly, *Philip Melancthon* and *John Eck* held a discussion during three days.¹ The discussion was then transferred, for certain reasons, to the diet of Ratisbon of the same year; in which the project of some unknown person, who had drawn up conditions for a peace, was particularly subjected to examination.² But the protracted deliberation had no other effect than to make the parties agree, that this very difficult subject must be reserved for a more careful examination in the future council, or if, perchance, it should be impossible to call one, then in the next diet of Germany.

§ 14. After this a very disturbed state of things ensued, which required the deliberations for settling religious controversies to be deferred. In the diet of Spire, in 1542, the pontiff, by his legate, renewed his promise of a council, and signified that it should be held at Trent if that place were agreeable. The king of the Romans, *Ferdinand*, and the popish princes, gave their assent; but the protestants rejected both the place and the council proposed by the pontiff; demanding a legitimate and free council, that is, one that should be exempt from the prescriptions and the authority of the pontiff. Nevertheless, the pope, with the emperor's consent, gave notice of the council; and at the diet of Worms, A.D. 1545, the emperor negotiated with the protestants to gain their approbation of the council at Trent. But these negotiations failing, and the emperor seeing no prospect that the protestants would ever subject themselves to the council, listened to the advice of *Paul III.*, who urged a

articles. 'First, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remained no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ were present. Secondly, that communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons, by the law of God; but that both the flesh and blood of Christ were together in each of the kinds. Thirdly, that priests, after the order of priests (after admission to orders), might not marry, by the law of God. Fourthly, that vows of chastity ought to be observed, by the law of God. Fifthly, that the use of private masses ought to be continued; for as it was agreeable to God's law, so man received great benefit by them. Sixthly, that auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the church.' This, called 'the bloody statute,' was enforced during the residue of Henry's reign, or till 1547. It brought many to the

stake and to prison; and caused the Reformation to go back, rather than advance, during these eight years. See Burnet, l. c. p. 334, &c. and Neal, l. c. p. 75, &c. Tr.]

¹ See Jo. Andr. Roeder's *Tract. de Colloquio Wormatiensi*, Norimb. 1744, 4to, [and Sleidan's *Comment. de Statu Relig. et Reipubl.* l. xiii. sub finem. Tr.]

² See Jo. Erdmann Bieck's *Triple Interim* (written in German), ch. i. p. 1, &c. [This conference was held in April, 1541. The emperor selected the disputants: on the part of the Roman catholics, Jo. Eckius, Julius Pflug, and Geo. Gropper; on the part of the protestants, Ph. Melancthon, Martin Bucer, and John Pistorius. The author of the written project (called the *first Interim*), here read and discussed, was supposed to be Geo. Gropper. See Sleidan, l. c. Robertson's *Charles V.* book vi. p. 294, &c. ed. 1829. Tr.]

resort to arms, and, in conjunction with that pontiff, secretly prepared for war. The leaders of the protestants, the landgrave of Hesse, and the elector of Saxony, took measures to guard against a surprise, and raised forces on their side.¹ While this storm was gathering, *Luther*, who was disposed to contend with prayers and patience, rather than with arms, met a peaceful death at Eisleben, his native town, on the 18th of February, 1546.²

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR OF SMALCALD [A.D. 1546], TO THE CONCLUSION OF A RELIGIOUS PEACE [A.D. 1555].

§ 1. Commencement of the war of Smalcald — § 2. The war: and the reverses of the Protestants — § 3. Form of the Interim — § 4. Commotions arising from it — § 5. The Council of Trent resumed — § 6. Maurice disconcerts the plans of the emperor — § 7. His war against the emperor. The transaction at Passau — § 8. Diet of Augsburg. Religious peace — § 9. The Reformation in England — § 10. Scotland — § 11. Ireland — § 12. The Netherlands — § 13. Spain and Italy — § 14. Estimate of the Reformation.

§ 1. THE destruction of those who should oppose the council of Trent had been agreed on between the emperor and the pontiff; and the opening of the council was to be the signal for taking up arms. That council, accordingly, had scarcely commenced its deliberations, at the beginning of the year 1546, when it became evident, from various indications, that a Cæsareo-papal war impended over the protestants. At the diet of Ratisbon, indeed, of this year, a new conference or dispute between the principal theologians of the two parties had been instituted; but its progress and issue clearly showed that the cause was to be decided not by arguments but by arms. The fathers at Trent passed their first decrees, which the protestants again firmly rejected at the diet of Ratisbon; and soon after the emperor proscribed the protestant leaders, and began to assemble an army against them.

§ 2. The Saxon and Hessian princes led their forces into Bavaria to meet the emperor; and they cannonaded his camp at Ingolstadt. A battle was expected to ensue. But as *Maurice* duke of Saxony, who coveted the riches and the high rank of his uncle, *John Frederic*, and was seduced by the promises of the emperor, now invaded the Saxon territories; and as the confederates of Smalcald were not har-

¹ [See Robertson's *Hist. of Charles V.* b. vii. p. 322, &c. Tr.]

² [See Bower's *Life of Luther*, chap. i. Tr.—The principal events in Luther's life

are detailed with sufficient fulness, and great spirit, in D'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation*. S.]

monious in their views; and as the money promised them from France did not arrive, the protestant army was broken up, and the elector of Saxony returned home. The emperor, pursuing by forced marches, fell upon him unawares, from the treachery, as there is great reason to believe, of some among his friends, near Mühlberg, on the Elbe, the 24th of April, 1547, and, after an unsuccessful battle, took him prisoner. The other protestant prince, *Philip* of Hesse, by advice of his son-in-law, *Maurice*, and of the elector of Brandenburg, threw himself upon *Charles's* mercy, expecting, according to that monarch's promise, to be forgiven and set at liberty. But he was, nevertheless, kept a prisoner; and it is reported that the emperor violated his promise in this instance, and deluded the Hessian prince by the ambiguity of some German words. But this part of the history has not yet been so investigated as to make the imprisonment of the landgrave, and the grounds of it, altogether clear.¹

§ 3. After this victory, the cause of the protestants appeared irrecoverably ruined, and that of the Roman pontiff triumphant. In the diet held soon after at Augsburg (and which was surrounded by troops), the emperor demanded of the protestants to submit the decision of the religious controversy to the council of Trent. The greater part consented, and, in particular, *Maurice* of Saxony, who had received from *Charles* the electoral dignity, of which, together with a part of his territories, *John Frederic* had been deprived, and who was also extremely solicitous for the liberation of his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse. But the emperor lost the benefit of this assent to the council of Trent. For, upon a rumour that the plague had broken out at Trent, a great part of the fathers retired to Bologna; and thus the council was melted away.² Nor could the emperor prevail with the pope to re-assemble the council without delay. As the prospect of a council was now more distant, the emperor deemed it necessary, in the *interim*, to adopt some project which might preserve the peace in regard to religion until the council should assemble. Hence he caused a document to be drawn up by *Julius Pflug*, bishop of Naumburg, *Michael Sidonius*, a papist, and *John Agricola* of Eisleben; which should serve as a rule of faith and worship to the professors of both the old religion and the new until the meeting of the council; and this paper, because it had not the force of a *permanent* law, was commonly called the *Interim*.³

¹ Besides the accounts of the common historians, Benj. Grosch has well described all these transactions, in his *Vertheidigung der Evangelischen Kirche gegen Gottfr. Arnold*, p. 29, &c. [See Sleidan's *Comment. de Statu Relig. et Reipubl.* lib. xviii. and the very full history of this war, in Robertson's *Hist. of Charles V.* book viii. p. 338, &c. and book ix. p. 360, &c. *Tr.*]

² [The report of a pestilence was a mere pretence. The pope, Paul III., was equally jealous of the council, which had not been disposed in all respects to govern itself by

his prescription, and of the growing power of the emperor, which he did not wish to see further increased by the council. He indeed hated the protestants; but he did not wish to see the emperor, under colour of enforcing the decrees of the council, acquire a more absolute authority over Germany. He had already withdrawn his troops from the imperial army; and he now wished to see the council dispersed. The Spanish members opposed him; but he found means to prevail. *Schl.*]

³ See Jo. Erdm. Bieck's *Dreyfaches In-*

§ 4. This code of instructions, called the *Interim*, though very favourable to the papal cause, was equally displeasing to the pontiff and to the professors of the true Lutheran religion. When, however, the emperor communicated it to the diet of Augsburg, the elector of Mentz, without taking the sense of the members, rose, and, as if in the name of the diet, assented to it. Most of the princes, therefore, though reluctantly, acquiesced. Those who opposed it were, for the most part, compelled by the power and arms of the emperor to submit; and the calamities and oppressions which followed in Germany are almost indescribable. *Maurice*, elector of Saxony, who occupied middle ground between those who approved and those who rejected the *Interim*, held, in the year 1548, several consultations at Leipsic and other places with his theologians and principal men, of whom *Philip Melancthon* was most distinguished, that he might determine what course to pursue. The result of the protracted deliberation was, that *Melancthon* (whom the other theologians followed), partly from fear of the emperor, and partly from zeal for his sovereign, decided that the whole instrument called the *Interim* could by no means be admitted; but that there was no impediment to receiving and approving it so far as it concerned things not essential in religion, or things *indifferent*.¹ This decision gave rise to the *Adiaphoristic* controversy among the Lutherans; which will be described in the history of the *Lutheran church*. In this state of things, the cause of the reformed religion of *Luther* was in imminent peril; and had the pontiff and the emperor known how to take advantage of their good fortune, they might, doubtless, have either totally crushed the Lutheran church, or depressed it greatly, and brought it into serious embarrassment.

§ 5. In the midst of these contests, *Julius III.*, who succeeded *Paul III.* in the government of the Roman church, A.D. 1550, being overcome by the entreaties of the emperor, consented to revive the council of Trent. The emperor, therefore, at the diet of Augsburg, which he again surrounded with his troops, conferred with the princes on the prosecution of the council. The major part agreed that the

terim, Leip. 1721, 8vo. Jac. Osiander's *Historia Eccles.* cent. xvi. l. ii. c. 68, p. 425, and others. Respecting the authors and the editions of the *Interim*, see a disquisition in the *Danische Bibliothek*, v. 1, &c. and vi. 185, &c. [The *Interim* may be seen, at large, in Goldast's *Constitutiones Imperiales*, i. 518, &c., also in Le Fevre's continuation of Fleury's *Ecclesiast. History*, l. cxlv. § 21—23, Latin, by R. P. Alexander, vol. xxxix. p. 540—586. See also Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat.* i. 674, &c. Robertson's *Charles V.*, book ix. p. 377, &c. The *Interim* consisted of 26 articles, drawn up with great care, and in a very conciliatory spirit. On most doctrinal points, such as man's primitive rectitude, apostasy, ori-

ginal sin, redemption by Christ, necessity of divine grace, human merit, &c. it adopted, very much, scriptural views and language; and might have been assented to by the protestants, without sacrificing, perhaps, any fundamental truths. But it retained the mass, all the seven sacraments, the hierarchy, the traditions, the ceremonies, in short, the whole exterior of the catholic establishment and worship, with the sole exceptions of tolerating the marriage of the clergy, and communion in both kinds. Yet it limited the authority of the pontiff, and so examined the grounds and uses of the Romish rites, as to make them the least offensive possible. *Tr.*]

¹ *Adiaphora*.

council ought to go on; and *Maurice*, elector of Saxony, consented, yet only on certain conditions.¹ At the close of the diet, therefore, A.D. 1551, the emperor directed all to prepare themselves for the council, and promised to use his endeavours that everything should there be done in a religious and Christian manner, and without passion. Hence confessions of faith, to be exhibited to the council, were drawn up; one in Saxony, by *Melancthon*, and another among the Würtembergers, by *John Brentius*. Besides the ambassadors of the duke, some of the theologians of Würtemberg also repaired to Trent. But the Saxons, at the head of whom was *Melancthon*, though they set out, advanced no further than Nuremberg; for their master² only made a show of obedience to the will of the emperor; while he thought really of subjecting *Charles* to his own pleasure.

§ 6. What were the plans and purposes of *Charles V.* in these German commotions, will be plain enough, if we consider the circumstances of the times, and compare the different parts of his conduct. Obviously relying more than prudence would dictate upon his own powers and good fortune, he wished to make these disquietudes, arising out of religion, subservient to the enlargement and establishment of his power in Germany, and the diminution of the resources and the rights of the princes. Moreover, as he had in like manner long wished to see the authority and dominion of the Roman pontiffs diminished, and confined within some definite limits, so that they might no longer interrupt the progress of his designs, he hoped, by means of the council, to see this wish realised; since, by means of the councils formerly held at Constance and Bâle, a check was laid upon the exorbitant lust of power in the Roman prelates. For he had no doubts, that by means of his ambassadors and bishops, those of Spain and Germany, and others, he should be able so to control the deliberations of the council, that every one of its decrees and acts would be conformable to his plans and wishes.³ But all these expectations and designs were frustrated by that very *Maurice*, by whose assistance principally *Charles* had been able to break down the power of the protestants.

§ 7. Long had *Maurice* in vain solicited for the liberation of his father-in-law, *Philip* of Hesse; and long had the greatest princes of Germany and Europe importunately petitioned the emperor to set at liberty both the landgrave of Hesse and the ex-electors of Saxony. When, therefore, *Maurice* perceived that he had been duped, and

¹ [These conditions were, that the council should rescind all its past acts, and begin anew; that the divines of the Augsburg Confession should not only be heard, but have the right of voting; that the pontiff should place himself under the jurisdiction of the council, and should not have the presidency of it; and that he should release the bishops from their oath of allegiance to him, so that they might give their opinions

freely. The assent, under these conditions, was read before the diet, and request made, that it might be entered entire, upon the journals; but this request was refused. See *Sleidan's Comment. &c. lib. xxii. fol. 576, ed. 1556. Tr.*]

² [The elector Maurice. *Tr.*]

³ [This is clearly and satisfactorily shown in Robertson's *History of Charles V.* iii. 58, 207. *Schl.*]

that *Charles* had hostile designs upon the liberties of Germany, he entered into an alliance with the king of France and with certain German princes for asserting the rights of the Germanic nation; and in the year 1552, led forth a well-appointed army against the emperor. And he conducted the business with such celerity and vigour, that he nearly caught *Charles* unawares, and in a state of security at Innspruck. This sudden storm so terrified *Charles*, that he appeared quite ready to agree to any terms of peace; and soon after, at Passau, he not only gave present tranquillity to the protestants, but also promised to assemble a diet within six months, at which the long-protracted religious contests should be definitely settled. Thus the very man who had given a severer blow perhaps than any other to the protestant cause, was the individual who raised and restored it when all but given up and overthrown. *Maurice* did not, however, live to see the result of his undertaking; for the next year he fell in a battle against *Albert* of Brandenburg, at Sievershausen.¹

§ 8. The diet which the emperor promised at the *pacification* of Passau, could not be assembled, on account of commotions that arose in Germany and other impediments, until the year 1555. But in

¹ [Maurice was, all his life, a protestant at heart. But he was selfish, ambitious, and ungrateful. His base attack upon the dominions of his uncle, John Frederic, during the war of Smalcald, was the chief cause of the unhappy termination of that war, and of all the calamities endured by the protestants from 1548 to 1552. During this period, he took sides with the emperor, for the sake of acquiring an increase of territory, and the rank of an elector. Yet he did not abandon the protestant religion, nor so enforce the *Interim* as to restrain the exercise of that religion among his subjects. He probably had been deceived by the emperor's hollow promises not to injure the cause of protestantism. When he perceived this, and also discovered the emperor's designs to overthrow the liberties of Germany, he was mortified, stung by his conscience, and roused to indignation. He therefore determined to bring down the power of the emperor, and to rescue both the protestant religion, and the liberties of his country, from oppression. See Robertson's *History of Charles V.*, book x. p. 285, &c. 310, 344, 401, &c. ed. New York, 1829, in one vol. 8vo. The treaty of Passau, between the emperor and Maurice, August 2nd, 1552, laid the foundation of the liberties of the German protestant church. Its chief articles were, 'That before the 12th of August, the confederates shall lay down their arms, and disband their forces; That on or before that day, the landgrave shall be set at liberty, and be conveyed in safety to his castle of Rheinfels; That a diet shall be

held within six months, in order to deliberate concerning the most proper and effectual method of preventing for the future all disputes and dissensions about religion; That in the meantime, neither the emperor, nor any other prince, shall, upon any pretext whatever, offer any injury or violence to such as adhere to the Confession of Augsburg, but allow them to enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; That, in return, the protestants shall not molest the catholics, either in the exercise of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or in performing their religious ceremonies; That the imperial chamber shall administer justice impartially to persons of both parties; and protestants be admitted indiscriminately with the catholics to sit as judges in that court; That if the next diet should not be able to terminate the disputes with regard to religion, the stipulations in the present treaty in behalf of the protestants, shall continue for ever in full power and vigour; That none of the confederates shall be liable to any action, on account of what had happened during the course of the war; That the consideration of those encroachments which had been made, as Maurice pretended, upon the constitution and liberties of the empire, shall be remitted to the approaching diet; That Albert of Brandenburg shall be comprehended in the treaty, provided he shall accede to it, and disband his forces, before the 12th of August.' Robertson's *Charles V.* p. 414, &c. See also Sleidan's *Comment.* &c. lib. xxiv. fol. 661. Tr.]

this year, at Augsburg, and in presence of *Ferdinand*, the emperor's brother, that memorable convention was held, which gave to the protestants, after so much slaughter and so many calamities and conflicts, that firm and stable *religious peace* which they still enjoy. For on the 25th of September, after various discussions, those who had embraced the Augsburg Confession were pronounced free and exempt from all jurisdiction of the pontiff and the bishops; and were bidden to live securely under their own laws and regulations; and liberty was given to all Germans to follow which of the two religions they pleased: and lastly, all those were declared to be public enemies of Germany, who should presume to make war upon others, or to molest them, on the ground of their religion.¹ Nothing scarcely could more clearly demonstrate the superstition, ignorance, and wretchedness of that age, and consequently, the necessity that existed for a reformation in the prevalent views of religion and things sacred, than the fact that most of the Germans needed to be instructed by so many writings, controversies, and wars, before they could assent to regulations so equitable and so consonant to reason and the holy Scriptures.

§ 9. While these events were taking place in Germany, the English were deploring that the light of pure religion was almost extinguished among them, and from the daily executions of their own countrymen, they esteemed those Germans happy who had escaped from the Romish tyranny. *Henry VIII.*, whose vices obstructed the progress of the Reformation, died in the year 1547. His son and successor, *Edward VI.*, a child in years, but mature in wisdom, intelligence, and virtue, having collected around him learned men from every

¹ See Jo. Schilter's tract, *de Pace Religiosa*, published in 1700, 4to, Christoph. Lehmann's *Acta Publica et Originalia de Pace Religiosa*, Francf. 1707, fol. [The compact entitled the religious peace, as extracted from the acts of the diet of Augsburg of Sept. 25, 1555, may be seen at large in B. G. Struve's *Corpus Juris Publici Academicum*, ed. 2nd, Jena, 1734, p. 169—214. It embraces 22 articles; and is founded on the treaty of Passau, described in the preceding note. It places the believers in the Augsburg Confession and the catholics on the same ground, as citizens, and as members of the empire; and forbids all molestation of the one class by the other; forbids proselytising, but allows voluntary transition from one religion to the other. Yet benefited catholics, if they turned protestants, were to lose their benefices. All other denominations of Christians, except catholics and Lutherans, are expressly excluded from the privileges of this compact. (Art. IV. 'Attamen ceteri omnes, qui alteri prænominatarum harum binarum Religionum non sint adherentes, sub hac pace, non comprehensi, sed plane exclusi

esse debent.')

The *Zwinglians*, *Calvinists*, or *Reformed*, were therefore left in the same state as before. The treaty still contemplated a more full adjustment of all points of controversy, in a general or national council, or in a future diet; yet it contained an express stipulation, that the principles here settled should remain inviolate for ever. In the imperial cities, and wherever the professors of both religions had hitherto enjoyed equal religious liberty, they were to continue to enjoy the same.—The pope was exceedingly displeased with this peace; and tried to persuade the emperor to renounce it, promising to absolve him from his oath. But the emperor would not consent. Yet the catholics were never satisfied with it. And some ambiguities in the language of it, and some of its odious provisions, such as excluding all but Lutherans and catholics from a participation in it, and subjecting benefited catholics to the loss of their livings if they became Lutherans, led on to contention, and at last produced, in the next century, the thirty years' war, which nearly ruined Germany. *Tr.*]

quarter, and particularly some from Germany, of the mildest character, as *Martin Bucer*, and *Paul Fagius*, ordered the kingdom to be purged entirely of the popish fictions, and a better religion to be publicly taught. But he was removed by death in 1553, to the immense grief of his subjects. His sister *Mary*, daughter of that *Catharine* whom *Henry VIII.* had divorced, being heiress to the kingdom, and a woman immoderately given up to the religion of her ancestors, and sadly wanting in discretion, again obtruded upon Britons the Roman pontiff's laws and privileges; nor did she hesitate to slay, by the most inhuman punishments, great numbers of such as resisted, and even persons of the highest rank; among whom *Thomas Cranmer*, archbishop of Canterbury, whose exertions chiefly had overthrown the papal power in England, stood conspicuous. But the death of the queen, who departed without issue, in 1558, put an end to these insane proceedings. For her successor on the British throne, *Elizabeth*, a woman of masculine resolution and sagacity, rescued her country entirely from the power of the pontiff, and established that form of religion and worship which still prevails in England. This is different from that form which the counsellors of *Edward* had devised, and approaches nearer to the usages and institutions of the previous times; yet it is very far removed from that which is held sacred at Rome.

§ 10. Into the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland, the elements of a purer religion were early introduced by certain young men of noble birth who had resided in Germany. But the papal power, supported by inhuman laws and penalties, for many years prevented it from taking firm root. The principal author of the entire abolition of the Romish dominion over Scotland, was *John Knox*, a disciple of *Calvin*, a man of eloquence, and quite incapable of fear. Proceeding from Geneva to Scotland, in the year 1559, he soon enkindled everywhere such a flame, by his discourses, that a majority of the people bade farewell to the institutions of their ancestors, and overthrew all traces of the Romish religion. From that time onward, the Scots have pertinaciously held to that form of religion and discipline which was established at Geneva under the auspices of *John Calvin*, *Knox's* preceptor; nor could any considerations afterwards induce them to adopt the ecclesiastical institutions and forms of worship of the English.

§ 11. In Ireland the Reformation was exposed to the same fluctuations and fortunes as in England. When *Henry VIII.*, upon the abrogation of the pontifical power, was declared *supreme head of the English church*, *George Brown*, an English Augustinian monk, whom the king, in 1535, had created archbishop of Dublin, proceeded to purge the churches of his province of their images, relics, and superstitious rites; and he exerted such influence, that the king's *supremacy* (by which was meant the royal power over the church) was acknowledged also among the Irish. Soon after this the king expelled the monks from Ireland and destroyed their houses. Under *Edward VI.* the reformation in Ireland continued to be urged forward by the same archbishop. But *Mary*, the sister of *Edward*, persecuted with

fire and sword those who embraced the reformed religion in Ireland as well as in England; and *Brown* and the other bishops who favoured the Reformation were deprived of their offices. Under *Elizabeth*, however, everything was restored; and the Irish adopted the form of religion and discipline which was established in England.¹

§ 12. Soon after the Scots, the inhabitants of the provinces now called the *United Netherlands*,² revolted entirely from the Roman pontiff. *Philip II.*, king of Spain, very anxious for the safety of the Romish religion among a people so attached to liberty, determined to restrain the Belgians, and secure their allegiance to the pontiff, by creating an additional number of bishops, by establishing among them the iniquitous tribunal of the Inquisition, and by other hard and

¹ See the *Life of George Brown, late Archbishop of Dublin*, London, 1681, 4to, which is reprinted in the collection called the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v. Lond. 1745, 4to, No. lxxiii. [The reformed religion never has had the assent of the Irish people at large. Henry VIII. attempted little more than to establish his supremacy over the church of Ireland. And though he succeeded in procuring a major vote in the Irish parliament for it, the people and the clergy, very generally, never would admit it. He suppressed the monasteries, and confiscated their funds; but this did not suppress popery. Queen Mary easily, and at once, restored everything in that country, except the confiscated property. She deprived archbishop Brown in 1554; but did not attempt to persecute 'with fire and sword' the handful of protestants in that country, until near the close of her reign, when she sent over Dr. Cole, with a commission for that purpose. His commission, however, was stolen from him on the way; and he had to return to England for another. But before he reached Ireland a second time, the queen died, and he could not proceed to his bloody work. Queen Elizabeth caused herself to be proclaimed head of the church in Ireland; and undertook to enforce everywhere the protestant doctrines and worship; but without success. The recusant clergy, indeed, lost their livings; and some protestant clergymen were introduced into the country. But the people at large would not attend the protestant worship. Thus, while protestantism was the only established religion, and the only one legally tolerated, it was followed by few except the officers of government, and such English families as removed to Ireland to enjoy the estates they acquired there. In the reign of James I., many Presbyterians from Scotland settled in the north of Ireland; and English puritans also took refuge there. Thus the protestant population became considerably increased. But still the pure Irishmen, as well as the descendants of those English who settled in

Ireland prior to the Reformation, together constituting the majority of the population of the country, continued to adhere to the catholic religion. During the two last centuries, the protestant population, and particularly the dissenting portion of it, has been considerably increased; yet the catholic population has also increased; and it is said that there have been more conversions from the protestant to the catholic faith in Ireland, during the period, than conversions from the catholic faith to the protestant. Thus Ireland is still a catholic country, if we regard the population; though protestant, and of the church of England, if we regard only the religious establishments of the country. *Tr.*—At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, with the bishops of Ferns, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, and Kilmaloe, conformed. (*Elrington's Clergy of the Church of England truly ordained*, Dublin, 1808, p. 54.) This conformity had not, however, any lasting, or perhaps considerable effect upon the country. Little, or none, could, in fact, be expected, on account of its unsettled state. The emigrations, however, from Britain, especially from Scotland, in the seventeenth century, have given very much of a protestant face to the province of Ulster, which is the principal seat of Irish wealth, civilisation, industry, and intelligence. In the other provinces, the landed property is almost exclusively in protestant hands, a circumstance which adds venom to the Romish bigotry of the peasantry. The gentry are not merely hated as heretics; they are hated really much more, as holders of estates unjustly forfeited, as is alleged, by the ancestors of Romanists, now plunged in poverty, by means of that very forfeiture. They, with all of their communion, are, therefore, much in the condition of the Moors, when keeping, at Granada, the rest of Spain at bay. Religious antipathies are exasperated by interested views. *S.*]

² [Or the Dutch. *Tr.*]

insupportable laws. But this excessive care to preserve the old religion, instead of securing it from the dangers to which it was exposed, occasioned its total overthrow. In the year 1566, the nobility combined together, and remonstrated strongly against these new edicts; and meeting with repulses and contempt, they, in conjunction with the people, openly trampled upon the things held sacred by the Romanists.¹ As the duke of Alva, who was sent from Spain with forces for that purpose, endeavoured to suppress these commotions, with unparalleled cruelty, and with innumerable slaughters, that furious civil war was produced, to which the very powerful republic of the Seven United Provinces of Belgium owes its origin. This republic, rescued from the dominion of the Spaniards, by its leader, the prince of Orange, *William of Nassau*, with the aid of *Elizabeth*, queen of England, and of the king of France, adopted, in the year 1573, the doctrines, the ecclesiastical organisation, and the worship of the Swiss; yet gave to all the citizens entire liberty of opinion on religious subjects, provided they attempted nothing against the peace and prosperity of the community.²

¹ [‘Dr. Mosheim here seems to distinguish too little between the spirit of the nobility and that of the multitude. Nothing was more *temperate* and *decent* than the conduct of the former; and nothing could be more *tumultuous* and *irregular* than the behaviour of the latter.’ *Macl.*]

² The noble work of Gerhard Brandt, entitled a *History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, written in Dutch, and printed at Amsterdam, 1677, &c. in 4 vols. 4to, is especially to be consulted. [The first volume is properly the history of the reformation, coming down to 1600; the other volumes contain the history of the Arminian controversy, and the events of the seventeenth century. There is a translated abridgment of Brandt, both in French and English, which gives a good condensed account. See also Gerdes, *Hist. Evangel. Renov.* iii. p. 1, &c. and Schroeckh’s *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* ii. 348—434.—Philip II., king of Spain, determined to purge the Netherlands of heretics, and for this purpose increased the number of bishops from *four to fourteen*; enacted severe laws against heretics; and determined to introduce the inquisition into the country. These measures were generally offensive; and to the catholics nearly as much so as to the protestants. In 1566, most of the nobles, though generally catholics, entered into an association to protect and defend the liberties of the country. The protestants, now 100,000 in number, petitioned the king for toleration; and though treated with contempt, they ventured to hold their meetings for worship openly, instead of meeting in private. They had now 50 or 60 places of meeting in Flanders, attended by 60,000 persons. Si-

milar meetings were opened in Artois, Brabant, Holland, Utrecht, Seeland, Geldres, Friesland, &c. Attempts being made by the government to disperse their assemblies by force, they went armed to their places of worship. The same year, the rabble, first in Flanders, and afterwards in the other provinces, broke into the churches, and destroyed the images, pictures, crosses, &c. Philip subsidised 13,000 German troops, to support the government. Many of the rebellious catholics voluntarily submitted; and the protestants were reduced to great straits. Many were put to death; and many fled the country. The association of the nobles melted away. In 1567, the Netherlands were truly a conquered country. But Philip, not yet satisfied, determined to punish his subjects still more; and therefore sent the duke of Alva, with an army of Spaniards and Italians, to chastise the country. But severity only increased the number of protestants, and drove the people to desperation. In 1568, William, prince of Orange, assembled an army of refugees, and attacked the country, without success. In 1572, he attacked the northern provinces by sea, and presently made himself master of Holland, and several of the other provinces. The Hollanders now proclaimed him their stadtholder; and in 1573, he was able to attack some of the more southern provinces. The war lasted many years; and the united provinces fully set up the protestant religion; while those that remained subject to a foreign jurisdiction, were obliged to acquiesce in popery, as the established religion.—Respecting the toleration of other sects in the United Netherlands, Dr. Maclaine (who lived long in that

§ 13. In Spain and Italy the reformed religion made great progress soon after the first conflicts between *Luther* and the pontiffs. Very many in all the provinces of Italy, but especially among the Venetians, the Tuscans, and the Neapolitans, avowed their alienation from the Romish religion. And in the kingdom of Naples, in particular, very great and dangerous commotions arose from this source, in the year 1536; which were excited chiefly by the celebrated *Bernh. Ochino*, *Peter Martyr*, and others who preached against the superstitions; and which *Charles V.* and his viceroy for Naples had great difficulty to suppress.¹ The principal instruments used by the Roman pontiffs for repelling this danger were the *inquisitors*; whom they sent into most parts of Italy, and who tortured and slew so many people, that very many of the friends of the new religion fled into exile, and others returned, ostensibly at least, to the old religion. But the pontiff found it utterly impossible to bring the Neapolitans to tolerate the tribunal of the *inquisition*, or even to admit *inquisitors* into their country. Spain became imbued with the Lutheran doctrines

country, and therefore may be considered good authority) observes, that 'It is necessary to distinguish between the toleration that was granted to the Roman Catholics and that which the *Anabaptists*, *Lutherans*, and other protestant sects, enjoyed. They were all, indiscriminately, excluded from the civil employments of the state; but though they were equally allowed the exercise of their religion, the latter were permitted to enjoy their religious worship in a more open and public manner than the former, from whom their churches were taken, and whose religious assemblies were confined to private conventicles, which had no external resemblance to the edifices usually set apart for divine worship.' *Tr.*]

¹ See Peter Giannone, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, iv. 108, &c. The Life of Galeacius, in the *Museum Helveticum*, ii. 524. [See Dan. Gerdes, *Specimen Italiae Reformatae—una cum Syllabo Reformatorum Italorum*, Leyden, 1765, 4to, and Dom. Rosius de Porta, *Historia Reformat. Ecclesiar. Reticarum*, Cur. 1771, vol. i. lib. ii. ch. ii. &c. *Tr.*—'It was an attempt to introduce a Roman inquisitor into the city of Naples that, properly speaking, produced the tumult and sedition which Dr. Mosheim attributes, in this section, to the pulpit discourses of Ochino and Martyr; for these famous preachers, and particularly the former, taught the doctrines of the reformation with great art, prudence, and caution, and converted many secretly, without giving public offence. The emperor himself, who heard him at Naples, declared, that *he preached with such spirit and devotion, as was sufficient to make the very stones weep*. After Ochino's departure from Naples, the disciples he had formed gave private instruc-

tions to others, among whom were some eminent ecclesiastics, and persons of distinction, who began to form congregations and conventicles. This awakened the jealousy of the viceroy, Toledo, who published a severe edict against heretical books, ordered some productions of Melancthon and Erasmus to be publicly burnt, looked with a suspicious eye on all kinds of literature, suppressed several academies which had been erected about this time by the nobility for the advancement of learning, and having received orders from the emperor to introduce the inquisition, desired pope Paul III. to send from Rome to Naples a deputy of that formidable tribunal. It was this that excited the people to take up arms in order to defend themselves against this branch of spiritual tyranny, which the Neapolitans never were patient enough to suffer, and which, on many occasions, they had opposed with vigour and success. Hostilities ensued, which were followed by an accommodation of matters, and a general pardon; while the emperor and viceroy, by this resolute opposition, were deterred from their design of introducing this despotic tribunal into the kingdom of Naples. Several other attempts were afterwards made during the reigns of Philip II. III. IV. and Charles II. to establish the inquisition in Naples; but by the jealousy and vigilance of the people, they all proved ineffectual. At length, the emperor, Charles VI., in the beginning of this present century, published an edict, expressly prohibiting all causes relating to the holy faith to be tried by any persons except the archbishops and bishops as ordinaries. See Giannone, *Histoire de Naples*, l. xxxii. sec. 2 and 3. *Modern Univ. History*, xxviii. 273, &c. ed. 8vo.' *Maccl.*]

by different ways; and among others, by those very theologians whom *Charles V.* took with him to Germany to confute the *heretics*: for those theologians returned to their country tainted with the heresy. But the *Spanish inquisition*, by its accustomed severities, and especially by condemning to the flames, easily extinguished in the population every disposition to substitute a better religion in place of the old one.¹

§ 14. It is unnecessary to enter upon any great controversy with such as remark that some of the persons who took a leading part in these great revolutions were now and then guilty of grievous faults. For the best informed do not deny that several transactions might have been conducted more discreetly; and that some of the men in power were more solicitous to promote their own interests than to advance pure religion. But, on the other hand, it is beyond all question, that many things which appear faulty to us of the present age, should be classed among noble achievements, if we regard the times and the places of them, and compare them with the frauds and enormities as well of the Roman pontiff as of his adherents. However, when we go into inquiry respecting the justice of the controversy which *Luther* first waged with the Roman pontiff, it is not a question that relates to the personal acts and virtues of individual men. Let some of these be supposed even worse men than they are generally esteemed to be, provided the *cause*, for which they contended, be allowed to have been just and good.²

¹ Michael Geddes, *Spanish Protestant Martyrology*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 445. [It is noticeable, that all the Spanish theologians, who accompanied *Charles V.* to Germany, and were associated with him afterwards in his retirement, fell, after his death, into the hands of the inquisition, and were condemned, some to the flames, and others to other kinds of death. These were Augustine Casal, his court preacher; Constantine Pontius, his confessor; the Dominican, Bartholomew Carranza, confessor to king Philip and queen

Mary; together with many others. *Schl.* —For information respecting the dawn of protestantism in Italy and Spain, see two works of the late Dr. M'Crie; the *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy*, Edinb. 1827, and the *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain*, Edinb. 1829. *S.*]

² [See Maclaine's Appendix, No. i. concerning the *spirit* and *conduct* of the first reformers, &c. subjoined to his translation of this section. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER V.

* HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

§ 1. Henry VIII. — § 2. Translations of Scripture — § 3. Authorised religious books — § 4. Renunciation of the papal supremacy — § 5. Suppression of monasteries — § 6. Previous suppression — § 7. Terms made by the monks — § 8. Opposition encountered — § 9. The northern rebellion — § 10. The act of six articles — § 11. Progress of the Reformation under Henry — § 12. Edward VI. — § 13. The English Liturgy — § 14. Further reforms — § 15. The second service-book — § 16. The forty-two articles — § 17. Episcopal dismissals — § 18. Mary — § 19. Pole — § 20. Cranmer — § 21. Other episcopal martyrdoms — § 22. The Marian persecution — § 23. Elizabeth — § 24. Rupture with Rome — § 25. First Protestant movements — § 26. The act of supremacy — § 27. Parker — § 28. His consecration — § 29. Legend of the Nag's Head tavern — § 30. The new prelacy — § 31. The conference of Westminster — § 32. The law of heresy — § 33. Overtures from Rome — § 34. The thirty-nine articles — § 35. Settlement of the Church of England.

§ 1. WHEN Luther attracted notice, nothing seemed less likely than that the English throne should aid his progress. Its occupant, Henry VIII., came to it with a far better title than had been enjoyed by any one of his predecessors, during more than a century. He held the balance between the two rival monarchies of France and Spain. He was highly popular at home, and had an imperious disposition which overawed a spirit of resistance. In addition, besides, to the dislike of innovation naturally attendant upon established power, he had imbibed a taste for school divinity, and proud of his acquisitions in that branch of learning, his name gave credit and currency to a literary attack upon the new enemy to established principles that had appeared in Saxony.¹ Thus personal vanity rendered Luther's theology additionally odious to him, and that reformer's coarse treatment of his controversial essay soon bound him more strongly than ever to his religious prepossessions, by the powerful motive of resentment. But all these outworks gave way before reflexion upon the very questionable nature of his marriage with Catharine of Arragon, uneasiness under the want of male issue, the decline of his wife's personal attractions, the fascination of a beautiful rival, and the intractability of pope Clement VII., whom Charles V. prevented from granting him a divorce. These over-ruling causes placed him largely under the influence of Thomas Cranmer, a scholarly divine, born at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, in 1489, whom he raised to the see of Canterbury in 1533, but who was a married man with a strong and well-matured bias towards the Reformation.² By means of this eminent prelate, Henry

* SOAMES.

¹ *Assertio VII. Sacramentorum*. This work was beautifully printed by Pynson in 1521. In 1687 appeared an English translation of it.

² There is an excellent account of this eminent, but misrepresented, prelate by archdeacon Todd, entitled, *The Life of Archbishop Cranmer*, 2 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1831. There is also a very able and useful

laid aside much of his hostility to Lutheranism, and the latter years of his reign were directed, though not without considerable interruptions, to that deliverance of England from Roman bondage, upon which is mainly founded her pre-eminence among nations.

§ 2. One of the most effective instruments in rendering the country protestant, was an authorised translation of the Bible. Wickliffe had largely owed his influence to the circulation of that sacred book in the vernacular tongue; and in the earlier years of Luther's career, William Tyndale, born on the confines of Wales, who had been a member of both universities, gave a violent shock to English Romanism, by a translation of the New Testament.¹ Unable to face the mortifying and embarrassing fact, that men were won over from the papal church by reading the Bible, because they could not find Romish peculiarities in it, the clergy took refuge under charges of inaccuracy against existing versions. They did not come forward with objections against scriptural reading altogether, but only against public acquaintance with the translated Bibles in circulation, which were denounced, as artfully glossed, and in various ways calculated to mislead. As a counterpoise to this alleged mischief, the king, courtiers, and prelacy, formally promised in the Star-chamber, on the 25th of May, 1531, that a version of Scripture, worthy of reliance, should be undertaken.² The scandal, however, of an indiscriminate objection to the popular acquisition of scriptural knowledge being thus eluded, no step appears to have been taken to redeem the pledge so solemnly given. The people saw no probability of any authorised version, and being extensively desirous of reading God's written word, the decried translations of it were largely but surreptitiously imported from the continent; allowing, by their marginal notes, no readers to overlook, that nothing in Scripture told against Luther, while much plainly confirmed him. Independently of his habitual integrity, which placed him above a shelter under unfulfilled pledges and illusory concealments, Cranmer was naturally desirous that his countrymen should judge for themselves as to that which God had placed upon record, and as to the agreement of his German friends with an authority so unquestionable. Hence he exerted himself to obtain the fulfilment of that pledge which had been given under his predecessor, Warham, and at length, in 1539, England saw herself blessed with an authorised version of Scripture.³ This effectually paralysed Romish opposition.

life of him by Mr. Le Bas, 2 vols. 12mo, Lond. 1833. The great storehouse of information respecting him is, however, his life by Strype, entitled, *Memorials of the most reverend Father in God, Thomas Cranmer, sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, republished at Oxford in 1812, in 2 vols. 8vo; but archdeacon Todd has furnished many new particulars. Another Life of Cranmer, which attracted considerable notice before late accounts of him appeared, came from the easy but superficial pen of Gilpin.

¹ The first edition of Tyndale's *Testament* was printed at Antwerp in 1526. It is a volume of the utmost rarity.

² Lewis's *History of the Translations of the Holy Bible and New Testament into English*. Lond. 1818, p. 75.

³ *Matthewe's Bible*, as it was called, was published with the royal licence in 1537. *Matthewe* appears to have been a mere name to disguise the fact that the volume comprised the translations of Tyndale and Coverdale, both of whom had been stigmatised as unfaithful interpreters of Scripture.

Political vacillations enabled the party that clung to early prepossessions, to obtain, in 1543, a prohibition of biblical reading to all the inferior classes.¹ But Parliament went no further than restraining access to Scripture, and stigmatising Tyndale's labours as *crafty, false, and untrue*. Hence all Henry's later years placed in strong contrast before the better informed, what was universally confessed to be the word of God, and what many pronounced, with a great appearance of probability, to be nothing else than the traditions of men.

§ 3. Besides the access thus given to scriptural truth, Henry also published some summaries of doctrine for popular instruction, based upon principles that shook the church of Rome. In 1536, appeared the *Ten Articles*, in the following year, the *Institution of a Christian Man*, and in 1543, *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*.² All these authorised pieces were evidently constructed with reference to the confession of Augsburg, and although they retain much of a Romish character, yet their omissions, and some of their declarations, bear most injuriously upon the papal system.³ Three Primers also, the last of which, published in 1545, was expressly sanctioned by the king, had all the same tendency. The first of these, which was, indeed, unauthorised, and gave great offence to the clergy, omitted the Litany, because it contained prayers to saints. It cannot, however, be doubted, that this decried publication gave rise to its two successors, and these, though retaining enough to preserve the principle of saintly intercession, avoid the free use of it which established formularies offered, and they generally make against the church of Rome.⁴ Another formulary, with this tendency, was an English Litany, authorised in 1544,⁵ and thus a

The former translated the Old Testament to the end of Chronicles, and the book of Jonah, with all the New Testament. Coverdale translated the remainder of the Old Testament, and to the end of the Apocrypha. *Cranmer's*, or the *Great Bible*, printed in 1539, was a revision of *Mattheus's Bible*, in which Tyndale's prologues and notes, with notes by others, were all omitted. It was now that every parish was to provide an English Bible before All Saints' day, next ensuing, under the penalty of forty shillings a month. This edition must, therefore, be considered as the first English Bible regularly authorised. In addition to Lewis's work, Dr. Cotton's *List of Editions of the Bible and Parts thereof in English*, will be found highly useful.

¹ The statute entitled *An Act for the Advancement of true Religion*, prohibits artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servants, husbandmen, and labourers, from reading the Bible either 'privately or openly,' under pain of a month's imprisonment.

² All these pieces were re-published by the University of Oxford in 1825, in an 8vo vol. entitled, *Formularies of Faith, put forth by authority during the reign of Henry VIII.*

The editor was Dr. Charles Lloyd, who died in 1829, in the 45th year of his age, being then bishop of Oxford, and king's professor of divinity there.

³ The Lutheran character of these documents, and of subsequent Anglican formularies, is ably shown in the Bampton Lectures for 1804, preached by Dr. Richard Laurence, afterwards canon of Christchurch, and king's professor of Hebrew in Oxford, and eventually archbishop of Cashel in Ireland, being the last protestant holder of that see with archiepiscopal honours.

⁴ All these pieces were republished in an 8vo vol. by the University of Oxford in 1834, entitled, *Three Primers put forth in the reign of Henry VIII.* Their editor was the late learned, amiable, and unassuming Dr. Edward Burton.

⁵ Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, Lond. 1674, p. 20. Humphrey says, in his *Life of Jewel*, that Henry contemplated much completer changes, when he was arrested by death, even so far as an extermination of the mass. *Joannis Juelli, Angli, Episc. Sarisb. Vita et Mors*, Lond. 1573, p. 176.

beginning was made to wean the people from the inveterate, but pernicious and absurd, superstition of public worship in an unknown tongue.

§ 4. Upon the propriety of such innovations, considerable difference of opinion was manifested; but upon the papal authority, hardly any at all. So early as the year 1534, the convocations of both provinces, and the two universities, formally pronounced that *the Roman bishop has no greater jurisdiction given him by God over England than any other foreign bishop*.¹ To this disclaimer of a long-established authority, nearly all parties responded warmly, and at once. It seemed as if papal interference in English affairs was so palpable an usurpation, that men only needed some little consideration, and an assurance that they might safely speak their minds, in order to shake it indignantly off their shoulders. Individuals, accordingly, whose vigilance never slumbered when there was an opening to befriend the doctrines or ritual of Rome, came emulously forward to denounce the papacy. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, the most subtle and influential partisan of the Romish worship, wrote his treatise, *De Vera Obedientia*, to expose the papal supremacy.² Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, the most able and active of the Romishly-inclined prelates after Gardiner, preached a sermon to the same effect before the king,³ which he afterwards published. Nothing is more remarkable in the English Reformation than this immediate appearance of unanimity upon such a great leading question.

§ 5. Another important step in the English reformation, under Henry, was the dissolution of monasteries. To few things had the papacy stood so deeply indebted, as to these foundations. It is, indeed, true, that among the Mendicants, especially among certain of the more rigid Franciscans, denunciations against the Roman Church had frequently been heard, occasionally such as would have satisfied the most violent protestant of later times. Nor is it doubtful, that such language was among the preparatives of the Reformation. But still, there existed universally among these orders, a sufficient inclination to support the papacy, whenever it did not cross their particular views, and a cordial adoption of all those superstitions which papal had inherited from pagan Rome, and which form one of her principal holds upon human nature. Thus even the Mendicants, on the whole, added greatly to the strength of popery. All the other monastic orders had ever been the firmest and most zealous adherents of the papacy. Their houses too, although great national ornaments, and long of the highest utility as refuges for literary

¹ Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* lib. ii. p. 94. In the records to that volume are to be found the formal instruments by which the papal authority was so promptly and completely exploded.

² Boner, afterwards of persecuting notoriety, wrote a preface to this book. It was printed at Hamburg in 1536. The author was frequently upbraided with it during

the Marian persecution. It is to be found, with Boner's preface, in Brown's Appendix to the *Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum et Fugientiarum*, p. 800. [But see Dr. Maitland's *Essays on the Reformation*, Lond. 1849, p. 345. *Ed.*]

³ On Palm Sunday, 1538. Strype's *Memorials*, Oxford, 1822, i. 518.

treasures, and for men able to use them, were universally harbours for a base, grovelling, and unchristian superstition. Deluded worshippers were ever crowding to them from the fame of their images, relics, and mendacious miracles. It was, therefore, a great advantage, both over the papal power and over the baser but more popular portions of Romanism, when England was cleared of her monastic establishments.

§ 6. For Henry's attack upon these foundations the nation had been prepared by the papacy itself. Cardinal Wolsey, being desirous of building and endowing two splendid colleges, one at Ipswich, the place of his birth, the other at Oxford, the place of his academical education, had obtained permission, in 1525, from Clement VII. to dissolve forty monasteries, and apply their revenues to the execution of his plans.¹ Thus Rome herself had recently been betrayed into the signal indiscretion of treating monastic property as liable to alienation, when public interest required. Such a requirement was the plea set up, when parliament laid its hands upon conventual property. Among monks and friars were found the most unyielding opponents of the royal supremacy, which was represented, and upon solid grounds, as inseparable from the crown: it had, in fact, been so treated by all the ablest English monarchs and lawyers. As a further and more cogent reason for dealing severely with monasteries, a visitation of them was ordered. This was conducted, most probably, with a view to make out a case against them, and hence a candid allowance could not be expected in any quarter. In most cases, the visitors were rather likely to exaggerate everything unfavourable. Romish writers admit some degree of truth in their report, but naturally charge them with positive fiction in many things.² This was, however, needless. An unfriendly scrutiny into a great number of conventual establishments, at a time when manners were gross, and public observation little more than commensurate with every petty neighbourhood, would easily paint a very revolting picture without any ingredient positively untrue. Such a picture, undoubtedly, was drawn by Henry's visitors, and under cover of it, all religious houses, with a revenue not exceeding two hundred pounds a year, were suppressed by act of parliament in 1536. In putting their suppression upon this ground, the legislature unconsciously effected a righteous retribution, English monachism having mainly triumphed before the Norman Conquest, under Edgar, by means of injurious charges against the secular canons.

§ 7. The facility with which this important innovation was effected, the mass of wealth which it turned into the royal coffers, and the encouragement given by monastic bodies to the rebellion raised by papal partisans in the north of England, rendered *Henry* and his courtiers anxious for the total suppression of conventual establishments. In 1538, accordingly, a new visitation of monasteries was ordered, and, although the report was not universally unfavourable,

¹ Fuller's *History of Abbeyes*, p. 305.
Church History, Lond. 1655.

² Sanders, *De Schismate Anglicano*,
Ingolst. 1588, p. 112.

yet enough was alleged to make every monk tremble for the consequences. There was now, therefore, found in religious houses, a general disposition to surrender. In a body so extensive as the monastic, many were, of course, glad to escape from restrictions which had either been always irksome, or had become so. Some, probably, were quite willing to make terms, while others might be intimidated into a surrender. From these various causes, all the larger monasteries were brought, in about two years, to a dissolution seemingly voluntary. A change in the national society so extensive, could not be carried through without instances of individual hardship, but in general the emancipated monks and nuns received equitable treatment; either church preferment being given to them, or provisions from their former revenues being settled upon them, proportioned to their wants and respective stations.¹

§ 8. Although *Henry* encountered very little opposition in effecting his various innovations, universal acquiescence was impossible. Prelates, undoubtedly favourable to Romanism, might write and preach against the papal supremacy; might even formally renounce it upon oath, professedly of their own free will, and for ever, as Gardiner and his friends did in 1535,² but some men, notwithstanding, would eagerly cling to it as by an article of faith. The very year, accordingly, which brought forward these episcopal oaths, voluntarily made, as it was asserted, exhibited also some distressing cases of opposition to the royal pretensions. The lead was taken in this by the Carthusians, of whom several suffered the penalties of high treason, for denying the supremacy, or rather for using the pestilent engine of confession to raise up a spirit of resistance to it.³ A lighter shade of the same offence brought to the block⁴ John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, one of the most learned, candid, blameless, and disinterested prelates of his day. He had denied the king's supremacy, while imprisoned in the Tower, and the pope having insultingly nominated him a cardinal, Henry's contemptuous resentment, as it seems, quickly shed his blood. This lamentable execution was rapidly followed⁵ by that of the virtuous, erudite, and facetious Sir Thomas More, late lord chancellor, whose inveterate Romish prejudices had betrayed him, while in power, into some acts of persecution, and now betrayed him, lawyer as he was, into a denial of those ecclesiastical prerogatives, which a long series of statutes and precedents claim for the English crown.

§ 9. Henry experienced, however, a more serious obstacle in rebellious movements, which agitated the northern counties in 1536, and the following year. The bold and ignorant population of those parts was fired by a persuasion that the vitals of religion were seriously threatened by recent measures. Leaders were found in a few persons

¹ Fuller, 343.

² This oath, as taken by Abp. Lee, of York, and the bishops Gardiner, of Winchester, Stokesley, of London, and Tunstall, of Durham, may be seen in Foxe, *Acts and*

Monuments, Lond. 1610, p. 964. It was taken also by the other bishops.

³ Strype's *Memorials*, i. 305. [Froude's *History of England*, ii. 343, &c. *Ed.*]

⁴ June 22, 1535.

⁵ July 6, 1535.

of superior condition, and the insurrection assumed for a time an embarrassing appearance. But the south did not respond to the voice of resistance that sounded from the north, and such as had much to lose even there, standing very commonly aloof, the rebellion was easily crushed.¹

§ 10. Subsequently, the Romish party chiefly depended upon the dexterous use of royal favour. Its most remarkable, but discreditable triumph, was in 1539; when Henry was persuaded to come down to the House of Lords, and secure the passing of the *Act of Six Articles* by his personal weight.² This cruel statute made burning the penalty for denying transubstantiation, and left any who should recant such denial, still liable to the total confiscation of property. It adjudged to death as felons, all who maintained the necessity of communicating in both kinds; or who denied the divine prohibition of sacerdotal marriages, or the divine ratification of vows of chastity; or who attacked private masses, or auricular confession. In 1544, this act was modified by another, which allowed no prosecution under it without a previous presentment, legally made by a jury, and limited presentments to offences committed within the twelve months immediately preceding.³

§ 11. During Henry's whole reign, the church remained in appearance completely Romish. Excepting the English litany prepared for a particular occasion,⁴ that prince left the ritual as he found it, as he did nearly the whole framework of religious belief. But by his means, the established system was completely undermined. Many doctrines long current, were confessedly of doubtful authority. None saw them clearly revealed in Scripture, and many could find no trace of them there, but rather of matter in opposition to them. Their only ascertained dependence was the Roman see; an authority which England now repulsed with scorn. The Bible, too, was opened, at first, unreservedly, and it was never completely sealed again. Thus people formed a habit of distrusting doctrines which would not bear confronting with God's undoubted word. They were, indeed, pretty plainly taught that articles of faith required a scriptural warranty. Subsidiary works of religious instruction, published by authority, were mainly based upon the Confession of Augsburg. The primate, who could never be dislodged from a strong-hold upon his royal master's mind, had been in Germany, associated with Lutherans, was known to agree generally with them in opinion, and to be a married man, living privately with his wife, until the *Act of Six Articles* compelled him to send her away for a time to her relations abroad. The monastic foundations, which were the great seats of papal prejudice, and of debasing superstition, were wholly suppressed. Thus, to say nothing of anti-Romish works by unauthorised polemics, the whole course of

¹ Herbert's *Life and Reign of King Henry VIII.* in Kennet's *Complete History of England*, Lond. 1706, ii. 205. [Froude, iii. 86, &c. *Ed.*]

² Abp. Cranmer to the Devonshire in-

surgen's, Strype's *Cranmer*, Appendix, 808.

³ Herbert, 242.

⁴ It was prepared to pray for God's blessing when he was upon the eve of departing on an expedition to France.

national events, during all Henry's latter years, prepared the country for that protestant profession which it speedily embraced after his demise. Even the *Act of Six Articles*, and other ebullitions of Romish intolerance, had this tendency, by irritating the reforming party, and rendering its opponents additionally odious.

§ 12. On Henry's death, in 1547, the English reformation began in earnest. Edward VI., who succeeded, was, indeed, under ten years old, but he was a child of more than usual promise, and as his tutors, Coxe and Cheke, had imbibed protestant opinions, all the personal weight which one so young could have, was eagerly directed against Romanism. The chief power at the outset of his reign, readily fell into the hands of his maternal uncle, Edward Seymour, who was nominated protector, and created duke of Somerset. This nobleman at once identified himself with the reformation, and Cranmer's became the leading mind in all the nation's religious affairs.

§ 13. Within a few weeks, accordingly, of the king's accession, Nicholas Ridley, afterwards bishop of London, preached in the chapel royal against images, and the lustral water of paganism, naturalised among Romanists under the name of *holy water*.¹ Much offence was taken in many quarters at this and other such attacks upon established superstitions; but the government were evidently bent upon their suppression, and nothing could shield them from a daily accumulation of odium and contempt. As the year advanced, royal visitors with protestant instructions,² inspected all the country, the first book of Homilies was published, and every parish had orders to provide itself with the Paraphrase of Erasmus. These unequivocal steps towards a scriptural faith led, in the next year, to a prohibition of the usual processions on Candlemas-day, of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and of palms on Palm-Sunday.³ This was immediately followed by an order for the general removal of images from churches.⁴ Orders for the removal of images abused to superstitious uses had been already given. The movement, however, most decidedly protestant, which distinguished the year 1548, was the compilation of an English liturgy. Abstractedly, there was no violation of Romish principle in this measure, for the papal church framed her service when the congregation spoke Latin; and the Trentine decree against a vernacular tongue in public worship was not promulgated until 1562. Nor was the matter produced by the liturgical committee, such generally as to offend Romanists. They might, indeed, regret some omissions, but the bulk of the new English book was translated, and with admirable skill, from the old Latin service.⁵ The whole proceeding, however,

¹ Gloucester Ridley's *Life of Dr. Nicholas Ridley, sometime bishop of London*, Lond. 1763, p. 200.

² The *Injunctions* with which the visitors were furnished for dispersion, may be seen at the beginning of Bp. Sparrow's *Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons, &c.* Lond. 1675.

³ Official circular from Bp. Boner,

Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, Lond. 1674, p. 55.

⁴ Order of council. *Ibid.*

⁵ See Mr. Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ, or Antiquities of the English Ritual*, an excellent work, which filled an inconvenient void in English literature. Former liturgical works had furnished much useful information, but Mr. Palmer's, by exhibiting

was in defiance of inveterate Romish usage, and the new service, by omitting all the superstitious innovations that appeared in the mass-book, gave them a severe rebuke. A catholic position was thus assumed, which papal partisans might asperse and envy, but which dispassionate enquiry would soon show to be greatly above their own.

§ 14. In 1549, an English ordinal was produced,¹ and in the following year, the stone altars, which had immemorially ornamented the churches, were removed, to make way for communion-tables. This change, posterity may regret, as needless in itself, and an injudicious sacrifice of a venerable decoration. But contemporaries alone can adequately judge of such questions, and they had undoubtedly a degree of difficulty in weaning the people from inveterate superstitions, which rendered all incentives to them obnoxious. It is, however, plain that a disposition was afloat to war with Romish usages beyond the necessities of the case. In their anxiety to protestantise the country, the English reformers called for assistance from abroad, and thence they secured services of considerable intrinsic value, but qualified by a low-church alloy. The foreign divines came from quarters in which the prelacy had stood aloof when Romanism began to totter, and where, accordingly, there had been some necessity to depart from catholic polity, in order to obtain deliverance from usages and principles unsanctioned by catholic antiquity. As usual under such necessities, the parties did not stop where sound discretion would have allowed them, but incautiously opened a door to endless questions and innovations.

§ 15. This indiscretion acted upon the English service-book. A narrow spirit was awake which would hear of nothing in divine worship that could not plead some direct authority in the New Testament. Mere conformity to the tenor of revelation, and an unquestionable connexion with primitive times, were deemed insufficient. Hence objectors found many subjects for exception in the new liturgy, and a clamour was raised against it. The young king became a party to this, and it was obviously inexpedient, if not impossible, to leave the service as it had been originally framed. Cranmer, accordingly, bent to a necessity which he could not control; but being anxious to avoid a like evil again, he desired Bucer, and Martyr, two of the learned foreigners then employed in England, to prepare full statements of their objections. Their task was executed at considerable length, and in the review of the Common Prayer, which was effected in 1551, their more prominent objections were found to have prevailed. The most important alterations now made were the omission of any prayer for the dead, and the withdrawal of a liberty to use extreme unction in visiting the sick. In many other particulars, too, a conformity

the originals, where any could be found, has not only given ready access to much useful information, but has also demonstrated the catholic character of the Anglican service.

¹ Upon the consonance of the English ordinal with antiquity, may be consulted Bp. Burnet's *Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England*, Lond. 1677.

with Romish usages, which Edward's first service-book had enjoined, was now to be discontinued.¹ The English Prayer-book was, in fact, reduced very nearly to the same form that it has ever since retained. It was, however, not admitted that any error in principle had found place on the former occasion. On the contrary, objections to the first service-book were expressly attributed to curious and mistaken views, the volume really containing nothing that was not agreeable to God's word and the primitive church.² Thus the alteration was treated as a mere matter rendered expedient by circumstances, and accordingly, members of the church of England have repeatedly felt themselves at liberty to avow a preference for the liturgy, as it originally stood.

§ 16. In 1552, the church of England was provided with a doctrinal test. Forty-two articles of religion were framed, and sanctioned by the convocation, but it is not known whether that body formally examined them, or merely placed them in the hands of a committee.³ They do not materially differ from the thirty-nine articles, eventually adopted as the standard of national belief, and it is evident that they were compiled with especial reference to the Confession of Augsburg. It was intended also to provide a new body of canon law, and the design was actually carried into effect, but the young king's death rendered it abortive. The provisions, however, which are extensive, remain on record,⁴ and have, by their award of capital penalties to blasphemers, and impugners of the first four general councils, given great occasion to recriminate, when Romanists have been taunted with intolerance.⁵ There is, however, considerable difference between such severity in this case, and in the case of a disbelief in transubstantiation; which has ever been the chief cause for shedding protestant blood.

§ 17. Overt resistance to Edward's numerous reforms was made by some bodies of insurgent peasantry in 1549. Devonshire was the county most disturbed; but neither there, nor elsewhere, did the ferment prove of any serious importance. Among the bishops, several used various arts to stop the innovating party, but they had placed themselves under very disadvantageous circumstances. Perhaps, there was really nothing more objectionable in Cranmer, than a disposition to encourage civil encroachments on the episcopate. He seems to have thought a bishop as much dependent on the crown as an ordinary magistrate; and hence, needing new powers on a royal demise to exercise his functions. Unless this opinion had taken thorough possession of his mind, it is hardly conceivable that he should have

¹ The two service-books may be seen side by side in Hamon L'Estrange's *Aliance of Divine Offices*, and in Dr. Cardwell's *Two Books of Common Prayer, set forth by authority of Parliament, in the reign of king Edward VI. compared with each other*.

² Act authorising the second service-book. Heylin, *Hist. Ref.* 107.

³ Collier, *Ecol. Hist.* ii. 325.

⁴ Published under the title of *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, in the reign of Elizabeth, republished in 1640 [and at Oxford in 1850, ed. by Dr. E. Cardwell. *Ed.*]

⁵ Dr. Lingard's *History of England*, vii. 187.

submitted, on Edward's accession, to supplicate for new powers, or even to accept such. He did, however, both,¹ and his brethren followed the bad example. Nay, more, the bench generally consented to hold during the royal pleasure;² a stretch of subserviency which found ready means for dismissing such of the Romish prelates as were found intractable. The first upon whom this measure of severity fell was Edmund Boner, bishop of London, who was dismissed in 1549, under plea of connivance at adultery, and for various hindrances to the ecclesiastical reforms in progress.³ In 1551, Gardiner was deprived, as an incorrigible opponent of the existing system.⁴ In the same year, the bishops Heath and Day were cashiered, but on grounds more defensible, because less indefinite. The former had refused to sign the new ordinal, the latter had resisted the removal of altars.⁵ In 1552, Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, was removed from his see. He had been found to have received a letter, proposing a rebellion in the north. None such broke out; but it was considered, and not unreasonably, that a man in Tunstall's station ought not to keep secret, as he did, a communication of this dangerous kind. Hence a bill of attainder against him was brought into the House of Lords, but it failed in the Commons; and he was then, after such preliminary formalities as had been used in like cases before, dismissed by the royal authority.⁶ It was intended to divide his diocese into two, but Edward's death left the scheme incomplete, and when a new reign began, Tunstall had only to re-enter upon his old jurisdiction and possessions. To three of the other cashiered prelates, protestants of learning and ability succeeded.⁷ Heath of Worcester, eventually archbishop of York, had no regular successor, his see being given *in commendam* to Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and its valuable temporalities made a prize for rapacious courtiers. Such acts have done incalculable injury to the cause of truth. Hence has been given to Romanism plausible means for stamping a mercenary character upon the whole reformation.

§ 18. On Edward's premature demise, in 1553, an unhappy and abortive attempt was made by the protestant party to place Lady Jane Grey upon the throne. The nation generally, however, stood aloof, and nothing followed, but individual misery, and increased stability to the crown of Mary, the lawful heir. That princess, granddaughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, distinguished as the *Catholic sovereign*, and resting her legitimacy of birth solely on a very questionable dispensation from Rome, had shown through life, a lofty constancy in adhering to the religion in which she had been bred. Since her subjects were extensively pervaded by different opinions, they naturally felt anxious as to liberty of conscience. While, how-

¹ Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 201.

² Collier, ii. 218.

³ Foxe, 1209.

⁴ Ibid. 1237.

⁵ Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 329.

⁶ Ibid. 413.

⁷ Nicholas Ridley, martyred under Mary, was appointed to London; John Poynt, who died in exile under Mary, to Winchester; John Scory, to Chichester. All three were translated from Rochester.

ever, not yet warm upon the royal seat, she allayed rising apprehensions, by assuring the magistracy of London, that, although firm in her own belief, she had no intention of forcing it upon the nation, otherwise than by the diffusion of sound instruction. But this tolerant assurance had scarcely passed her lips, when John Francis Commendone, eventually a cardinal, whom Dandino, papal resident at Brussels, had secretly sent into England, obtained admittance to her in disguise. Mary's hopes, prejudices, and antipathies, now became violently inflamed. She did not, indeed, venture to lay aside immediately the title of *Supreme Head of the Church of England*,¹ borne by her father and half-brother; but she expressed an extreme abhorrence of it,² and evidently would not rest until Romanism should be completely restored. In the November, accordingly, of the very year which saw her on the throne, an act of parliament was passed, repealing all king Edward's laws as to religion, and restoring the Romish service from the 20th of the next month.³

§ 19. Mary's principal religious adviser, throughout her reign, was Reginald Pole, whose mother was the last surviving member of the royal house of Plantagenet, and who had been made a cardinal in 1536. Since that time he had signalled himself disgracefully in abortive attempts to stimulate foreign powers against Henry VIII.,⁴ but latterly he had spent a scholarly and religious life in Italy. He was a well-informed man, of decorous habits, and courtly manners, but scurrilous upon paper when provoked, and of an understanding that at furthest did not exceed mediocrity. On Edward's death, he had been appointed papal legate to England, and he entered immediately into correspondence with the queen. Various delays, partly turning upon continental politics, and partly upon Mary's own apprehensions of precipitancy, detained him on the continent, until near the close of 1554. The nation was then formally reconciled to Rome, both houses of Parliament being publicly absolved by Pole from the alleged sin of abjuring the papal see. He was then lodged in the archiepiscopal residence at Lambeth, and he continued to occupy it, although not formally placed in the see of Canterbury until after Cranmer's martyrdom.⁵

¹ In her first Parliament-roll she is styled, *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ Supremum Caput*. *Parliamentary History*, Lond. 1751, iii. 290.

² Pallavicino, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, Rom. 1657, ii. 35.

³ The bill was sent down from the Lords, Oct. 31, and debated by the Commons during six days. *Parl. Hist.* iii. 295.

⁴ He was sent by the pope into Flanders in 1537, while Roman hopes were raised by the northern rebellion in England, to foment that insurrection, and to obtain succour for it from the kings of France and Scotland. In 1538 he went into Spain to persuade Charles V. into hostilities against England.

⁵ Those who wish to study the character of Pole, may consult *The History of the Life of Reginald Pole*, written by Phillips, a canon of Tongres, published originally in 4to with the author's name, afterwards anonymously in 2 vols. 8vo, in 1767, and the answers to it. The former is a Romish party work, of no great intrinsic value: the latter are, *The Life of Cardinal Reginald Pole*, translated from Beccatelli, with notes by Pye, Lond. 1766; *A Review of Mr. Phillips's History of the Life of Reginald Pole*, by Ridley, Lond. 1766; *Animadversions upon Mr. Phillips's History of the Life of Cardinal Pole*, by Neve, Oxford, 1766; *Remarks upon the History of the Life of Reginald Pole*, by Stone, Oxford, 1766. The last is the least valuable.

§ 20. Cranmer himself had been early removed from his home. Soon after Mary's accession, a report reached his ears that he had offered to propitiate the court by celebrating a mass of *Requiem* at king Edward's funeral. Stung to the quick by this venomous calumny, he lost no time in the preparation of a paper denying Romish claims to antiquity, and offering to prove in a solemn public argument, that antiquity was really on the side of protestants. This was merely the draught for a larger piece that he was meditating, but bishop Scory obtained a copy of it, whether by permission or otherwise is not certainly known,¹ and it soon was eagerly circulated all over London.² The queen's advisers treated it as seditious, which it certainly was not, the religious principles advocated in it being still established by law. Upon this ground, however, reinforced by his participation in Lady Jane Grey's attempt, Cranmer was committed to the Tower.³ Upon the latter charge he was soon after brought to trial,⁴ and he pleaded guilty, protesting that he had acted most reluctantly and under legal advice, to which he might reasonably defer. Had Mary's government possessed any sound discretion, it would have availed itself of such an opportunity to get rid of an obnoxious opponent. But it was the foot-ball of an infatuated, resentful bigotry, which could not rest without savage dreams of suffering heretics. Hence Cranmer was repeatedly harassed with attempts to browbeat and confute him. At length, his venerable friends, Ridley and Latimer, who had hitherto shared his troubles, received the crown of martyrdom;⁵ and endeavours were artfully made to shake his own constancy. These were attended with some considerable success. The fear of death, and the love of life, betrayed him into a disgraceful dissimulation. It has generally been believed that he recanted protestantism, and a document, doing this most completely, is found in Foxe's *Martyrology*. It appears, however, that he really never signed this. He might have written it out, and affected a disposition to consider it, giving, at the same time, hopes of acquiescence. The matter to which his signature, authenticated by a date, stands appended, is equivocal; such as, indeed, he could not sign, under existing circumstances, without discredit, because his act might pass among ignorant Romanists for a sufficient recantation, while better judges knew that it really left untouched all the points at issue.⁶ It seems, therefore, both that he shrank from the guilt of a genuine recantation,

¹ There is little room for doubt that Scory's act was without permission. See Archdeacon Todd's *Historical and Critical Introduction to Cranmer's Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament*, Lond. 1825, p. lxxxix.

² Sept. 5, 1553.

³ Sept. 8.

⁴ Nov. 13.

⁵ Oct. 16, 1555.

⁶ Cranmer's recantations were published immediately under the inspection of Bp. Boner, with this title, *All the Submyssions*

and Recantations of Thomas Cranmer, late Archbyskop of Canterburye, truly set forth both in Latyn and Englysh, agreeable to the originalles, wrytten and subscribed with his own handes. The tract itself is extremely scarce, but reprints of it may be seen in Strype's *Memorials*, iii. 392; Todd's *Life of Cranmer*, ii. 472; Jenkyns's *Remains of Cranmer*, iv. 393. A lengthened examination of these perplexing documents may be found in Mr. Soames's *History of the Reformation*, iv. 517. [See also Froude, vi. 415. *Ed.*]

and that his enemies have not to bear the infamy of burning him, after he was no longer liable, on their own principles, to that penalty. They, probably, saw the hopelessness of drawing anything from him that would bear sufficient examination, and having practised upon his weakness long enough to degrade him effectually, they brought him to the stake.¹ Nothing could be more ill-judged. The dissembling prisoner, fluttering between unworthy hopes and fears, called for grief, scorn and exultation, or pity. From the dying martyr, happily freed from every cord that bound him to the earth, shone forth all the noble constancy of a spirit mounting to the skies. Few men who have done and suffered so much in a cause that half the world approves, have received harder measure from posterity. Romanists, smarting under the defection of an archbishop and a scholar, have naturally loaded the memory of Cranmer with indiscriminate abuse. Protestants commonly have thought more of his subserviency under Henry, and of his recantation, such as might be, under Mary, than of the firmness that he showed repeatedly under both, and of his great services to the holy cause of scriptural Christianity. The truth is, that his convictions were slowly and cautiously formed, and that he had not the nerve with which some very few men are blessed. But he was among the most useful men that England ever produced, and a careful consideration of his history will show him to have passed through life with far more of independence and courage, than a hasty view of some ill-understood facts has made men commonly believe.

§ 21. Four other members of the prelacy perished in the flames under Mary. Two of them, Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, who had been bishop of Worcester, but resigned the see when the *Act of Six Articles* was passed, were burnt, like Cranmer, in the city ditch, at Oxford. Neither of them was married; hence, in their cases, there was no ground for assigning their protestantism to any other than the purest motives. Ridley was a scholarly divine, who had been led to the rejection of transubstantiation, by the reading of Ratramn's famous piece. This he reasonably viewed as a conclusive argument against the antiquity of the Romish doctrine, and by introducing the book to Cranmer's notice, he brought him too over to the same opinion.² Latimer had a fund of rustic simplicity, and homely eloquence, which rendered him highly popular as a preacher. Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, was burnt in that city, before an immense crowd, at the beginning of this frightful and insane persecution.³ He was a zealous, able, and eloquent man, formerly a Cistercian monk; but he had imbibed in Switzerland, whither he fled before the *Act of Six*

¹ March 21, 1556.

² Cranmer has been commonly thought to have brought from Germany a belief in the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation. He, however, denied this twice when examined at Oxford, professing himself to have been brought over from the Romish doctrine by Bp. Ridley. He probably considered the Romish and Lutheran doctrines

as not materially different, while the former had the advantage of antiquity. Ratramn's piece, to which his attention appears to have been called about the year 1546, convinced him that the Romish doctrine had no such advantage, and a careful examination of the question made him abandon a belief in the corporal presence altogether.

³ Feb. 9, 1555.

Articles, some low-church notions, which made him object to the episcopal attire, and laid a foundation for Puritanism. Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was burnt at Caermarthen.¹ He had been prior of Nostel, in Yorkshire, but on Mary's accession he was embarrassed, and in prison, from the failure of remittances into the exchequer of some subsidies from his clergy. He certainly was by far the least considerable of the episcopal sufferers.

§ 22. The whole Marian persecution extended over about four years, and the victims who perished in it appear to have been two hundred and eighty-eight.² It may reasonably be considered rather a portion than an interruption of the Reformation. Not only were several venerated and popular ecclesiastics sacrificed, leaving an extensive impression of grief, pity, and indignation on the public mind, but also a large proportion of the victims came from inferior life. Thus personal feelings fostered a horror and hatred of popery through every grade of English society. Advantage was taken of these feelings during the next reign. Foxe published his *Martyrology*, and it was a book, provided under royal authority, by every parish in the kingdom.³ By this provision, men were enabled and invited to brood over the horrible details of Mary's infatuated reign. Their own knowledge, or that of persons about them, would abundantly corroborate, and even exaggerate the revolting picture. Thus the unhappy queen, who has gained eternal infamy by her sanguinary zeal against alleged heresy, really took effective measures for rooting it in the land. She still is popularly stigmatised as *the bloody*, and her creed is hastily dismissed in lower English life, as linked inseparably with the fires of Smithfield.

§ 23. On Mary's demise,⁴ her half-sister, Elizabeth, peaceably succeeded. The Romish party had grounds for questioning her legitimacy from the nature of Henry's second marriage, and the papal condemnation of it. But the late queen's council, resting on a statute passed in the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII., made no difficulty in recognizing her title to the crown.⁵ It must, however, have seemed probable from the first that she would assume a protestant position. Her mother's cause was linked inseparably with the Reformation, and her own education generally had taken that direction. Still she had conformed to Romanism under the late reign, and it might be known that her tastes were more in favour of a showy ritual, than of that bald simplicity in public worship which some of the reformed churches had adopted. She was also under a degree of personal obligation to her brother-in-law, Philip of Spain, perhaps one of the most bigoted of contemporary Romanists. He had politically, if not generously,

¹ March 30, 1555.

² Strype's *Memorials*, iii. Appendix, 556. In the *Execution of Justice in England, not for Religion, but for Treason*, first published in 1583, under authority of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and generally considered his writing, the number of protestants who lost their lives under Mary

is estimated at near four hundred; but then imprisonment, torments, and famine, are taken into the account besides fire.

³ Strype's *Annals*, iii. 738.

⁴ Nov. 17, 1558.

⁵ Camden's *Elizabeth*, in Kennet's *Complete Hist. of England*, ii. 369.

taken her part when Mary was bent upon oppressing her, and she soon had reason to know that he was now willing to make her his wife.¹ In one of her first cares, however, the choice of a council, Romanists might naturally see cause for apprehension. Thirteen of Mary's councillors were, indeed, retained, but with them were associated eight others, known to be protestants, however they might have recently conformed, and from whom nothing Romish was to be expected. Especially William Cecil, immediately appointed secretary of state, eventually created Lord Burghley, and virtually prime minister during most of Elizabeth's arduous and glorious reign, was an earnest of a policy essentially different from Mary's.

§ 24. As usual, the course of events expedited a decision which the caution that a long course of trying circumstances had effectually taught, might have kept longer in suspense. The exiles, who had sought safety from the Marian persecution among foreign protestants, eagerly returned on the first news of the late queen's death, and soon made England ring with complaints of their own hardships and with invectives against the system that had caused them. On the other hand, their opponents, the Romish incumbents, became irritated by their attacks, and alarmed for the safety of their own preferments. They too, therefore, lost no time in taking the field, and England became at once the theatre of an angry religious controversy, in which the two sides felt themselves preparing to contend not only for victory, but for bread as well. Foreign politics likewise hastened Elizabeth's deliberations. Her cousin, the unfortunate Mary, queen of Scots, was then dauphiness, and her father-in-law, Henry II., urged her into the imprudence and indecency of assuming the English arms, and claiming the English crown. Thus Elizabeth's pride was wounded, and her security threatened, by the brand of illegitimacy, and a show of competition for her throne, backed by the power of France. To the court of that country the aged pope, Paul IV., was then completely devoted, from his hatred of Spain, and the Austrian family.² Elizabeth civilly sent him, through Sir Edward Carne, English resident at his court, the customary announcement of her accession, and an assurance that none should be molested for religion. But with a rudeness, and indiscretion, little usual at Rome under delicate circumstances, he repulsed the complimentary message; professing inability to recognise a sovereign of illegitimate birth, until the case had been regularly examined at his court. In the event, indeed, of a reference to him, he expressed himself desirous of taking the most favourable views possible.³ Elizabeth must have naturally felt insulted by this reflexion upon her origin, and this insolent pretension of one without English rights, to judge of her capacity for England's throne. Everything, therefore, but anxiety to retain Philip's friendship, impelled her into an identification with the protestant party.

§ 25. Being, however, anxious to precipitate nothing, she issued a

¹ Cambladen's *Elizabeth*, in Kennet's *Complete Hist. of England*, ii. 370.

² Pallavicino, *Ist. del Conc. di Trento*, ii. 128.

³ *Ibid.*

royal proclamation on the 27th of December, imposing silence on the pulpit. Neither party was to preach, or teach, and all were forbidden to attend as hearers, if any gloss even, or explanation, were delivered. In this exercise of the prerogative, precedents were followed in the late reigns, and the feverish state of public opinion now rendered such a precaution more than usually defensible. The proclamation did not, indeed, strictly take neutral ground. It forbade any other service than the Romish, which was yet authorised by law; but then it admitted the Litany, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, with the Epistle and Gospel, in English.¹ Though any abstract objection to these concessions could hardly be maintained, all must have viewed them as the first steps towards a general defection from Rome. Adherents to the papacy had long not only put up everywhere with public worship in an unknown tongue, but had even become so fascinated by that strange abuse, as to call Latin the *sacred language*.

On the 15th of January, 1559, the queen was crowned by Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, with all the usual ceremonies. The service appears to have been completely that of the Romish ritual, and all the bishops at liberty, are said to have attended.² If it were so, however, this was the last appearance of their concurrence with Elizabeth's government. Upon their bench were then only sixteen individuals, and of these five were of king Henry's appointment, hence sworn to renounce the pope, and noted for admitting various modifications of the Romish system, at the call of interest. Three of them, indeed, had subsequently incurred dismissal and imprisonment, when Edward required a character completely protestant.³ The remaining two⁴ had not, however, shown even that tardy affection for the system to which they all so readily returned under Mary. Thus previous consistency gave no very certain pledge for the principles of any one among the five. Their eleven brethren, however, were all of Mary's appointment, and this infusion of a more unbending tone seems to have acted upon the whole bench.

§ 26. When the Romish cause accordingly came under parliamentary debate, all of them stood resolutely by it; merely agreeing to those indirect assaults upon the papal authority which were conveyed by the statute recognising the queen's title to the throne; and by that making her inheritable from her mother.⁵ The first legislative act openly levelled at popery was one for the royal supremacy. This

¹ Strype's *Annals*, Append. i. 391.

² Strype's *Annals*, i. 44. Camden, however, says, 'the archbishop of York, and some others, refusing to assist at the solemnity.' This may only mean that they would take no part in the service. Dr. Lingard understands it otherwise, mentioning 'the absence of the prelates.' White, bishop of Winchester, was under restraint, having been ordered to keep his house, in consequence of an intemperate attack upon the

Marian exiles, in his sermon at the late queen's funeral.

³ *Viz.*—Heath, now archbishop of York; Boner, bishop of London; and Tunstall, bishop of Durham.

⁴ *Viz.*—Thirlby, bishop of Ely, and Kitchen, bishop of Llandaff.

⁵ The former bill passed the Lords, Feb. 9, the latter Feb. 13, 1559, in both cases unanimously. D'Ewes, 19, 20.

was originally meant as a measure for simply reviving the law enacted under Henry. But there were objections to this course, and among them one was entertained by Elizabeth herself,¹ the sovereign seeming to be placed by Henry's legislature, in something like an ecclesiastical position, analogous to that of the pope. The measure, therefore, as first introduced, was abandoned after a long discussion, and the bill that superseded it was drawn so as to be free from objections deemed of any weight. The act as it passed was not grounded upon the principle of investing the crown with any powers that it had wanted before Henry's reign. It merely professed to revive the sovereign's *ancient* ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to repeal acts repugnant to the same. There was, indeed, a series of precedents reaching to the earliest national records, which proved England to have admitted any papal interference in her affairs, only by connivance.² As the facts establishing this were easily accessible to persons of information, and as the *statutes of provisors*, with other formal acts of resistance, to the papal assumptions, were matters of universal notoriety, there was a reasonable ground for requiring that all ecclesiastical and official persons should take an oath, admitting the royal supremacy, on pain of forfeiture.³ This test the act provided, and the episcopal bench, with a single exception, absolutely refused it. Thus all the sees in England, but one, came into the queen's disposal.

§ 27. The holder of that one, Kitchen of Llandaff, who now saved his bishopric once more, seems never to have taken this test himself, but only to have engaged that it should be taken by all under his authority. He was allowed personally an unlimited time for considering the oath.⁴ From his former compliances during a long series of

¹ Sandys to Parker, Lond. April 30, 1559. Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, Records, ii. 456.

² This was shown at great length by Sir Edward Coke, then solicitor-general, in 1591, in Cawdrey's case. His argument may be seen in *Sir Edward Coke's Reports*, Lond. 1777, pt. v. viii.

³ The oath was also to be tendered to 'wards that were to sue their liveries, and be invested in their livings' (Cambden, 372), or, as Dr. Lingard expresses it, to 'all laymen suing out the livery of their lands or about to do homage to the queen.' (*Hist. Engl.* vii. 260.) This interference with private fortune was indefensible. Nevertheless, the law might not be so bad in practice as it was, in this particular, theoretically, Elizabeth's usage being to provide stringent remedies, and to put them in force only when pressed by some necessity; a treacherous policy, it must be owned, but perhaps more imputable to the embarrassments of a very difficult position than to deficiencies either of mercy or discernment. Mr. Butler, indeed, the late venerable Romish counsel, represents the *Act of Supremacy* under no very odious

aspect. He says, 'None, however, except persons holding ecclesiastical or civil offices could be required to take the oath; and none but those who voluntarily denied the queen's supremacy were subjected to other penalties. Thus the operation of this act, though severe, was limited.' *Historical Memoirs of the English Catholics*, Lond. 1821, iii. 182.

⁴ This fact has not been known until lately. Dr. Lamb brought it to light in his *Historical Account of the Thirty-nine Articles*, Camb. 1829, p. 11. There is printed from the invaluable MS. library of C. C. C., Bp. Kitchen's written undertaking to force the consciences of others, while his own was left at liberty, dated July 18, 1559. He died in 1563. His associate in all previous compliances, Bp. Thirlby, might not have been found willing even to give this kind of undertaking. He had indeed gone to Rome in 1554, upon an embassy to thank the pope, as it was given out, for his readiness in pardoning the heresy of England; really, as it is thought, to negotiate for the recognition of titles to the monastic property, the fortunate holders of this having no sort of disposition to surrender it, what-

years, not only was anything to be expected of him rather than the surrender of his preferment, but also hopes appear to have been entertained of inducing him to aid in keeping up the episcopal succession. Neither the obstinacy that Elizabeth had experienced from her whole prelacy, nor the notions brought home by the exiles from un-episcopal protestants abroad, goaded the government into any rash counsels for the abandonment of an ecclesiastical polity that all antiquity sanctions. On the contrary, one of the queen's earliest cares was to re-establish that catholic and venerable order in the Church, which Englishmen of every rank had respected from infancy, and which all men of information knew to have been universal among Christians from the first. For archbishop of Canterbury, she singled out Dr. Matthew Parker, who had been her unfortunate mother's chaplain, and who succeeded in retaining Henry's good opinion, after that lady's untimely end, having been appointed by royal collation, prebendary of Ely, and afterwards by letters commendatory, master of Corpus Christi, or Bene't college, Cambridge.¹ Under Edward, he married, and was advanced to the deanery of Lincoln. During the Marian persecution, he kept himself concealed in England, being at one time in imminent danger; but he thus escaped those low-church prepossessions, which so many of his fellow-sufferers imbibed during their exile upon the continent. He was, indeed, thoroughly smitten by the love of antiquity, and nothing could be more foreign from his cast of mind, than theoretic views of scriptural perfection founded upon a breach of catholic unity. He was, besides, more than usually fitted for a difficult position, being cautious, well-informed, and discreet above most men.

§ 28. But if any hopes were ever entertained of Kitchen's concurrence in maintaining his country's episcopal succession, by aiding in Parker's consecration, they were eventually disappointed. That solemnity, so important, for preserving her catholic appearance to England, was performed in the chapel of Lambeth-house, on the 17th of December, 1559, without any assistance from a bishop actually beneficed. It was, however, regularly performed by individuals who had received episcopal consecration. These were the bishops Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale, who had all been deprived of episcopal sees under Mary, and Hodgkins, who had been suffragan of Bedford, and therefore, like his coadjutors, episcopally consecrated, though not like them, ever possessed of a diocesan prelacy. Thus Parker's sacred deposit was regularly conveyed, and England's apostolic polity preserved inviolate. The ordinal used was that provided in king Edward's reign.

§ 29. Nothing could be more mortifying to the Romish party, when once its energies thoroughly rallied from the prostration that followed Mary's death, than this re-appearance of the national church

ever might be their general leaning towards Romanism. Thirlby's appearance in this Italian pageant naturally disqualified him

for another turn at the call of interest four years after.

¹ Strype's *Parker*, Oxf. 1821, i. 26.

upon her ancient footing. Hence, after a discreet lapse of time, when all witnesses of any station were likely to be removed by death, systematic opposition had been organised, and passions were violently inflamed by persecution, a tale made its way into circulation, which never could be expected to show itself out of the lighter walks of literature. It is, however, a remarkable fact, that forty-five years after Parker's consecration, Romish malignity denied him ever to have been consecrated at all. He had merely, it was maintained, met by appointment Kitchen of Llandaff, at the Nag's Head tavern in Cheapside, to make arrangements, probably, for his consecration. But this was found impracticable, Kitchen having been frightened by Boner. On this, Scory laid a Bible on his head, and on the heads of some others, as they knelt before him, and they all rose up bishops. So craving and indiscriminate is the appetite of calumny, that this ridiculous figment, which carries its own refutation on its very face, found many who affected to believe it, and it hence has regularly received notice in the grave pages of history and theology. It is, however, contradicted by existing records: it had no sooner shown its impudent front, than a living witness of Parker's consecration stepped forward to contradict it,¹ and no partisan ventures any longer to say one word in its favour.

§ 30. The English service had been restored, by the *Act of Uniformity*, which passed in the spring preceding Parker's consecration.² That important ceremony was followed by immediate steps for re-organising the episcopal bench. Two of the archbishop's consecrators, Barlow and Scory, were confirmed, within three days, in the sees of Chichester and Hereford respectively. On the following day, these two, now benefited prelates, assisted their new metropolitan, in his chapel at Lambeth, at the consecration of four other bishops. In the following month, five more individuals were consecrated for the episcopate, and among them the learned and amiable Jewel, who had already attracted universal notice, by challenging Romanists on the ground of tradition, which they are in the habit of treating as indisputably their own,³ and who has gained lasting celebrity by his triumphant *Apology for the Church of England*.⁴ In March [1561], two bishops were consecrated for the sees in the province of York. Thus the whole country saw that ecclesiastical polity restored

¹ The Earl of Nottingham. This absurd and malicious tale, which long sought to discredit Parker's consecration, is treated at considerable length in several works, but perhaps in none more fully and judiciously than in Le Courayer's *Defence of the Validity of the English Ordinations*, Lond. 1728, i. 26.

² The *first Act of Uniformity*, as it may be conveniently called, to distinguish it from that passed under Charles II., passed the Commons April 20, 1559. It was brought up to the Lords April 25, and passed April 28. It provided that king Edward's second

service-book, with a few alterations, should be used on the feast of St. John Baptist next ensuing, and thenceforwards. D'Ewes, 30.

³ In a sermon at St. Paul's cross, March 17, 1560. Le Bas' *Jewel*, 91.

⁴ Published in Latin in 1562. 'It came forth with the consent of the bishops, and other distinguished divines, and it had, moreover, the sanction of the queen's authority. So that the *Apology* is not to be regarded as containing the sentiments of an individual writer, but rather as a sort of state vindication of the protestant establishment of England.' *Ibid.* 108.

which took root together with its earliest institutions, and of which traces are to be found in the most venerable monuments of Christian antiquity.

§ 31. By way of giving the Romish party a sufficient opportunity for the public production of its defence, a solemn disputation was arranged between select champions on the two sides, according to precedents in the two last reigns. The disputants confronted each other, on the 31st of March, 1559, in Westminster Abbey, before the two houses of parliament. Three questions were to be debated, viz., the use of an unknown tongue in public worship, the right of particular churches to regulate the externals of religion, and the Romish doctrine of a propitiatory sacrifice in the mass. The first question stood for the first day's discussion. It is, however, a question, very difficult to advocate, in the face of sufficient opposition, and it evidently was approached on the Romish side with great embarrassment. It had been arranged, that none but written arguments were to be produced. When, however, these were called for, White, bishop of Winchester, said that adequate time for the preparation had not been allowed, but that one of the party was willing to enter upon an oral argument. This was not declined, and Cole, dean of St. Paul's, made a long and vehement harangue in defence of the Latin service. It was evident that he had come far from ill prepared, having with him a large mass of written matter, to which he constantly referred, and being prompted from time to time by his friends around. He was answered by Horne, dean of Durham, under Edward, and eventually bishop of Winchester. Having to take the popular side of an argument easily manageable, Horne acquitted himself to the general satisfaction of his auditory, and the day passed off disadvantageously to Romanism. On the second day appointed, the protestants wished to discuss the second question, but the Romanists refused until an answer had been read to Horne's discourse delivered on the preceding day. To this the other party would not agree, and new objections being started on the Romish side, nothing further was done in the way of disputation, and the whole conference broke off in displeasure, amid mutual accusations.¹

§ 32. One branch of the *Act of Supremacy* was the abrogation of queen Mary's persecuting powers. Her father had repealed three statutes, passed under Richard II. and his two immediate successors, the Lancastrian Henries, against Lollardy, or the opinions of Wickliffe. Without these edicts, or others of a similar character, the atrocious persecution which had recently sought the extirpation of English protestantism, could not have been set on foot. The late unhappy queen had, accordingly, restored these sanguinary laws to their former places in the statute-book. Elizabeth now again repealed them. To this act of her government none will any longer venture to deny

¹ An account of this conference, put forth by the privy council, may be seen in the records to the second volume of Bp. Burnet's

History of the Reformation, No. V. Another contemporary account is in a letter of Jewel to P. Martyr, April 6, 1559.

commendation. The act was, however, clogged with a provision which has greatly lessened the applause of posterity. Lollardy, the ancient name for anti-papal doctrine, was, indeed, no longer to be heresy, but it was otherwise with opinions at variance with the first four general councils, or any other general council, and the plain and express words of canonical Scripture. Maintainers of such opinions were left liable to the old horrible penalty of burning, which had been awarded by the common law.¹ The sixteenth century appears to have been incapable of rising above some cruel style of dogmatising, and really protestants were goaded out of any dispassionate reasoning upon opponents of the catholic faith by Romish misrepresentation. Nothing is likely to act more unfavourably upon the papal cause than a calm consideration of protestant agreement with all that Romanists can confirm from Scripture, and from the Church's most venerated monuments. Hence it has been usual with reasoners against the Reformation, to paint it as a general cover for opinions equally irreconcilable with the known landmarks of Christianity, and with each other. There is reason to believe that these artful representations had considerable influence in exasperating the reformers against heresy. But be that as it may, their attention to Romish precedent here has been most injurious to their memory, and has done, probably, some disservice to the cause for which they laboured. Vainly is the Romish disputant reminded that capital penalties against impugnors of the first four general councils, are very different, both in their nature and in the extent of their operation, from such penalties against the obscurely-authorized peculiarities of his own system. He will persist in arguing, and not unfairly, that cruelties of that kind, being universally provided for some sort of religious belief or other, are proofs that the age was sanguinary, and that no one section of it was especially blameable for imbibing something of its unrelenting spirit. It is humiliating to a protestant to add, that Elizabeth's cruel continuance of the ancient common-law provision against heresy did not remain a dead letter during her reign. It sullied her fair fame by the barbarous consignment of two foreigners and three Englishmen to the flames.²

§ 33. At Rome the wise movements of England towards a satisfactory settlement of her ecclesiastical affairs naturally occasioned great uneasiness, and a new pontificate would evidently earn a glorious distinction if signalised by the recovery of a kingdom so important. On the death, accordingly, of Paul IV., his more prudent successor, Pius IV., hastened to open a communication with Elizabeth. He

¹ Sir Roger Twisden thus justifies this act: 'For every one to think and do without controul what him list, was to let loose all reins of government, to leave open a door for sedition, to disquiet her kingdom, and the commonwealth, perhaps, not to be ever in peace.' (*Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism*, Lond. 1675, p. 160.) This argument was

undoubtedly considered sound both in Elizabeth's days and in Twisden's; hence it sufficiently accounts for the statute; its sufficiency to vindicate such legislation is no longer likely to be conceded in any quarter.

² The first of these barbarous executions was that of the two foreigners, which took place in London in 1575.

sent a conciliatory letter to her by Parpaglia, who had been connected with Cardinal Pole,¹ and he intimated that this messenger had instructions to make some concession. The report has gone abroad with very general credit, that Parpaglia was authorised to offer a recognition of the queen's legitimacy and an allowance of the English liturgy, on condition of the national return to dependence upon the Roman see. There are, however, reasons for doubting, independently of intrinsic improbability, that Pius pushed his desire of accommodation so far. His recognition of Elizabeth's legitimacy, and some further acquiescence in her ecclesiastical arrangements, are likely enough to have been intended by him; in full confidence that Italian subtlety and the course of events would prevent the latter concession from making any serious inroad upon the settled policy of Rome. To recognise a service, which not only disregarded the *sacred language*, but also omitted everything contained in the mass-book for which catholic antiquity could not be pleaded, would be to surrender the Romish religion at discretion. Elizabeth, however, allowed no means for ascertaining the lengths to which papal conciliation might be driven. She would not receive Parpaglia. Nor would she subsequently hearken to an overture made by Pius, and again with hints of some undefined concession,² for the transmission of English representatives to the council of Trent. There is no doubt that she exercised a sound discretion in both cases. Had papal agents again obtained a footing in England, no exertions would have been spared to render every hope illusory which had been held out when the object was to gain a landing for them, and to reduce the country once more, by whatever means, to all its old blindness under a foreign ritual, unscriptural opinions, and papal usurpation.

§ 34. Although Elizabeth, however, prudently declined any participation in the council of Trent, she would not leave the questions under discussion there, without that decision for which all Europe loudly called. While the Trentine fathers really were deliberating how the peculiarities of Rome could be most safely retained, and most advantageously enunciated, the English convocation was employed in preparing a body of doctrine that would bear confronting with Scripture and Catholic antiquity. There could be no reason to doubt that king Edward's articles, based as they were upon the Confession of Augsburg, and drawn up with a high degree of scholarly discretion, had powerful claims upon the national confidence. They were, accordingly, now brought forward for a careful review, and such alterations were made in them as experience and more extended information suggested. The result was, that Edward's forty-two articles were

¹ The letter, dated May 15, 1560, may be seen in Camden's *Elizabeth*, 384. The passage in it which holds out some indefinite promise, is this, 'The above-mentioned Vincent' (Parpaglia) 'has directions to transact with you more at large.' Sir Edward Coke, at the Norwich assizes in 1606, said he had often heard from the queen

herself that Pius was to admit the English liturgy. But there are difficulties in the way of this statement, which may be seen in Mr. Soames's *History of the Reformation*, iv. 725.

² Pallavicino, *Ist. del Conc. di Trento*, ii. 204.

digested, with certain alterations, omissions, and additions, into the thirty-nine, which henceforth became the standard of Anglican conformity. This body of doctrine received the unanimous assent of convocation, at the end of January, 1563. The prelates authenticated it immediately by their subscriptions; the lower house did this after some delay.¹ It is worthy of remark, that Romanism could not appeal to a similar authentication until the close of the year 1563. The council of Trent then ceased its sessions, and gave authority to that mass of doctrine, uncontained, as it seems to ordinary readers or students, in Scripture, which Pius IV. has embodied in the celebrated creed that bears his name. Thus, in fact, the English church really preceded the Roman in the formal enunciation of her principles. It is true, indeed, that the Trentine fathers authorised nothing new; but it is equally true, that they authorised much hitherto thought, from its want of any sufficient authority, open to individual acceptance or rejection. To these divines, therefore, forming a body chiefly Italian and Spanish, sitting in the sixteenth century, not to any society or other unquestionable sanction, with a venerable front of catholic antiquity, is the church of Rome indebted for the formal authentication of her peculiar creed. Englishmen must have had equal right to deliberate upon theological difficulties, which had hitherto been universally deemed open to debate; and they certainly took the safer side, in exacting no man's belief to such doctrines as were undoubtedly destitute of any certain warranty in Scripture, and, as many scholars thought, were equally destitute of any safe authority from catholic tradition.

§ 35. By the passing of the Thirty-nine Articles, the Anglican reformation was concluded. The national church was now provided with a polity, a liturgy, and terms of conformity. All the three have encountered at intervals great obloquy and opposition, but all the three are deeply rooted in an eminently thoughtful nation, and are daily rising in its good opinion. It is, indeed, an immense advantage, upon the very face of it, to be under that form of religious discipline, which every ecclesiastical history shows to have been established from the first. It is, besides, most beneficial to the laity to be restrained from that interference in ecclesiastical affairs, which experience marks as the tempter to petty pride and officious meddling. To the clergy it is a most important comfort and protection to be under the direction of men who have a practical knowledge of their position, and a fraternal respect for their feelings. The whole religious community has great reason to rejoice in a form of public worship, neither theatrical, nor bald, which embodies all the choicest expressions of devotion that the Church of Christ has ever produced, and is, at the same time, judiciously freed from every excrescence that surreptitiously gained reception under cover of ignorance and superstition. The liturgy, accordingly, is that among their national distinctions of which Englishmen, perhaps, are most proud. In its

¹ Strype's *Annals*, i. 491. Lamb's *Historical Account of the Thirty-nine Articles*, 19.

earlier years it was commonly reviled as a fetter upon the spontaneous effusions of a pious mind, and a polluted remnant of an idolatrous religion. But it comes home to the hearts of all who approach it without prejudice against it; and such as know anything of extemporaneous prayers are aware of a mannerism, sameness, poverty, and inequality in them, which must ever leave them immeasurably behind a collection of the best pieces that have come from the best divines during a series of ages. The scholarly member of the Church of England looks also with unmingled satisfaction upon the catholic character of his ritual. He knows it to be no creature of the Reformation, nor, indeed, of any one period, however venerable, but to be rooted in the apostolic age, and to be connected with religious antiquity during all its more unsuspected stages. Nor are Anglican terms of conformity less worthy of approval than other leading features of the system. They demand no assent to doctrines which have been anxiously but vainly sought by many competent and pious enquirers after truth, in all the Church's most venerated monuments, both inspired and uninspired. They omit no leading principle which the first four general councils have sanctioned, and which have, therefore, long received among Christians the seal of orthodoxy. They do not dogmatise upon some of the more mysterious dispensations of Providence, so as to repel either of the great parties that divide the Christian world upon such questions. On the contrary, one of these parties remarks, that when the Articles were originally framed, Calvin was only rising into notice, and was not consulted; whence his peculiar system has, at furthest, but an obscure approval in them. The other of these parties maintains that the Articles really were composed in a Calvinistic spirit, but that this was not embodied with sufficient fulness and precision. Hence this party would, in Elizabeth's latter years, have greatly narrowed the terms of conformity, by forcing the celebrated Lambeth Articles upon the national church.¹ Now, without any expression of opinion as to which of these two parties judges more correctly of the spirit in which the Articles were originally framed, it is at least evident, from the conduct of them both, that the Church of England offers a doctrinal test drawn up in that judicious spirit of comprehension which befits the standard of a national belief. Nor in anything will a candid enquirer be enabled to deny that this discreet avoidance of extremes has been the successful aim of those invaluable divines to whom Englishmen owe the details of their established religious system.²

¹ The *Lambeth Articles* were framed in 1595. See Mr. Soames' *Elizabethan Religious History*, p. 467.

² The earliest professed historian of the English Reformation was Nicolas Sanders, who perished in Ireland, engaged in a rebellion against Queen Elizabeth, in 1580. He had previously published, in his long and elaborate work on the papal supremacy, entitled *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiæ*, various statements of recent religious move-

ments in his country. After his death appeared his well known small volume, *De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani*. This is the great source of Romish views upon the English Reformation. All his representations were treated by contemporary Protestants as libels, and answers to them promptly appeared in the *Προλεγόμενα* of Ackworth, the *Fidelis Servi Subdito Infideli Responsio* of Clerk, and the *Anti-Sanderus*. All these answers are rare, and are wanting

in that fulness and precision which their subjects require, but they are valuable so far as they go. In the seventeenth century, Heylin wrote a professed *History of the English Reformation*, in small folio. It is a valuable work, but wanting in fulness and references. Bp. Burnet next appeared as the professed historian of this memorable movement, and his voluminous work is of the highest value, on account of the immense mass of documents by which its statements are substantiated. Immediately after him the laborious and candid Strype published his *Memorials*, *Cranmer*, and *Cheke*, which, besides the first volumes of his *Annals* and *Parker*, all illustrate the same period that Burnet has taken. He too has equalled his composition by the documents to support it. Various corrections to Burnet were supplied by the learned Wharton, who enjoyed the immense advantage of daily access

to the library and records at Lambeth, under the title, *A Specimen of some Errors and Defects in the History of the Reformation of the Church of England*; by *Anthony Harmer*. Other deficiencies in Burnet were supplied in the unfriendly *Histoire du Divorce*, by the abbé Le Grand, written expressly to depreciate him. Dissenting views of the English Reformation may be seen in the first volume of Neal's *History of the Puritans*; Romish views in Dodd's *Church History of England, chiefly with regard to Catholics*, in three volumes, folio; [Mr. Tierney's reprint of Dodd reached the fifth volume, but was left incomplete at his death. *Ed.*] Dr. Lingard's *History of England*, also, though professedly a civil history, yet being written with sectarian objects, must be considered as a work purely ecclesiastical.

CHAPTER VI.

*HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

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§ 1. It was not until Knox finally returned to his native country, on the 2nd of May, 1559, that the Scottish reformation made an unimpeded progress. Many circumstances favourable to it had latterly occurred, and among them, two that were very differently intended.¹ Mary of Guise, mother of the young queen, although of a family that sought party influence through Romish partialities, and deeply imbued with such herself, had courted the Scottish protestants for the sake of their assistance in her designs upon the regency. Having obtained this object of her ambition,² and subsequently the matrimonial crown for her son-in-law, she entered upon a new line of

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¹ Robertson's *History of Scotland*, Lond. 1809, i. 339.

² In May, 1554. *Ibid.* 344.

policy. Thus a powerful party, long encouraged, became alarmed and exasperated, a species of vicissitude highly conducive to its ultimate success. At the same time, Mary of England made many active reformers seek refuge in Scotland from the fierce persecution that she raised among her own subjects. These exiles not only laboured for the propagation of a protestant belief, but were enabled also to place in strong and odious contrast with it the system which drove themselves from home, and their friends to the stake.¹ While Romanism was thus daily sinking under an accumulation of unpopularity, an injudicious attempt was made to raise it by one of those theatrical shows to which it so largely stands indebted. St. Giles had passed for the patron saint of Edinburgh, and on the anniversary of his festival, in 1556, preparations were made for a grand procession.² The statue of him that had been immemorially venerated was already destroyed by protestant zeal, but another was procured in time for the exhibition. The day, however, although the procession was graced by the regent herself, ultimately proved one of wanton riot, in which order was restored with difficulty, and pageantry, long reputed sacred, hopelessly fell into contempt, amid the clamorous mirth of a licentious rabble. In the next year, the regent was assailed by such loud complaints against the reformed preachers, that she summoned them to appear before her, as chargeable with sedition, inhibiting, by proclamation, the stay in Edinburgh of any strangers who came without permission. The preachers readily obeyed the summons, but their lay friends cared nothing for the proclamation. They assembled, in great numbers, from different quarters, and filled the streets with a warlike demonstration that justly struck a panic into the feeble government. The palace being tumultuously entered, Mary was under the necessity of hearing the language of defiance to her face, and of promising to recal the proclamation against such intimidating assemblages.³ This was a surrender at discretion. It could now be doubted by none, that the government was unequal to the protection of Romanism. This conviction acted immediately on every side. The reformers naturally felt more emboldened, and their opponents became paralysed. A blow was now struck that Scottish popery never recovered.⁴

§ 2. Its unpopularity steadily increased until the execution of Walter Mylne. This martyr had been in Germany when young, and afterwards became incumbent of Lunan in Angus,⁵ but his opinions were protestant, and he was condemned as a heretic, in 1538, by Cardinal David Beaton, then archbishop of St. Andrew's.⁶ Mylne, after condemnation, escaped to the continent, where he married.

¹ 'In that cruel persecution, used by that monster, Mary of England, were godly men dispersed in divers nations, of whom it pleased the goodness of God to send some unto us for our comfort and instruction.' Knox's *History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*. Glasgow, 1832, p. 83.

² This outrage has been sometimes placed

in 1558, but 1556 is undoubtedly the true date. Cook's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*. Edinb. 1819, ii. 14.

³ *Ibid.* 15.

⁴ Russell's *History of the Church in Scotland*. Lond. 1834, i. 195.

⁵ Cook, ii. 42.

⁶ Note to Knox, 109.

Returning to his own country, he long lived in seclusion, but it seems not so as to prevent a select circle from knowing him as a minister of religion. He was now beyond eighty, and no folly could be greater than that of dragging him forward from his limited sphere to inflict, by his death, that injury upon Romanism which otherwise he never could have inflicted in a span of life necessarily so brief as his. Nor did this indiscretion seem likely in the existing archbishop of St. Andrew's, John Hamilton, who succeeded to that see, on the assassination of Cardinal Beaton, in 1546. Hamilton had shown little activity against the reformers, and hence was generally considered a prelate of great prudence and moderation.¹ His appearance as a persecutor, was probably owing to the palpable increase of protestantism under lenient measures, and a resolution taken, in concert with other persons in authority, to seek its repression by making some severe example. None, however, could be more odious and unfortunate than that afforded by the burning of an aged clergyman, whom the common course of nature must have speedily removed. It has been thought that this inhuman folly was encouraged by hopes of finding the victim's waning powers unequal to the difficulties of a spirited defence, or to the firm facing of an agonizing death.² When brought out for trial, his appearance indeed, from feebleness produced by age and hardship, struck every spectator.³ Mylne showed, however, when risen from his prayers, no symptom of superannuation, either bodily or mental. Nor were his faculties or courage found at all impaired, when he was placed upon the fatal pyre. On the contrary, his conduct, as before, was worthy of any age and any cause. His death, accordingly, filled up the measure of discredit which had so long threatened ruin to Scottish Romanism. Popular veneration immediately signalled the spot on which his blood was shed, by a heap of stones, and although this was promptly removed, another was not slow in rising in its place. Nor could menaces, or denunciations of spiritual vengeance, deter the populace from thus attesting their veneration for Mylne, and their hatred of those who dragged him to the stake.⁴ The Scottish Lowlands had long been slipping from the papal grasp. They now were irrecoverably gone.

§ 3. The reformation had not, however, to depend upon mere popular support, which may present a front of irresistible enthusiasm at intervals, but is notwithstanding precarious, and incapable of resisting a steady opposition. Romanism was brought into collision, soon after its authority sank, with a powerful party, that numbered adherents in every branch of the community. The views of this were essentially religious in the main, and it became popularly known as the *Congregation*. Its affairs naturally fell into the hands of such members, as from superior wealth, intelligence, and hereditary influence, were fittest both for business, and for organising confederacies. These aristocratic Protestants appear under the designation of *Lords of the Con-*

¹ Robertson, i. 373.

² Cook, ii. 42.

³ Abp. Spotswood's *History of the Church of Scotland*. Lond. 1677, p. 95.

⁴ Knox, 109.

gregation; and they formed a sort of standing committee, at the head of a powerful political party, hostile to the French influence, and in confidential communication with England. When this body had become thoroughly conscious of its strength, it ventured upon the signing of a formal bond, by which the subscribers pledged themselves to maintain, at the hazard of their lives, the opinions that they had espoused. This instrument, which has been termed by some *the first Covenant*,¹ was signed at Edinburgh, on the 3rd of December, 1557, by three earls, and many of inferior quality. Its language would generally be considered now as arrogant, uncharitable, and intolerant, the subscribers calling themselves *the congregation of Christ*, their opponents *the congregation of Satan*, and announcing no dubious intention of waging internecine war against all adherents to the Romish faith. Nothing political, undoubtedly, appears in this memorable document. Had it no names appended of superior degree, it might pass for an idle ebullition of self-satisfied, encroaching fanaticism. But when signed by men of quality, with a numerous party at their backs, it evidently became a manifesto of great national importance. Henceforth, accordingly, *the Lords of the Congregation* were found a body with which the feeble government had no effective means of contending. The aristocratic covenanters lent a dignity to religious dissent, kept up union among the Protestants, and assumed all the functions of a well-ordered political confederacy.

§ 4. As this body, though necessarily acting by the maxims of secular policy, was universally religious in its complexion, and, no doubt, principally so in its aims, it could not work effectually upon the country without an ecclesiastical leader. Its importance, accordingly, was no sooner firmly established than it became anxious for the return of John Knox, who was then at Geneva. That illustrious reformer was born in East Lothian in 1505, of moderate parentage. He received his education in the grammar-school of Haddington, and in the university of St. Andrew's. He appears to have shown early indications of superior talent, for, though a person with few advantages of birth, he was admitted into orders before the canonical age. Within a few years afterwards, he became imbued with Protestant opinions, and in 1542 he openly professed them. Before this decisive step was taken, he withdrew from St. Andrew's into the south of Scotland, finding it impossible to remain any longer in a place which was completely under Cardinal Beaton, and where, indeed, he had already made himself obnoxious by bold attacks upon the established Church. Having now formally set it at defiance, proceedings were instituted against him as a heretic, and he was degraded from the

¹ Russell, i. 198. Dr. Mc'Crie considers a solemn bond to maintain the reformed religion, made by the gentlemen of Mearns, while Knox was upon his short visit to Scotland, to have been really *the first Covenant*. (*Life of Knox*, Edinb. 1818, i. 180.) Upon this view, which seems correct, Knox himself was the author of these *Covenants*,

for which his country became so famous. When the more conspicuous bond, mentioned in the text as the *first Covenant*, was signed, he was abroad, but his friends were actually corresponding for his return, and probably meant to follow in their bond a precedent of his own when among them.

priesthood. It is added, that Beaton employed assassins to waylay him, and that he only escaped by means of a gentleman, seated at Langniddrie, in East Lothian, in whose family he lived as tutor.¹ This engagement he made subservient to the propagation of his religious opinions. The lads of the house, and another gentleman's son confided to his care, were catechized publicly in a neighbouring chapel, and the instructor occasionally gave himself a still wider scope by reading a chapter in the Bible, adding such expositions as it suggested. The disqualification inflicted on him as a teacher of religion was thus rendered nugatory. But it did not slumber. Beaton, when surprised by assassination, was meditating new severities against Knox. His successor, Hamilton, appears to have followed up the cardinal's measures for punishing him, and he sought safety by absconding. As he might not long elude pursuit, he thought of taking refuge in Germany: England, with Henry on the throne, offering no sufficient prospect of security to a man of impetuous passions, who indulged in unsparing reprobation of every thing Romish. He resolved, however, at Easter, 1547, upon repairing with his pupils to the castle of St. Andrew's, in which Beaton's assassins continued to defy the powerless government of their country.² Though armed against the cardinal by private vengeance,³ and really men of licentious habits,⁴ this resolute garrison consisted of zealous protestants. Rough, once a Dominican friar at Stirling, who took a benefice near Hull, under Edward, and was burnt in Smithfield in 1557,⁵ acted as their chaplain. Knox contented himself, at the beginning of his residence at St. Andrew's, with much the same sort of course, as a tutor publicly teaching religion to his pupils, that he had followed at Langniddrie. He soon received applications to take a more effective share of Rough's labours; but these he resisted, until overcome by what is known among un-episcopal Christians as a public call.⁶

¹ M'Crie's *Knox*, i. 38.

² Knox, 64.

³ Norman Leslie, eldest son to the Earl of Rothes, had repeatedly shown great attachment, and rendered considerable services to Cardinal Beaton. When that unfortunate prelate returned to St. Andrew's from the shire of Angus, into which he had gone to be present at his illegitimate daughter's marriage with the eldest son of the Earl of Crawford, Leslie came to ask him a favour, and Beaton refused. A scene of violence followed, which led Leslie to plan the assassination of his former friend, being especially assisted by his uncle, John Leslie, who had vowed vengeance against Beaton, after the martyrdom of Wishart [in February, 1546]. Cook, i. 301.

⁴ 'It is melancholy to discover from the page of history, that the most violent religious fervour has often been conjoined with dissolute and disgraceful conduct. This was remarkably the case with those who had been besieged, and who wished to be

venerated as the champions of reformed religion. They no sooner recovered their liberty' (by an armistice), 'than they committed the most scandalous excesses, and were guilty of actions which the most strenuous advocates of the cause in which they were engaged have not attempted to excuse.' *Ibid.* 321.

⁵ Strype's *Memorials*, iii. pt. ii. 45.

⁶ Rough made this call from the pulpit, from previous concert with the congregation, to which he appealed, and which immediately approved, 'Whereat the said John, abashed, burst forth in most abundant tears, and withdrew himself to his chamber; his countenance and behaviour from that day till the day that he was compelled to present himself to the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of mirth of him, neither yet had he pleasure to accompany any man, many days together.' (Knox, 64.) The great reformer's own account of his connexion with St. Andrew's

Henceforth he acted at St. Andrew's as a regular preacher, so long as the garrison held out. After its capitulation to the French, on the 31st of July, 1547, he was conveyed prisoner to France, and sent to the galleys, with some of his companions, in defiance of the terms made. As a galley-slave, he was detained, it seems, for nineteen months, and his hardships in that miserable condition did irreparable injury to his constitution.¹ When released, it is not known by what means, he went to England, then, under Edward, rendered completely Protestant, and his great powers for the pulpit recommended him as a preacher, salaried by government, for the northern parts. While stationed at Berwick, he formed a matrimonial engagement with Margery Bowes, of an ancient family in the bishopric of Durham, by which this connexion was much disapproved; but the young lady's mother favoured it.² Knox remained in England until the measures of Mary's government rendered a longer stay highly dangerous. After some wanderings on the Continent he came to Geneva, about the middle of the year 1554, and formed a close intimacy with Calvin. He was, however, called away, in the following November, from that city, to act as preacher to the congregation of English exiles at Frankfort. He there came into collision with that portion of them which would not abandon the English liturgy, and was by their means driven away from the place in the spring of 1555, some passages in his *Admonition to England*, offensive to the imperial family, being formally laid before the magistrates.³ He now repaired again to Geneva, and thence he went, in the latter part of 1555, into Scotland. He entered the country secretly, and preached for some time in private houses of the gentry; but his discourses soon found topics for general discussion, and rendered his return suspected before it was publicly known. His visit contributed importantly to strengthen the Protestant party, by marking it as a body of dissentients, Knox having denounced the mass as an idolatrous abomination, which none of his hearers could attend any longer, as most of them had done heretofore. Irritated and alarmed, the clergy summoned him to Edinburgh, and he knew his position too well to decline obedience. He went with an intimidating array of friends, before whom his accusers justly quailed. Foreseeing what must happen, if the busi-

at this time, has been given in the text. But there are reasons for believing that, in acting as he did, he was largely swayed by motives that sway ordinary men. The truth is, that the besieged conspirators made a treaty with the English government, March 9, 1547, by which they were to receive supplies both of men and money. Of the latter no less a sum than 1,180*l.* actually was paid to an agent of theirs in London. Knox, therefore, and the lairds, whose sons were under him, might fairly rely upon the ultimate success of an undertaking, which had so completely baffled their own government, and which was so powerfully supported from abroad. Russell, i. 181.

¹ That Knox was a galley-slave during nineteen months, is asserted in one of his own letters, preserved by Calderwood. The printed Calderwood, however, gives only nine months, but it is not a complete work, only portions of one. M'Crie's *Knox*, i. 76.

² *Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1569*. Lond. 1840, p. 372.

³ There is an authentic contemporary account of these transactions, briefly known and cited as *Troubles at Frankfort*. It was reprinted in 1642, and again in the *Phoenix*, in 1707.

ness really came on, they met beforehand and dismissed it, on the ground of some informality in the summons. Yet Knox, in spite of his great popularity and powerful supporters, probably found himself in no very comfortable situation; hence he accepted an invitation to undertake the office of pastor to the English congregation at Geneva,¹ and again became a resident in that city, towards the end of the summer of 1556. While at that safe distance, the Scottish clergy wreaked impotent vengeance upon him, by his formal condemnation as a heretic, and by burning him in effigy: cowardly and childish indiscretions, of which he took full advantage in his continental study.² Knox remained at Geneva about two years, and had two sons born to him there. It was, probably, the most peaceful period of his whole life since youth. Its even tenor was, however, interrupted by an invitation to return from the Lords of the Congregation, written in March, 1557. Calvin recommended the acceptance of this overture, and the Scottish reformer set out for Dieppe, where he arrived in the following October. There he met with a sore disappointment. His friends at home, when at leisure to reflect coolly upon the invitation that they had given, suspected it of indiscretion, and begged Knox, by letter, to postpone his return. His reply rebuked the timidity, or lukewarmness that impeded him, and to this reproof was, probably, owing that Protestant bond, signed in December, 1557, which has been called *the first Covenant*. Still the subscribers felt either unable or unwilling to venture upon that open defiance of the government which was likely to hang upon Knox's presence among them. They do not seem, indeed, to have retracted their advances collectively, but individuals counselled postponement, and none encouraged a bolder line of policy. After lingering, accordingly, some uncomfortable weeks at Dieppe, he returned to Geneva, in the beginning of 1558.³ Besides his clerical duties, he there employed himself, in concert with others, upon that English version of Scripture which Puritan partialities eventually rendered so popular in Britain, and which was known, from the place where it was arranged, and originally printed, as the *Geneva Bible*.⁴ He also published, with additions, an address that he

¹ 'Influenced by motives which have never been fully comprehended.' (Russell, i. 193.) Knox had no abode or appointment in Scotland that wore a sufficient air of firmness, and he might see reasons for distrusting the strength of his party. Hence, as he was now a married man, he was very likely to relish the offer of a settled home, in a place to which he was much attached.

² In *The Appellation of John Knox*, &c. which may be seen subjoined to his *History*. Dr. Russell suggests that when Knox was summoned, the second time, his opponents might not have known of his withdrawal from Scotland. But this does not seem very likely; for although he entered the country secretly, and merely removed from place to place, during his stay, his latter proceedings

were public enough, and the public eye must have been pretty completely upon him. His clerical adversaries appear, therefore, to have imitated their brethren in other places, where such conduct was rather less absurd, because the parties had more power over those who really were within reach. Hence to condemn one who did not appear, and to burn him afterwards in effigy, might serve at least as a warning. At Edinburgh, in Knox's case, it was a farce.

³ M'Crie's *Knox*, i. 217.

⁴ This version is also popularly known as the *Breeches Bible*, from the peculiar rendering of Genesis iii. 7. The first edition of it was printed at Geneva, in 1560. The reprints are numerous. Cotton's *List of Editions of the Bible*, Oxf. 1821, p. 14.

had made to the Queen Regent,¹ when last in Scotland, and his *Appellation* from the Edinburgh sentence fulminated against him in his absence. His most remarkable and unfortunate publication was, however, that which vented his irritation from the chief disappointments that had crossed him. Mary of Guise drove him from Scotland, her namesake from England. He now sought his revenge by publishing *The first blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment (government) of Women*: an ebullition of which he saw cause to repent when Elizabeth mounted the English throne. Hence two future *blasts*, though threatened, were never sounded.²

§ 5. While Knox was thus employed abroad, his friends at home were steadily proceeding towards an ecclesiastical revolution. Their first step after signing the bond at the close of 1557, which has been called the *first Covenant*, was to assert the expediency of using the *book of Common Prayer* in all parishes on Sundays and holydays; and the necessity of preaching, or expounding Scripture, ‘privately in quiet houses,’ until satisfactory public preaching could be established by authority.³ The *book of Common Prayer* intended seems unquestionably to have been Edward’s English service.⁴ The confederates, therefore, took upon themselves to proclaim the expediency of substituting the English ritual for the Roman throughout Scotland; and they went on so far as to add, that if the parochial minister should not be qualified to read this new service, the best qualified parishioner should do it for him. This provision certainly shows that gross ignorance must have been not very uncommon among the clergy, and it is also worthy of remark, as an evidence, that an abhorrence of liturgical forms was no original feature in the Scottish Reformation. The preaching, or expounding, pronounced necessary, was of course intended to be completely Protestant. Thus a private confederacy, with no constitutional, or recognised character whatever, undertook to decide upon innovations of great extent and importance, as expedient, or necessary for the whole kingdom.

§ 6. The confederates knew that they might safely venture upon these assumptions, because the queen regent was yet interested in courting them. The clergy naturally saw in such language the proclaimed intention of subverting the Romish establishment, and of raising upon its ruins one completely Protestant, and they urged these facts upon Mary. Her French policy was, however, still incomplete, and she would hear of nothing likely to cross it. When assailed, accordingly, by strong remonstrances, after the martyrdom of Mylne, she declared that cruelty to have been perpetrated without her knowledge, and greatly to her grief. The Congregation then requested

¹ Printed at the end of his *History*.

² This famous *Blast* may be seen among Knox’s pieces, at the conclusion of his *History*. He refers his writing of it to the persecution of Mary, whom he terms a *bastard*, considering her mother’s marriage as null. An answer was published to it by Aylmer, eventually bishop of London, on

Elizabeth’s accession, entitled *An Harborow for Faithful Subjects*. In the second *Blast*, Knox went so far as to draw up the heads on which he meant to treat. Of the third *Blast* nothing seems ever to have been done.

³ Cook, ii. 36.

⁴ *Ibid.* 36.

liberty to use the vulgar tongue in public worship, to hear expositions of Scripture from qualified persons present, to have baptism and the Eucharist administered in the vulgar tongue, to have the latter administered in both kinds, and to have clerical irregularities redressed according to the New Testament, the fathers, and the laws of Justinian. Even these requests were graciously received by the regent. She promised protection to the Protestant preachers, until Parliament should have considered their case, and allowed a vernacular service, on condition that it should not be publicly used in Edinburgh or Leith: a restriction represented as necessary to preserve tranquillity. By such a measure of concession, the clergy were much exasperated, but they soon became so convinced of their weakness, that they offered to permit vernacular prayers, and administrations of baptism and the Eucharist, if the mass, purgatory, invocation of saints, and prayers for the dead, were spared. This proposed compromise the Congregation did not deign to notice, but merely reiterated its demands: a defiance which betrayed the clerical body into an unseemly demonstration of impotent anger.¹

§ 7. When Parliament met about the end of November, 1558, the Lords of the Congregation were desirous of introducing such laws concerning the prosecution of heresy, as would effectually protect their party. The regent at once saw the defenceless condition to which such legislation would reduce her own creed, and became anxious to divert the blow. She could not, however, dispense with that Protestant support which had so long served her ambitious aims, and accordingly descended again to her accustomed dissimulation. To propose that modification of the existing law, which the Congregation sought, she represented as highly undesirable at that particular time, however just and reasonable in itself, the clergy being likely to resent it, and try every artifice of party to defeat it. By this representation the lords were for a time silenced, but either under the natural impatience of conscious strength, or beginning to suspect that Mary was merely making them her dupes, they presented a protestation to Parliament, before its dissolution, embodying strong aspersions on the Established Church, claiming immunity for such as should resist laws in its favour, the peaceable redress of grievances inflicted by it having been denied, and protesting against any blame from popular tumults that might arise from the national impatience under such inveterate and obstinately-defended evils. This document has been commended by presbyterian writers, as rational, though energetic, but it amounts, in fact, to a threat of physical force.² Mary must have seen the paper in no other light; but still doubting whether the time had come to throw off the mask, she professed great respect for the claims which the Congregation had advanced, and promised to take them into her serious consideration. The Parliament showed a different spirit. When it was proposed to enter the memorial upon its records, the proposal was rejected.³

¹ Cook, 51.

² Cook, 54.

³ *Ibid.* 58. 'These our protestations publicly read, we desired them to have been

§ 8. This rejection could not fail to have its weight upon the regent herself, who was now upon the point of abandoning dissimulation. Her objects in favour of France were gained, and her brothers were anxious that no more advantages should come to Protestantism by her means. The posture of the Romish interest was, in fact, completely altered. No longer was Mary of England maintaining the papal cause at home, by the unsparing use of fire and fagot, and certain to shrink from any contact with Protestants abroad. Elizabeth was now on the English throne, with claims to it based on the Reformation. Hence domestic encouragement afforded to the Scottish enemies of Rome portended no less than the complete emancipation of Great Britain from papal trammels. Neither Mary nor her brothers could endure such a prospect, but when these latter pressed for a decided alteration of her policy, her heart naturally fluttered with fear and shame. As a preliminary to the new policy enjoined by France, she dropped her old habits of courtesy towards the Lords of the Congregation, and met them with an air of distant haughtiness.¹ She then tried to win support by gay entertainments and seductive condescension.² Afterwards she summoned an assembly of the best-informed clergy, and proposed to place the Protestant demands under their examination. This body met in March, 1559, and received through the regent the claims of the Congregation. It was, however, no less inclined for concession than the clerical body had shown itself last year, and Protestantism was evidently on the eve of an arduous struggle. A proclamation was issued, a little before Easter, commanding strict adherence to the Romish worship,³ orders were given for observing that festival at court with all its ancient formalities,⁴ agents were sent in various directions to recommend mass, and on their total failure, all the more eminent reformed preachers received notice that they must attend at Stirling on the 10th of May, to answer for their conduct, before a Parliament to be holden there.⁵

§ 9. This order was met by a remonstrance, against which Mary stood firm. She was then told that her summons would be obeyed, and that the gentry of every county would attend their preachers to

inserted in the common register; but that, by the labours of our enemies, was denied us.' Knox, 112.

¹ 'How soon that all things pertaining to the commodity of France were granted by us, and that peace was contracted betwixt king Philip and France, and England and us, she began to spew forth and disclose the latent venom of her double heart. Then began she to frown and look frowardly to all such as she knew did favour the evangel of Jesus Christ.' Knox, 113.

² Cook, ii. 63.

³ *Memoirs of Sir James Melvil*. Lond. 1683, p. 24.

⁴ 'She commanded her household to use all abomination at Pasch; and she, herself,

to give example to others, did communicate with that idol in open audience: she controuled her household, and would know where every one received their sacrament.' Knox, 112.

⁵ 'She sent forth such as she thought most able to persuade, at Pasch, to cause Montrose, Dundee, St. Johnstone' (Perth), 'and other such places that had received the evangel, to communicate with the idol of the mass; but they could profit nothing; the hearts of many were bent to follow the truth revealed, and did abhor superstition and idolatry. Whereat she, more highly commoved, did summon again all the preachers to compear at Stirling, the 10th of May, the year of God 1559.' *Ibid.* 113.

Stirling. This was evidently meant for no idle threat, for the Protestants of several districts immediately repaired to Perth. But although their numbers were considerable, they had come unarmed, and Mary, confiding in the brightening aspect of foreign politics, thought herself able to defy them. Still such a concourse was embarrassing, and she sought to prevent its progress to Stirling by resorting to her old professions of moderation. Deceived by these, one of the protestant gentlemen who waited upon her, persuaded his friends to remain at Perth. By many this advice was not cordially approved, from suspicions of the regent's good faith, but it prevented the meditated advance, and even caused the gentlemen to dismiss most of their followers to their several homes. This relief to the regent's mind was, however, counteracted by her knowledge, that the protestants at Perth were actually regulating public worship according to their own opinions.¹ Mary was violently angry, and would have had the innovation immediately suppressed. The town-provost pleaded inability, and she could only answer by irritating menaces.² To make them good, she evidently thought her deep dissimulation likely to prove quite sufficient. It really did lull suspicion. The 10th of May arrived, and the preachers, not expecting to be wanted, had made no preparations for attending at Stirling. They were, however, duly called, and none answering, were outlawed as contumacious.³

§ 10. Eight days before this perfidious folly, Knox landed at Leith. He stayed only two days in Edinburgh, and then hastened to Dundee, where he joined a party which was going to Perth to protect the preachers. He was at the latter place on the 11th of May, when news came of the outlawry denounced against the preachers at Stirling on the day before. He preached 'a sermon which was vehement against idolatry,' or, in other words, which was a violent attack upon the mass. Under the excitement caused both by this and the news from Stirling, a priest, with more courage than discretion, made preparations for celebrating the reprobated service. Being interrupted by the indignant exclamations of a boy, he gave him a violent blow, and the lad, in return, threw a stone at him with such force that it knocked an image down. A tumult immediately followed, in which

¹ 'In the town of Perth, they openly professed the new tenets; their preachers enforced them in public assemblies; and the foundation of the Scottish protestant church was there actually laid.' (Cook, ii. 70.) In strict accuracy this might seem to have been done elsewhere, though perhaps upon a smaller scale. 'Edinburgh was the first place in which this order' (of appointing elders and deacons) 'was established; Dundee, the first town in which a reformed church was completely organised, provided with a regular minister, and favoured with the dispensation of the sacraments.' (McCrie's *Knox*, i. 230.) The Edinburgh election of elders and deacons is referred to 1557.

² Knox, 113.

³ This is said by Knox to have been done at the regent's 'commandment.' He does not, however, say, as others have said, that Mary induced the confederates to disperse by promising to drop proceedings against their preachers, only that she promised to 'take some better order.' What was said, seems, therefore, to have been evasive, meant to be understood as it was, but amounting to no definite pledge. Such language, it must be owned, is false, substantially, whatever it may be verbally. Hence Mary's character here can hardly have suffered under any great degree of misrepresentation.

the church was cleared of every thing that passed for a monument of idolatry. This mischief was no sooner known abroad than all those in the town whom age, indiscretion, or indigence, dispose to riot, ran together, and sacked three monasteries.¹ A similar outrage soon followed in the small town of Cupar.²

§ 11. To repress the spirit which had so dangerously shown itself at Perth, the queen regent promptly moved upon that city, with a force rendered formidable by the presence of French auxiliaries.³ The Congregation was rather unprepared for such celerity, but it organised means of resistance sufficiently early to keep the royal troops at bay, until more effectual reinforcements came up from the country. A capitulation was then agreed upon,⁴ before a hostile blow, and Mary entered Perth on the afternoon of the following day. She was, however, very far from adhering, with honourable fidelity, to her engagements.⁵ Thus the country was kept in a fever of agitation, and gradually so armed against the Government as to be rendered irresistible. During this anxious period of preparation, the rabble that infests all towns felt its mischievous energies unfettered, and the cathedral of St. Andrew's, with several other buildings, which had long ornamented the kingdom, were soon reduced to heaps of ruins.⁶

§ 12. Even before the chief of these excesses had been committed, peaceable and cautious spirits became disgusted and alarmed. Hence when the regent appeared before Perth, on the 18th of May, some of the more moderate protestants were under her standard.⁷ Those who were in that city felt fully the dangers of their situation, and accordingly, before they left it on the 30th of May, they seem to have made a rough agreement in writing to stand by each other.⁸ This instrument

¹ Knox lays this mischief upon the 'rascal multitude,' wholly acquitting 'earnest professors' of any share in it. He also asserts that 'no honest man was enriched thereby to the value of one groat.' But he says 'the first invasion was upon the idolatry; and thereafter the common people began to seek some spoil.' He then relates how well the Franciscan friary was found to be furnished with bedding, linen, and provisions. The Dominican friary, he admits, was not equally well supplied, but still better 'than became men professing poverty.' Upon the Carthusian convent, the third house destroyed, he merely says, that 'the prior was permitted to take with him even so much gold and silver as he was well able to carry;' and upon the people generally he declares, that 'their conscience so moved them that they suffered these hypocrites to take away what they could of that which was in their places.' Yet he confesses that 'the spoil was permitted to the poor.' Upon the whole, it seems clear that these houses were plundered of their stores of provisions, which was probably their chief wealth. As

to other things, the unfortunate inmates were allowed to carry off what they claimed as personal effects, which was, undoubtedly, better treatment than persons in their situation generally obtain, and this is something favourable to the character of the sacking party, but it is, notwithstanding, hardly entitled to the degree of reputation for disinterestedness, which Knox evidently meant for it, and which modern Scottish writers are equally willing to claim.

² Cook, ii. 82. 'Which the curate took so heavily, that the night following he put violent hands on himself.' Spotswood, 122.

³ May 18. Cook, 93.

⁴ May 29.

⁵ Knox, 124.

⁶ Mc'Crie's *Knox*, i. 270. The cathedral of St. Andrew's was ruined, June 11. The archbishop left the city on the morning of that day. Cook, ii. 118.

⁷ Mc'Crie's *Knox*, i. 261.

⁸ This appears to be the only way for reconciling dates. It is pretty clear that the treaty was signed May 29, and that the Congregation left Perth, May 30, the regent

was regularly executed on the next day, the last of the month, and has been termed *the second Covenant*.¹ Needless importance was immediately given to it by the regent's injudicious and unjustifiable use of her success. Men were naturally disposed anew to join the insurgent party when they saw conditions which had reduced its present efficiency shamelessly disregarded. Thus a fierce and sullen spirit of hatred and defiance for authority spread rapidly over the country. The Congregation took full advantage of this, moving in military order through all the districts most favourable to its views, and making Vandalic havoc of those noble piles within its line of march, which superstition, undoubtedly, but inspired by liberality and taste, had extorted in the course of ages from a poverty-stricken nation. Mary, quite unequal to contend with such a force, backed by the enthusiasm of nearly all the Lowlands, was obliged even to let Edinburgh fall into the hands of the Congregation. That militant body of religionists there, however, showed much of the spirit of ordinary revolvers. The royal palace of Holyrood house was broken into: the instruments of coinage were taken away; an act for which the recent coinage of base money was afterwards pleaded in justification. Such reprehensible conduct following a succession of outrages upon public buildings, and being supported by a soldiery that inspired any thing rather than confidence,² augmented the rising dissatisfaction of all who dreaded anarchy more than popery. Mary observed with natural joy the tide turning in her favour, and judiciously sought to take advantage of it, by issuing a proclamation with very moderate professions, and which fairly treated the armed bands of the Congregation as dangerous and disloyal insurgents.³ There was now a decided reaction in the public mind, and the Congregation, deeply sensible of it, sent messengers to Mary with a letter protesting loyalty. She received the overture with dignified calmness, although it was not without offensive accompaniments, and procrastination being evidently to her interest, a negotiation was entered into. While this was in progress, Henry of France prematurely died, and his daughter-in-law, the young queen of Scots, became queen consort. Obviously this was likely to place the insurgents in a worse position than ever, their sovereign being now actual sharer of the French throne. They were

making her entrance on the afternoon of that day. But then it is added, that the new bond was signed at Perth on the following day; which is impossible, the parties being no longer there. Dr. Cook, therefore, supposes 'that a resolution to form the deed was adopted on the 30th, that a commission was then given to the noblemen, who, though attached to the protestants, were, from their connexion with the court, or in consequence of the treaty, to remain with the regent, to subscribe the deed; and that, accordingly, in compliance with the wishes of the Congregation, they wrote the bond in the name of the whole, and subscribed it on the 31st.' *Hist. Ref. in Scotl.* ii. 109.

¹ Russell, i. 217.

² 'The common soldiers, moreover, who fought under the banner of the Congregation, contributed, by their disaffection, to strengthen the returning popularity of the dowager. They put to death a servant of the earl of Argyle, who endeavoured to re-establish order among them; they insulted several persons of rank, who showed a desire to soothe their minds; and they ventured even to declare, that, for a proper reward, they were ready to suppress the Reformation, and set up the mass.' Russell, i. 220. Knox, 165.

³ Cook, ii. 142.

led, however, by a spirit of absurd superstition, to a very different conclusion; viewing Henry's unexpected death as the providential removal of an active persecutor. Hence their slackening efforts were still further relaxed. The regent knew her own and her daughter's position better. While, accordingly, the Lords of the Congregation were indolently contemplating the weakening of their party, and the melting away of their forces, she was watching her opportunity to strike a decisive blow. Feeling the time come, she suddenly left Dunbar, where had lately been her residence, on the evening of July 23, and early next morning halted, in considerable force, within two miles of Edinburgh. Her opponents were quite unprepared, and a little vigour would have laid them prostrate at her feet. Tenderness of human life, or, it may be, irresolution, again drove her to negotiate, and a party, which trembled for existence, was enabled to preserve it by treaty. Mary's error became immediately apparent. The Lords of the Congregation had no sooner withdrawn from Edinburgh to Stirling than they again assumed an attitude of defiance, by signing another bond.¹

§ 13. On her part, Mary was equally on the alert. She fortified Leith, and urgently wrote to France for more assistance. The desired reinforcements arrived, one thousand strong, in the middle of August, and in the following month more were landed, with some divines from the Sorbonne, whose services were thought likely, probably by Mary's brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, to remove Scottish prejudices against Romanism. This portion of the French importation was, however, a total failure, in spite of the impressive manner with which these selected foreigners performed the theatrical formalities of Romish worship. The troops were not found of such light importance, and the Congregation often looked upon Leith with serious concern. Finding Mary quite intractable under the protection of a fortified town, and an imposing foreign force, the Lords of the Congregation took upon themselves to suspend her formally from the regency by an instrument, dated on the 10th of October, 1559, and proclaimed next day, by sound of trumpet, at the market-cross of Edinburgh.² But the confederates had overcalculated their resources. They had not ventured upon an act, which really was little or nothing short of treason, without securing the co-operation of England, where they represented urgently the necessity of pecuniary aid to keep themselves in the field. Elizabeth answered this appeal in her usual spirit of cautious parsimony. One thousand pounds was sent to Berwick, and an agent of the Congregation received it there, with all the secrecy, as was thought, that such a case required. But it proved otherwise. Mary had received intelligence of the English remittance, and succeeded in intercepting it. Want of pay now bred a mutiny among the Congregation's army, desertions thinned their ranks, an attack upon Leith miscarried, an unsuccessful skirmish rendered French discipline painfully conspicuous, distrust and dejection paralysed every movement,

¹ Aug. 1. Cook, 170.

² Cook, 198.

and on the 6th of November, the men who had so lately insulted the regent by a formal pretence to suspend her authority, evacuated Edinburgh, and withdrew to Stirling.¹

§ 14. This retreat was instantly embittered by the public scorn and the exultation of opponents, which ever add a sting to ill success.² But it proved highly advantageous to Scottish Protestantism. The Lords of the Congregation could see no prospect of retrieving their affairs without Elizabeth's effective aid, and to her they sent an earnest application. It was altogether against her interest to suffer Scotland to become a province of France, into which situation it was apparently sinking. Hence, however little inclined by nature to encourage rebellion, she could not suffer the Congregation to be suppressed. Hitherto she had not gone further than the maintenance of a secret correspondence, and the transmission of that moderate remittance that had relieved the regent instead of the lords. But on the 27th of February, 1560, a treaty was regularly executed at Berwick, by which England bound herself to assist the Congregation in expelling the French from Scotland.³ An English fleet had been cruising off the Frith of Forth more than a month before, professedly despatched in pursuit of pirates, but really sent from an understanding with the Congregation, and exerting from the first a most auspicious influence over its affairs. On the 28th of March an English army actually entered Scotland,⁴ and soon after effected a junction with the forces of the Congregation. The whole body then marched upon Leith, from which the queen regent, now broken in health, and devoured by anxiety, retired for greater security into the castle of Edinburgh.⁵ Elizabeth was not, however, very cordial in her contact with rebellion, and hence the confederates were annoyed by a constant exchange of communications between her agents and the queen dowager.⁶ Thus, they could not look upon their position, in spite of the imposing attitude now given it by England, with unmingled confidence, and accordingly, on the 27th of April, they signed at Leith another bond, which was their last.⁷

§ 15. Their distrust of Elizabeth, however, proved unnecessary. It was her obvious interest to maintain them, and all the world soon saw that she meant to do so effectually. On the other hand, France became apprehensive of a protracted contest. The national finances appeared unequal to a distant war demanding the hazard and expense of a long sea-voyage; besides which, the Huguenot party at home left little opportunity for concerting measures to suppress a similar

¹ Cook, 233.

² 'The despiteful tongues of the wicked railed upon us, calling us traitors and heretics; everyone provoked another to cast stones at us. One cried, "Alas, that I might see;" another, "Fie, give advertisement to the Frenchmen, that they may come, and we shall help, to cut the throats of these heretics." And thus as the sword of dolour passed through our hearts, so were the cogitations and former determinations

of many hearts then revealed; for we never could have believed that our natural countrymen and women could have wished our destruction so unmercifully, and have so rejoiced in our adversity; God move their hearts to repentance.' Knox, 169.

³ Knox, 191.

⁴ Cook, ii, 274.

⁵ Ap. 4. *Ibid.* 280.

⁶ *Ibid.* 284.

⁷ Knox, 196.

party abroad. Hence the French court became sincerely desirous of peace, and it was concluded at Edinburgh on the 6th of July, 1560.¹ The queen regent, Mary of Guise, did not live to see this termination of her anxieties. On the 10th of the preceding month, death released her from a position which she had, at one time, earnestly coveted, but which she must have long found all but intolerable.² Her memory has been coarsely assailed by Knox, and undoubtedly she sought personal objects, and relief under the difficulties of a very perplexing situation, by resorting to a policy often thought refined, but really not reconcileable with strict integrity. The worst part of it, although not the part most offensive to contemporaries, was unquestionably that subserviency to the Protestants, while she wanted them for her views upon the regency, and for her daughter's French objects, which made them consider her as little else than one of themselves.³ Probably she had no suspicion of any blemish to her character from such obliquities, but might consider them as the mere exigencies of a political position. In private life she certainly manifested a disposition highly amiable;⁴ and the near approach of death, which generally brings out the best features of the human character, placed her in a light which bespoke the real Christian. At that awful period the Romish prejudices in which she had been reared, upon which her brothers built their fame, and which had given a colour to her whole life, lost much of their intensity, and she heard with complacency sound religious principles, even from Protestant lips.⁵ At the same time, there can be no doubt that she died in the papal communion;⁶

¹ Cook, ii. 304. The author pronounces 'this contest the most interesting in which Scotland was ever engaged.'

² 'The queen regent, partly out of sickness, and partly of displeasure, died in the castle of Edinburgh.' Spotswood, 146.

³ 'The good opinion we had of her sincerity, not only caused us to spend our goods, and hazard our bodies at her pleasure, but also by our public letters written to that excellent servant of God, John Calvin, we did praise and commend her for excellent knowledge of God's word, and goodwill towards the advancement of his glory; requiring of him, that by his grave counsel and godly exhortation, he would animate her grace constantly to follow that which godly she had begun. We did further sharply rebuke, both by word and writing, all such as appeared to suspect in her any venom of hypocrisy, or that were contrary to that opinion which we had conceived of her godly mind.' Knox, 113.

⁴ Cook, ii. 292.

⁵ She desired to see some of the leading Protestants, and expressed to them her regret that her administration had been such as to make them seek foreign aid. They seem to have behaved as became Christians and gentlemen, but their attachment

to reformed opinions would not allow them to let the opportunity slip, without recommending her to see one of their own ministers. She consented, and Willock was introduced, to whom she professed her belief in the essentials of Christianity, saying, however, nothing, as it seems, inconsistent with Romanism.

⁶ 'Some say she was anointed of (after) the papistical manner, which was a sign of small knowledge of the truth, and of less repentance of her former superstition: yet however it was, Jesus Christ got no small victory over such an enemy. For, albeit, before she had avowed, that in despite of all Scotland, the preachers of Jesus Christ should either die or be banished the realm; yet she was not only compelled to hear that Jesus Christ was preached, and all idolatry openly rebuked, and in many places suppressed, but also she was constrained to hear one of the principal ministers of the realm, and to approve the chief head of religion, wherein we dissent from all papists and papistry.' (Knox, 199.) This laboured account, which is the fountain-head of the Protestant colouring commonly given to the last moments of Mary of Guise, really amounts to very little. It is pretty clear that the dying queen received extreme unc-

but her estimable qualities in private life, and the pious liberality of sentiment with which she encountered death, have effectually embalmed her memory in Scottish history.¹

§ 16. By the treaty in progress when she died, Protestant objects were thought to be secured. Yet it is remarkable, no express provision for them was made, the commissioners having declined the subject. It was, however, stipulated that a certain number of noblemen should be chosen by the parliament, which was to meet in August, to lay before Mary and her husband what should appear advisable as to religion. This vague, or more probably evasive, clause was quite satisfactory to the Lords of the Congregation.² The treaty left, in fact, Scotland pretty completely in their hands,³ and Romish worship generally ceased, its ministers finding themselves quite unprotected, and all but universally obnoxious. On the other hand, Protestant services were performed wherever means for them were attainable.⁴ Thus most of the kingdom seceded openly and irretrievably from the papal church. Nor were people anxious as to the future. The nation had embraced so completely reformed opinions, that it viewed a reference to parliament, as tantamount to their permanent recognition. The convened estates, it was reckoned, could only echo the popular voice, and this had already sealed the condemnation of Romanism.⁵

§ 17. The parliament which so largely filled public expectation, met as arranged, on the 10th of July, but its deliberations were not actually to commence until the beginning of August. Its legality came first under discussion, no representative of the crown being present. On the other hand, however, there was the largest attendance of legislators ever known.⁶ The lesser barons, or gentry, had usually declined parliamentary duties, feeling them both uninteresting and expensive. But now they came in considerable numbers, and not, it is thought, without such an array of followers as had of late generally controlled discussion by a demonstration of physical force.⁷ A body of this kind was pretty sure to decide in favour of its own legality, but this was not done until after considerable debate.⁸

tion. By 'one of the principal ministers of the realm' Willock seems to be meant. But he came to her by the advice, or it might be, importunity of the Protestant noblemen, with whom, unquestionably, she wished to speak from a desire to acknowledge her errors as a politician. To Willock she seems to have made no further concession, than to admit 'that there is no salvation, but in and by the death of Jesus Christ.' No well-informed Romanist would be likely to disclaim this doctrine, especially on the threshold of eternity.

¹ Abp. Spotswood charges Knox with gross misrepresentation and injustice in her case. 147.

² Cook, ii. 315.

³ Russell, i. 223.

⁴ M'Crie's *Knox*, i. 327.

⁵ Cook, ii. 316.

⁶ 'Although, from religious or political motives, some of the most considerable men of the country did not appear.' Cook, ii. 324.

⁷ Russell, i. 229. The unusual attendants are there characterised as 'the lower class of freeholders and commissioners of boroughs.' Afterwards it is said, 'Above a hundred of the lesser barons, as they were called, shaking off their wonted indifference, or parsimonious habits, repaired to the capital, accompanied, there is reason to believe, by a large band of adherents.'

⁸ Dr. Cook considers the legality of this parliament established by the treaty which stipulated that it should be assembled, and

At one of the earlier sessions was presented a petition from some of the leading Protestants, for the legal abolition of popery, and a reformed establishment in its room: objects which are enforced by characterising the Romish clergy in the usual strain of libellous illiberality.¹ This was followed on the 17th of August by a *Confession of Faith*, which is an elaborate statement of the opinions entertained by Knox and his party, but makes nearer approaches in some respects to the ancient landmarks of theology than the Presbyterianism of later times cordially approves.² This new standard of national belief received the sanction of parliament, with little or nothing of inquiry or debate.³ Several of the prelacy, both secular and regular, were, however, in their places, and one of them, at least, the primate, was far from deficient in professional information. Still, neither he nor any other of his bench said anything against this legislative transfer of the country to a rival church. Opposition might have seemed hopeless, but undoubtedly some show of it was required by a mere regard for appearances. Hence it hardly seems illiberal to surmise that interested motives had some weight in keeping the prelates mute. The abbots, it is considered, were tempted by the prospect of having their benefices converted into temporal lordships, which they might succeed in retaining. Many of the bishops had families, and are said to have been bent upon enriching them by long leases, and alienations.⁴ However these things may be, it certainly is very little creditable to the Scottish prelacy, that, without changing its own theology, it should have left opposition to a different system wholly to three temporal peers; who alone, of all the individuals then in parliament, voted against the *Confession of Faith*.⁵ An assembly that so easily made this important innovation, could not be expected to treat Romanism with much mercy. The papal jurisdiction, accordingly, was abolished; acts in favour of the church were repealed; and mass was prohibited under penalty of confiscation, or bodily suffering, for the first offence; of banishment, for the second; the third was made capital.⁶

§ 18. The ancient ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland being

by virtue of which both the French and English forces had actually been withdrawn. To this treaty Mary and her husband were parties. *Hist. Ref.* ii. 325.

¹ The document may be seen in Knox, 206.

² 'The Reformers in Scotland denied transubstantiation, but they admitted what they called a spiritual presence.' (Cook, ii. 363.) In this they followed Calvin, who (*Inst.* l. iv. c. xvii. § 33,) maintains a spiritual manducation, and asserts this to be opposed, not to a true and real, but only to a carnal presence. Mr. M'Gavin, the editor of Knox, also observes in his note on c. xxi. of the *Confession of Faith* (p. 216), 'Here the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is plainly stated.' Calvin (*Inst.* l. iv. c. xvi.

§ 4) teaches that regeneration is the thing figured by baptism. The whole *Confession* may be seen in Knox, p. 208.

³ 'After having been presented to the Lords of the Articles, it was publicly read in parliament, and it was upon a subsequent day adopted with as little hesitation as if it had been a collection of intuitive truths. No questions were asked, no explanations were sought, and no sufficient time was given for trying it by the test of reason, or comparing it with Scripture. An Act was at once passed, by which it was solemnly pronounced to be the standard of Protestant belief in Scotland.' Cook, ii. 332.

⁴ *Ibid.* 333.

⁵ *Ibid.* 334.

⁶ *Ibid.* 336.

thus overthrown, and a new one erected in its place, a messenger was despatched to France to acquaint Mary and her husband with the change. On his arrival, he found himself charged with a most unsatisfactory errand. The French court no longer felt any embarrassment upon Scottish affairs. Its own army had been safely withdrawn from a dangerous position in the country. England had also removed her troops, and Elizabeth was complaining of the expense which she had sustained in keeping them in the field. It was, therefore, very doubtful, with such as weighed her cautious and parsimonious habits, whether she would soon move another army across the border, unless urged by some very powerful motive. Hence the Scottish sovereigns treated immediately the communication made to them with indignant contempt, and the bearer of it was upbraided with the acceptance of a commission that he ought to have been ashamed to undertake. It is undeniable that the French court had sufficient grounds for assuming this attitude. The late parliament, it is true, though not holden by any express royal warrant, sat in virtue of a treaty to which the crown was a party. It might be, therefore, in itself, a legal assembly: but the legality of its sweeping measures of ecclesiastical innovation was a very different question. The *Accord*, as the assent of the royal plenipotentiaries to the late assembling of parliament has been called, merely authorised that body to prepare a plan of religious pacification for the consideration of the crown. The legislative body, however, passed acts which wholly overthrew the ancient church establishment, and sent them over to France for the royal ratification.¹ This might very reasonably, under such circumstances, be denied: and although some of the Scottish leaders affected indifference, professing that the sovereign was consulted rather from customary form than from any weightier cause,² yet, upon the whole, people became uneasy as they pondered the news from France.³ While the Scottish public felt thus uncertain as to the future, Mary's youthful husband unexpectedly died.⁴ This occasioned general joy among her subjects, and with great reason. While Francis II. lived, his weak understanding fell completely under her direction. She again was guided by her uncles, the princes of Lorraine, who had long taken a deep interest in Scottish affairs, and were bigoted adherents of the Roman church. Now, the chief influence was transferred to her mother-in-law, Catharine de' Medici, who had been violently jealous of Mary's power over Francis, and who gained herself immediately a similar or greater power over Charles IX., the feeble child, that nominally reigned. Mere hatred of a long-envied daughter-in-law was sure to render Catharine careless of Scottish affairs, at least for a time. The Congregation, therefore, was fully justified in looking upon the death of

¹ Russell, i. 233.

² 'All that we did was rather to show our dutiful obedience, than to beg of them any strength to our religion, which from God has full power, and needeth not the suffrage of man, but in so far as man has

need to believe it, if that ever he shall have participation of the life everlasting.' Knox, 222.

³ Cook, ii. 344.

⁴ Dec. 4, 1560.

Francis as most auspicious to its views. Had his life been prolonged, the able princes of Lorraine would have gradually found means, in all probability, for surmounting domestic difficulties, and bringing the power of France to bear efficiently upon the Scottish *Congregation*.¹

§ 19. The *Accord* had allowed parliament to nominate twenty-four persons, from whom a council of twelve was to be chosen, by which the functions of government might be administered, until some other arrangement should be made by royal authority.² The proposed committee of twelve seems actually to have been nominated for this purpose, although the crown stood aloof, and it meditated upon some plan for establishing the principles contained in the *Confession of Faith*, immediately that the legislature separated.³ Five or six divines, one of whom was Knox, were appointed to prepare a system of ecclesiastical discipline for the national acceptance.⁴ The labours of this body produced the *First Book of Discipline*, towards the close of 1560. In the January next following, Knox presented this *Book* to the convention which met in consequence of the French king's death, requesting sanction for it from the national estates.⁵ But his application was received with very little cordiality. Had he merely sought acquiescence in some form of polity conformable to the *Confession of Faith*, he would have found no difficulty in obtaining ready attention. He knew, however, that ministers of religion must have adequate means of subsistence, like other men; that a supply of them, completely qualified, could not be maintained without schools and colleges; and that poverty had large claims upon the endowments of religion. He was, moreover, no real enemy to that subordination of ministers, which ecclesiastical history showed to have ever prevailed in the church. He would not, indeed, broadly claim the establishment of an order of Protestant bishops. But he did this indirectly, by prescribing the appointment of *Superintendents*; a feature in his system which has proved sorely embarrassing to Presbyterians of later times.⁶ For these various purposes he pro-

¹ Robertson, ii. 38.

² The treaty of Edinburgh stipulated, 'that, during the queen's absence, the administration of government should be vested in a council of twelve persons, to be chosen out of twenty-four named by Parliament, seven of which council to be elected by the queen, and five by the Parliament.' Robertson, ii. 26.

³ Knox merely says, 'The Parliament dissolved; consultation was had, how the kirk might be established in a good and godly policy, which by the papists was utterly defaced.' (223.) Dr. Russell ascribes this 'consultation' to the council of twelve, whom the convention of states had been pleased to nominate, in virtue of the *Accord*, or concessions, so often mentioned. (i. 236.) Dr. McCrie ascribes it to 'the Privy Council.' (Knox, ii. 4.) Dr. Cook to

'the Council in Scotland.' *Hist. Ref.* ii. 345.

⁴ Knox names only five, but Dr. Russell six, inserting Willock, of whom Knox says nothing.

⁵ Cook, iii. 34.

⁶ 'Calderwood, Petrie, and some other writers of later date, have taken infinite pains to represent the appointment in question' (that of superintendents) 'as merely introductory to the more perfect system of parity by which it was at length succeeded.' (Russell, i. 245.) 'That Knox had not that abhorrence of episcopacy, which, soon after his days, was unhappily introduced into Scotland by men who disregarded, or denied his fundamental principle, is very apparent.' (Cook, ii. 384.) Robertson rather encourages the notion that Knox adopted the episcopal principle from views merely temporary. 'On the

posed to provide, by means of the ecclesiastical revenues immemorially belonging to the national church. Nor was he contented with claiming such estates alone as had endowed the seculars. Monastic and chantry property were also to swell the fund for maintaining religion, learning, and poverty.¹ Nothing could be more offensive to the Lords of the Congregation than claims like these. Their cherished authorities, Knox and his fellows, were immediately painted in disparaging and ridiculous colours. Hitherto, their suggestions had been ardently re-echoed as deeply religious and nobly patriotic. Now these admired preachers were sneeringly described as liable to be carried away by *devout imaginations*.² Knox really appears to have

first introduction of his system, Knox did not deem it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form. Instead of bishops he proposed to establish ten or twelve superintendents in different parts of the kingdom. These, as the name implies, were empowered to inspect the life and doctrine of the other clergy. They presided in the inferior judicatories of the church, and performed several other parts of the episcopal function. Their jurisdiction, however, extended to sacred things only; they claimed no seat in Parliament, and pretended no right to the dignity or revenues of the former bishops.' (*Hist. Scotl.* ii. 43.) This representation of Knox's views is evidently fallacious. Undoubtedly, while engaged in his study upon the scheme for a new system of ecclesiastical polity, he did not see thoroughly the selfishness of his chief lay supporters, but an observer so keen could not have overlooked man's natural cupidity. Had he, therefore, merely sought temporary expediency, he was likely to have thought of nothing so soon as a formal confirmation of existing acquisitions from the church, and an opening for new confiscations. He was, however, acquainted with ecclesiastical history; he must have known something of the unreasonableness to which ministers are liable from persons not of their own order, and he felt pressingly the necessity of placing the ministry upon a permanent and respectable footing. 'It is remarkable too, that the compilers of the *Book of Discipline* were distinguished by prelatical principles to the end of their days. Winram, for example, died superintendent of Strathern; Willock was superintendent of the West; Spotswood was many years a superintendent, and as we learn from his son, the ecclesiastical historian, continued hostile to Presbyterian parity; Douglas became archbishop of St. Andrew's; and Row was one of the three who afterwards defended the cause of diocesan episcopacy at the conference appointed by the General Assembly in 1575.' (Russell, i. 240.) Spotswood was admitted superin-

tendent of Lothian so early as March 9, 1561, that is, within about two months of the presentation of the *Book of Discipline* to the Convention.

¹ 'And because we know that the tenth reasonably taken, as is before expressed, will not suffice to discharge the former necessity; we think that all things doted to hospitality, and annual rents both in burgh and land pertaining to the priests, chanteries, colleges, chapellanries, and the friaries of all orders, to the sisters of the Seenes, [i.e. of St. Catherine of Sienna,] and such others, be retained still in the use of the kirk or kirks within the towns and parishes where they are doted.' *First Book of Discipline*, ch. 8. McGavin's *Knox*, 504.

² 'Some approved and willed the same to have been set forth as a law; others perceiving their carnal liberty and worldly commodity somewhat impaired thereby, grudged, insomuch that the name of the *Book of Discipline* became odious unto them. Every thing that repugned to their corrupt affections was termed in their mockage, *devout imaginations*. The cause we have before declared; some were licentious, some had greedily gripped the possessions of the kirk, and others thought they would not lack their part of Christ's coat: yea, and that before that ever he was hanged, as by the preachers they were often rebuked. The chief great man that had professed Christ Jesus, and refused to subscribe to the *Book of Discipline*, was the lord Erskine; and no wonder, for besides that he has a very Jezebel to his wife, if the poor, the schools, and the ministry of the kirk had their own, his kitchen would want two parts and more of that which he now unjustly possesses. Assuredly, some of them have wondered how men that profess godliness could of so long continuance, hear the threatenings of God against thieves, and against their houses, and knowing themselves guilty of such things as were openly rebuked, and that they never had remorse of conscience, neither yet intended to restore any thing of that which

been so far deluded, as to have given his noble supporters credit for a degree of disinterestedness, which certainly was in very few of them, and which, in fact, is far from abundant in human nature. He bitterly upbraided a selfish spirit, already revelling in church plunder, and eagerly appetent of more, which would bind ministers down to hopeless, crippling poverty, overlook the claims of learning, and leave indigence to the niggardly conscience of precarious charity. Stung by his reproaches, or fearing to weaken their party, several of the leading Protestants signed the *Book of Discipline* within a few days of its virtual rejection by the convention, as an earnest of their disposition to make it the basis of a national establishment at some future period.¹ Yet even this adhesion handled pecuniary questions in a very cautious manner. Some of the ancient clergy had joined the reformers. The subscribers to the *Book* limit their approbation of it by a condition, that these dignitaries should enjoy their benefices during life, and make provision out of them for the people's religious wants.² In the question of money, indeed, Knox had the mortification to find himself powerless. Great men applauded heartily and vociferously when his eloquence opened any prospect of an increase to their estates. He was a mere heated fanatic when talking of irregular acquisitions to be surrendered, and visions of approaching gain to be foregone.

§ 20. However disappointed the reformed preachers might have been by the selfish opposition of their more distinguished supporters, their own condition remained so uncomfortably indigent, that they could not let agitation subside. They were, besides, under considerable apprehension of reviving energy in the Romish party. The young queen's arrival in Scotland might soon be expected, and of her good-will to befriend the religion in which she had been bred, there was no question. The Romanists, accordingly, were everywhere in higher spirits, boasting that better times were at hand, and that rebellious heresy was fast approaching the penalty so richly deserved. These combined causes of uneasiness occasioned an address to the council and to the convention of estates, for the destruction of all monuments of idolatry, the punishment of open professors of popery, the maintenance of ministers, and criminal proceedings against despisers or abusers of the sacraments. Whatever difficulties might be in the way of some among these requests, there was none

long they had stolen and reft. There were none within the realm more unmerciful to the poor ministers than they were that had the greatest rents of the kirks. But in that we have perceived the old proverb to be true, *Nothing can suffice a wretch*, and again, *The belly has no ears.*' Knox, 223.

¹ Jan. 27, 1561. *Ibid.* The Convention did not formally reject the *Book of Discipline*: it adjourned the consideration of it, 'probably, as the gentlest way of rejecting it; and it was not till after this assembly was dissolved, that the noblemen and gen-

tlemen, whose names have been published, subscribed. They subscribed, however, not in their individual capacity solely, for the above declaration is entitled an act of secret council, and hence the *Book of Discipline* had the authority of the executive power in Scotland.' Cook, iii. 37.

² 'Yet even while they thus far gratified the compilers of the *Book of Discipline*, it may be concluded, from the declaration which they annexed to it, that they had not lost sight of the patrimony of the church.' *Ibid.*

against the first. The whole, accordingly, received a formal assent,¹ and a commission was issued, assigning to particular persons of distinction, districts for purgation from monuments of idolatry.² This authority, so palatable to peer, burgher, and peasant, received prompt and more than complete attention.³ The entire mass of Scottish monastic erections was now stripped and ruined. Wauton mischief did much of the work, but a sordid spirit of spoliation was busy also. Timber, lead, bells, and moveable property of various descriptions, were purloined, or put up to sale. Even tombs were rifled. Many articles, however, which, though intrinsically valuable, that age had not learned to value, were treated as useless lumber. This was the ordinary fate of books and registers, which, with Vandalic stupidity, were seldom thought fit for anything but to feed the flames.⁴ In behalf of this infamous crusade against the noblest works of art that Scotland had to boast, the English precedent under Henry VIII. is not unfairly pleaded.⁵ But it was a bad example to follow. There might be good reason, and there were, in both countries, for suppressing monachism. For devastating its noble monuments, plundering its moveable appliances, and seizing its fixed estates, the principal reasons, in either case, undoubtedly, were the popular appetite for playing with destruction, an eagerness for petty plunder in those whose avarice could gain no higher range, and a sordid eye to their own permanent advantage, in the leaders of a party, or the minions of a court.

§ 21. This miserable havoc was hardly completed when Mary, queen of Scots, again trod her paternal shore.⁶ She came with a store of very good advice, and with an evident inclination to follow it. Nor would her presence have failed of operating most injuriously upon Protestantism, if she could have stooped to the temporary baseness of pretending some regard for it, or even to that of wholly ceasing from the open profession of Romanism.⁷ Men are so smitten by the smiles of those who dispense pecuniary favours, and by the contact with grandeur, that persons with such advantages, or seeming advantages, at command, have means of compassing ends which are altogether above the reach of the world generally. But then such means, to be rendered completely available, require occasionally the deepest dissimulation, and a perfect mastery over that pride which lurks at the bottom of almost all human hearts, and naturally takes a very vigorous hold upon those who are by station most tempted to it. Mary's early Scottish policy exemplified these observations. There can be no doubt that she abhorred the Protestant leaders, but she showed every disposition to conciliate them and to respect their

¹ Knox, 237. 'The lords of the council, yielding to the pressure of circumstances, and probably hoping that they would afterwards find some pretext for rendering their petition nugatory, passed an act granting all that was required.' Cook, iii. 49.

² *Ibid.*, 50.

³ 'The intention of the council, however, was much exceeded.' *Ibid.* 51.

⁴ Russell, i. 257.

⁵ Cook, iii. 50.

⁶ Aug. 19, 1561, after an absence of nearly thirteen years. Robertson, ii. 57.

⁷ Cook, iii. 62.

opinions. This conduct from their own sovereign, who also was queen dowager of the most refined and opulent of European nations, operated immediately and violently upon the rude Lords of the Congregation. One of them, newly come to wait upon her, and inveighing in the usual strain against idolatry, was told by a zealot of his party that his ardour would be likely to cool, when he had been 'sprinkled with court holy water.'¹ It was Mary's determination to indulge herself openly from the first with lustral water and the like, that marred her policy. She disclaimed an intention to control the religious habits of her subjects by a proclamation, which authorised the reformed worship, and forbade the Romish,² but she very reasonably claimed liberty to regulate her own chapel, and she had either too much spirit or too much principle, or both, to suppress this claim, until skilful time-serving should have rendered it impregnable. On the contrary, she attended mass on the first Sunday after her arrival in Edinburgh. It was not intended for any ostentatious service, but it was not celebrated without a threatening demonstration to prevent it, or without agitating the town with a subsequent storm of intolerant indignation.³ Undeterred by this opposition, Mary proceeded in the regular profession of her religion, but her subjects were equally persevering in their avowals of a disposition to treat attendance at mass as a capital offence; and thus her increasing influence over the nobles was rapidly counteracted by the decrease of their own popularity. The grinding poverty in which the Protestant ministers were kept, probably, added to the hopelessness of an accommodation.⁴ Men who were debarred wholly from the indulgences of life, and could hardly command its necessities, but had, at the same time, a prodigious influence over the populace, were not likely to pine in silence, while others who had gained fortune by their means, were adding to it the cheering sunshine of court favour. Hence the

¹ Cook, iii. 69.

² Aug. 31, Cook, iii. 67.

³ 'Nothing was understood but mirth and quietness till the next Sunday, which was the 24th of August, when preparation began to be made for that idol, the mass, to be said in the chapel. Which perceived, the hearts of all the godly began to bolder; and men began openly to speak, *shall that idol be suffered again to take place within this realm? It shall not.* The lord Lindsay, their but master, with the gentlemen of Fife, and others, plainly cried in the close, *The idolater priest shall die the death,* according to God's law. One that carried the candle was evil afraid; but then began flesh and blood to show the self. There durst no papist, neither yet any that came out of France, whisper: but the lord James, the man whom all the godly did most reverence, took upon him to keep the chapel door. His best excuse was, that he would stop all Scotsmen to enter into the mass; but it was, and is sufficiently known,

that the door was kept that none should have entrance to trouble the priest; who, after the mass, was committed to the protection of Lord John of Coldingham, and Lord Robert of Holyrood-house, who then were both Protestants, and had communicated at the table of the Lord. Betwixt them, too, was the priest conveyed to his chamber; and so the godly departed with grief of heart, and at afternoon repaired to the abbey in great companies, and gave plain signification, that they could not abide, that the land, which God by his power had purged from idolatry, should in their eyes be polluted again.' Knox, 248.

⁴ 'The teachers, who swayed the minds of their countrymen, were most unwisely left to depend upon the precarious and scanty benevolence of men whose eagerness to enrich themselves and their families, had contributed no less powerfully than their regard for religious truth, to decide their attachment to the reformation.' Cook, iii. 97.

country daily resounded with warnings against the disgrace and danger of suffering idolatry in any quarter.¹ As an expedient for gaining some degree of peace, Mary unhesitatingly consented² to an indirect but formal recognition of the Protestant ministers. Her own pecuniary resources, like those of her predecessors generally, were found miserably inadequate to the exigencies of her station. It was proposed to recruit the royal exchequer, by taking one-third of the ecclesiastical revenues, the several incumbents being allowed to retain the remaining two-thirds. The gross estimated produce of this royal third was an annual revenue of nearly fifty thousand pounds,³ a sum in that age and country of no mean importance: but out of it the crown was to provide stipends for the Protestant ministers. Their body was thus doubly satisfied. It had some prospect of independence, and it obtained, even from an unfriendly sovereign, something like an acknowledged station in the country. Nor had the Romish incumbents any great cause for dissatisfaction. Two-thirds of their incomes were placed upon a footing of greater security than had latterly been a matter of safe calculation, and they were relieved from that prospect of maintaining their Protestant rivals, with which they were threatened at the beginning of the year, by those distinguished persons who subscribed the *Book of Discipline*. It was, however, these noble individuals themselves, and other leaders of their party, who were found ultimately the chief gainers by the arrangements now made. The ecclesiastical property which they had succeeded in getting into their possession during the late troubles, was confirmed to them, and thus a legal title was given to estates, which really came into their hands as the mere prize of dexterous rapacity.⁴

§ 22. The Protestant ministers had no such good fortune. Arrangements were made by a committee of council, for providing them with suitable stipends, but these were upon a very slender scale,⁵ and were, besides, most irregularly paid.⁶ Hence their discontent still showed itself in violent attacks upon the mass, which was represented as not only impious in itself, but also as a cloak and protection for the foulest immoralities.⁷ The nobility generally would not sanction

¹ 'The malediction of God, that has stricken, and yet will strike, for idolatry.' Knox, 248.

² Cook, iii. 102. This was in December 1561. Knox admits the ease by which this concession was gained, saying of those, whom he calls 'the queen's flatterers,' that 'the rod of impiety was not then strengthened in her and their hands, and so began they to practise how they should please the queen, and yet seem somewhat to satisfy the faithful.' 258.

³ Cook, iii. 107.

⁴ *Ibid.* 109.

⁵ 'To many of them a hundred merks, a little more than five pounds, were allotted, to none more than three hundred merks, and

the whole annual expense of the establishment of the Protestant church in Scotland, with the exception of a separate allowance to four of the superintendents, and to Knox, exceeded very little the sum of twenty thousand pounds.' *Ibid.* 107.

⁶ 'The poor ministers, readers, and exhorters, cried out to the heavens, as their complaints in all assemblies do witness, that neither were they able to live upon the stipends appointed, neither could they get payment of that small thing which was appointed.' Knox, 262.

⁷ Supplication to the queen and council from the kirk-assembly, Midsummer, 1562. *Ibid.* 271.

any interference with the queen's liberty of conscience, and this point, accordingly, was conceded.¹ Knox and the other preachers, however, were scandalized, taunting their patrician adherents with an interested connivance at idolatry, giving insolent hints of resistance,² and professing to believe that heavenly wrath must soon 'strike the head and the tail, the inobedient prince and the sinful people.'³ But Mary acted with so much prudence that all this violence daily lost ground. She did, indeed, as her position became better established, venture upon a more conspicuous profession of Romanism, an exercise of her discretion which occasioned some disturbances.⁴ At the same time, she would not venture, upon cool reflexion, to infringe the terms of the proclamation issued within a few days of her return, and suffer any open celebration of Romish rites out of her own chapel. When, accordingly, delusive appearances of a change in their favour had emboldened the primate, and a few other clergymen, at Easter, 1563, to attempt a revival of the prohibited mass, for which some of them were promptly apprehended by their neighbours, she consented, after a little hesitation, to have them prosecuted and imprisoned.⁵ It was impossible to prevent a sedative effect from so much discretion, in spite of the violence of a popular zeal against popery, the precarious condition of a poverty-stricken Protestant clergy, and rooted habits of rebellion in a large portion of the nobility. Had Mary, therefore, been a mere politician, it is hardly doubtful that she might have eventually succeeded in improving the situations both of herself and her religion. But as a woman she was highly indiscreet at best. Soon after her unhappy marriage with Darnley, the royal authority seemed likely to gain ground, which caused some peers openly to attend mass, and friars were allowed to preach once more.⁶ On Rizzio's murder,⁷ Romish hopes were finally overclouded. The lords, who had been once so long supreme in the national affairs, but latterly were exiles in England, returned into their country,⁸ and soon after were pardoned. Mary's infamous marriage with Bothwell⁹ restored all their former importance, and a new alliance with the preachers effectually confirmed it. She never would ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, or formally recognise the Protestant religion otherwise than as a temporary system which awaited parliamentary examination. Bothwell, however, sought popular support by gaining her assent to a legislative act which exempted Protestants from legal harm.¹⁰ This great advantage to the

¹ At a conference of some eminent laymen and ministers, seemingly, in November, 1561. Knox, 255.

² 'Albeit that nothing be more odious to them than tumults and domestical disorders, yet will men attempt the uttermost, before that in their own eyes they behold that house of God demolished, which, with travail and danger, God hath in this realm erected by them.' Supplication: *ut supra*, 272.

³ Supplication: *ut supra*.

⁴ Cook, iii. 91.

⁵ Knox, 287.

⁶ *Ibid.* 339. Cook, iii. 213. This was about the close of 1565.

⁷ March 9, 1566. Robertson, ii. 152.

⁸ March 10, 1566. *Ibid.* 153.

⁹ May 15, 1567. *Ibid.* 218.

¹⁰ In the parliament opened April 14, 1567. *Ibid.* 205.

reformed cause was only the prelude to still greater. The queen's personal indiscretions placed Protestantism in a posture to demand all that it desired. The government, accordingly, established on her forced abdication,¹ made immediately the concessions which she had perseveringly and skilfully eluded.² The regent Murray's first parliament gave them legal validity, re-enacting all the religious provisions of the celebrated convention of 1560; that bold body which was empowered by the treaty of Edinburgh to lay a plan of ecclesiastical reform before the sovereign, and which, instead, presented statutes abolishing popery, and establishing Protestantism, for the royal assent.³ These, it was true, had been ever since the law of Scotland, and had ordinarily been respected by none more strictly, except so far as her own household was concerned, than by Mary herself. But her legislative assent was never given to them, and there could be no doubt of her intention to set them aside, on the first opportunity, as mere usurpations, illegally forced upon a reluctant sovereign, which really was very much their character. It was, therefore, a point of the utmost importance gained by Protestantism when these provisions were formally admitted into the national statute-book. This finally established the Scottish reformation. Its confession of faith now became legally the national standard of belief, and Romanism was no longer kept down by the mere force of a proclamation, which the sovereign must have been anxious to retract. It could not be openly professed without the commission of a statutable offence.

§ 23. Again, however, the reformed preachers found a wide difference between the agitation of pecuniary questions on their own behalf, and on that of their aristocratic supporters. These latter entered heartily into the propriety of converting estates from Romish uses to their own, but they never could see the propriety, or even justice, of surrendering anything from such acquisitions to the humbler labourers, by whose popularity they had been so much benefited. The cries, therefore, of distress, which incessantly sounded from the houses of ministers, were even now, in the final triumph of their cause, met by a very imperfect measure of relief.⁴ It is thought that the regent Murray would have gladly treated his clerical friends with greater liberality. But his friends who bore the sword would hear nothing of interference with land or tithe, now passed, though most irregularly, from the Church to themselves.⁵

¹ July 24, 1567. Robertson, ii. 240.

² July 25, 1567. The demands were transmitted on that day, seemingly, from the general assembly to the confederated lords, with whom were associated many gentlemen, and commissioners from boroughs. The whole body unhesitatingly assented. Cook, iii. 289.

³ The parliament, which thus established the Scottish reformation, met Dec. 15, 1567. *Ibid.* 302.

⁴ But notwithstanding their known indigence, and the warm remonstrances of

the assembly of the church, which met this year, the parliament did nothing more for their relief than prescribe some new regulations concerning the payment of the thirds of benefices; which did not produce any considerable change in the situation of the clergy.' Robertson, ii. 260.

⁵ 'The regent, however desirous he was to gratify the preachers, and to redeem the pledge, which his party had given to them, found, that in the infancy of his administration, this was impossible; that the at-

Hence all that could be obtained from parliament for the poverty-stricken preachers was, that the whole thirds, formerly paid into the exchequer, should henceforth be paid to collectors nominated by themselves, with an undertaking that they were to receive their arrears.¹ This arrangement was, however, treated as a temporary compromise; intended only to last until the Protestant establishment could gain full possession of the tithes, which were claimed as its legal patrimony, and admitted to be such in the body of the statute.

§ 24. Of the Scottish reformation thus brought to a close,² it is observed, with just exultation, that it was a mighty change unstained with blood.³ Knox and his friends were, indeed, ever talking that 'the idolater must die the death;' in other words, that attendance at mass must be treated as a capital offence. But happily, want of power, or other restraining circumstances, caused all this demonstration of sanguinary intolerance to evaporate in ferocious menace. In some respects, however, Scotland shows far from advantageously in the course of her emancipation from Rome. Her principal reformer, Knox, though possessed of many very valuable qualities, was so vain, rough, intolerant, and overbearing, that even the rudeness of the age in which he lived can scarcely find a sufficient excuse for him. Still, he must be ranked among great men. He had a lofty contempt of danger and compromise, which were incalculably serviceable in the struggle that owed success principally to his master-mind. Nor was he possessed by that disregard of ecclesiastical antiquity, which eventually prevailed in Scotland. On the contrary, though coming to the struggle as a simple presbyter, and ever in active opposition to the whole prelacy, he would not venture to overthrow the old system completely; but by parcelling out the country among superintendents, he laid an intelligible foundation for a reformed diocesan episcopacy. Nor should it be forgotten that his theological views were not so widely at variance with established authority as those that have since generally prevailed among his followers. Nor had he that antipathy to liturgical forms which afterwards became so characteristic of his countrymen. On the contrary, it seems to have been the practice, at the outset of the Scottish reformation, to read king Edward's English service-book.⁴ Subsequently, the Genevan liturgy was used.⁵

tempt would exasperate his enemies, and would even sow dissension among the steadiest of his friends.' Cook, iii. 396.

¹ Cook, iii. 397. The act provides, that the remainder of the thirds, after paying the ministers, should be applied to the use of the king. The ministers appear to have been satisfied with this arrangement. M'Crie's *Knox*, ii. 161.

² Dec. 29, 1567. Cook, iii. 309.

³ *Ibid.* 315.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 35, 36.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 137. 'It is worthy of remark, too, that during this period, the

worship of the Church was chiefly liturgical, and that the service used for several years after the reformation was the Prayer-book of Edward VI. In 1557, as has already been noticed, the Lords of the Congregation ordained, that, in every parish, the Common Prayer should be read weekly on Sunday, and other festival days, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament. A similar injunction is repeated in the first Book of Discipline: *In great towns we think it expedient that every day there be either sermon, or Common Prayer, with some exercise of reading the Scriptures.* It

§ 25. The principal misfortune of the Scottish reformation was its progress throughout in opposition to the crown, the functions of which were, indeed, almost completely suspended by it.¹ This gave it a suspicious tinge of politics, and occasioned several evils which a friendly executive would have restrained, or prevented. The Lords of the Congregation wore very much the aspect of rebellious leaders, their adherents repeatedly came forward as destructive, riotous mobs. Answerable to these appearances were many things actually done. The great men were shamefully greedy and tenacious of church-plunder, their followers were often stimulated by a vulgar appetite for petty spoil and wanton mischief. Precedents in England and elsewhere may be fairly pleaded, as they are, to palliate these unpleasing fruits of a mighty struggle for a purer faith: but Scotland carried them to an excess, because her efforts for emancipation from Rome were essentially rebellious movements, wanting, therefore, the controlling hand of established power. It may be added, as some excuse for patrician rapacity, that the higher Scottish were all but incredibly poor.² As for the accounts of the riches possessed by the Romish priesthood, and of its deep moral depravity, they must be received as the interested testimony of enemies, and of enemies who had adopted an extreme austerity in estimating religious obligation. There can be no doubt, that an undue portion of the national wealth had passed in Scotland, as in all other countries of western Europe, to the church. But it is far from clear that a half-civilised country would suffer from such excess. It would not be the evil that is commonly supposed, even in communities highly improved. On the contrary, properties open to merit, or good fortune, in every rank, are likely, under most circumstances, to serve the community at large, quite as much, or more, than if locked up within a narrow circle of private families. In ancient Scotland, as in every country similarly conditioned, there can hardly be a question, that the ecclesiastical estates were far more improved, and had produced a far larger proportion of public works to benefit and ornament the king-

is not to be concealed, however, that the reformed preachers did not entirely restrict themselves to set forms; for while they recommended the use of the liturgy on those less solemn occasions, when they themselves, it may be presumed, did not officiate, they remarked, that *on the day of public sermon we do not think the Common Prayer needful to be used, lest we should foster the people in superstition, who come to the prayers, as they come to the mass; or give them reason to think that those are no prayers which are conceived before and after sermon.* It is clear, notwithstanding, that Knox individually continued to use a liturgical service in the worship of God. He entertained objections to the English book, as it stood in the reign of the sixth Edward, and therefore employed the influence which he justly possessed over his brethren, to in-

troduce, in place of it, the form used at Geneva, and which, in consequence, has been frequently called by his name, and also known by the title of the *Old Scottish Liturgy.* Russell, i. 254.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 291.

² 'In the commencement of Mary's reign, the poverty of the Scottish barons filled Sadler, the English ambassador, with amazement. He was constantly assailed by the most urgent petitions for pecuniary aid from his master; and when, from the decided part which the government at length took against Henry, he was instructed to leave Edinburgh, and take up his residence with the noblemen attached to England, he replied, that it was impossible, for so mean were their houses, and so confined their accommodations, that none of them could receive him.' Cook, ii. 205.

dom, than the contiguous inheritances of gentlemen.¹ As for morals, the ancient Scottish clergy naturally partook of that grossness which belonged to their age. Some of them, too, had considerable wealth, and of course, availed themselves of its indulgences, which commonly passes for a crime with austere tempers that have no such opportunity. Of incontinence they really seem to have been extensively guilty, but probably, neither they nor their contemporaries, entertained those just views of that vice which prevail in communities placing no restraints upon marriage.² Upon the whole, nothing could be more desirable, and even necessary, than the national repudiation of popery, because it is a false and pernicious system, based upon paganism, injurious to intellectual progress, and adverse to genuine Christianity; but its expulsion owed something to calumny in most places, and in Scotland to rebellion also. Nor were those who effected it there, sufficiently regardful of catholic antiquity, in laying the foundations of a better system. Hence their immediate successors adopted innovations which seem to have been never contemplated by themselves.

¹ 'The cathedrals, the chapels, the universities, and even the first public roads and bridges, were due to the patriotism of the prelatical orders; who, if they did possess an undue share of wealth, applied it assuredly with much more wisdom than the

lay dignitaries by whom they were succeeded; to most of whom riches appeared only as the means of indiscriminate profusion, or of carrying on mutual hostilities.' Russell, i. 278.

² *Ibid.* p. 280.

SECTION II.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Extension of the Christian church—§ 2. Zeal of the pontiffs in this respect—§ 3. Propagation of Christianity in India, Japan, and China—§ 4. Zeal of the Protestants on this subject—§ 5. The enemies of Christianity—§ 6. Advantages of the revival of learning—§ 7. The study of the Greek and Latin classics everywhere flourished—§ 8. The state of philosophy—§ 9. Mode of teaching theology—§ 10. Religion purified, and morals reformed.

§ 1. In extending the empire of Christ, the Spaniards and Portuguese, if we may believe their own historians, were equally active and successful.¹ Undoubtedly, some sort of knowledge of Christianity was carried by them to both North and South America, to a part of Africa, and to the maritime parts and islands of Asia, which were subjugated by their fleets. And a large number of the inhabitants of these regions, who had before been destitute of all religion, or were sunk in the grossest superstitions, ostensibly assumed the name of Christians. But these accessions to the Christian church will not be highly appreciated, or rather will be deplored, by those who consider that these nations were coerced, by barbarous and abominable laws and punishments, to abandon the religion of their ancestors; and that all were enrolled as Christians, who had learned to venerate immoderately their stupid instructors, and to take part by gestures and words in certain useless rites and forms. Such a judgment has been pronounced, not merely by those whom the Roman church calls *heretics*, but also by the best and most solid members of the Roman community, Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and others.

§ 2. The Roman pontiffs, after losing a great part of Europe, manifested much more solicitude than before to propagate Christianity in other parts of the world. For no better method occurred to them, both for repairing the loss which they had sustained in Europe, and for vindicating their claims to the title of common fathers of the Christian church. Therefore, soon after the institution of the celebrated society of Jesuits, in the year 1540, an especial charge was

¹ See, among many others, Jos. Fran. Lafitau's *Histoire des Découvertes et Conquêtes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde*, iii. 420. He derives his accounts from the Portuguese writers. The other writers on this subject are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii*, &c., cap. 42, 43,

48, 49. [A copious list of authors, who treat of both the civil and religious state of Spanish America in particular, may be seen prefixed to Dr. W. Robertson's *History of the Discovery and Settlement of America*. Tr.]

laid upon it to train up a succession of suitable men, whom the pontiffs might send into even the remotest regions as preachers of the religion of Christ. With what fidelity and zeal the order obeyed this injunction, may be learned from the long list of histories which describe the labours and perils encountered by vast numbers of its members while propagating Christianity among the pagan nations.¹ Immortal praise would undoubtedly belong to them, were it not manifest from unequivocal testimony, that many of them laboured rather to promote the glory of the Roman pontiff, and the interests of their own sect, than to serve Jesus Christ.² It appears also, from authors of high credit and authority, that the Indians were induced to profess Christianity by the *inquisition*, established by the Jesuits at Goa in Asia, and by their arms and penal laws, rather than by their exhortations and reasonings.³ This zeal of the Jesuits excited the emulation not only of the Franciscans and Dominicans, but likewise of other religious associations, and led them to renew this almost neglected work of missions.

§ 3. Among the Jesuits who took the lead in the arduous work of missionaries, no one acquired greater fame than *Francis Xavier*, commonly called the apostle of the Indies.⁴ Possessing genius in no ordinary degree, and a very high degree of activity, he proceeded to the Portuguese East Indies, in the year 1542, and in a few years filled no small part both of the continent and the islands with a knowledge of the Christian religion, or rather, of the Roman. Thence he proceeded, in the year 1549, to Japan, and, with great celerity, laid the foundation of that very numerous body of Christians,

¹ See Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii*, &c. cap. xxxii. p. 550, &c.

² See Christ. Eberh. Weismann's *Oratio de Virtutibus et Vitiis Missionar. Roman. in his Oratt. Academicæ*, p. 286, &c. [Compare also his *Introduct. in Memorabilia Eccles. Histor. Sacræ N. T.* ii. 684, &c. Schl.]

³ See the *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, ii. 171, 207, &c.

⁴ Pope Benedict XIV., at the request of the king of Portugal, in 1747, conferred on Xavier the dignity and title of *Protector of the Indies*. See *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses des Missions Etrangères*, t. xliii. Pref. p. xxxvi. &c. The body of Xavier was interred at Goa, and is there worshipped with the greatest devotion, he being enrolled amongst the saints. A magnificent church is erected to him at Cotala in Portuguese India, where he is likewise devoutly invoked by the people. See the *Lettres Edifiantes des Missions*, iii. 85, 89, 203; v. 38-48; vi. 78. [Francis Xavier was a younger son of a respectable family in Navarre, and born about A.D. 1506. He was educated at Paris, where Ignatius Loyola found him, teaching with reputation, and persuaded him to join his new

society of Jesuits. In 1540, the king of Portugal requested some members of that society to be sent to his capital. Xavier and Simon Rodriguez were sent the next year: and from Lisbon, Xavier took ship, in 1541, for the East Indies, with the commission of papal legate and missionary. He arrived at Goa in 1542, and laboured with success in converting the natives, and reforming the lives of the Portuguese, for about seven years. During this period he travelled extensively in Hindostan, twice visited the pearl fishery on the coast of Ceylon, and made repeated and extensive voyages among the islands to the east of the bay of Bengal. At length, in 1549, he went to Japan, and there spent two years and a half, with no great success as a missionary. He then returned to Goa, and immediately prepared for a mission to China. He arrived on the Chinese coast in the autumn of 1552, fell sick of a fever, and there expired. His remains were afterwards removed to Goa, and there interred. His life was written by the Jesuit Horatius Tursellinus, in vi. books, Rome, 1594, 12mo. See Schroech's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* iii. 652, &c. Tr.]

which flourished for many years in that extensive empire. Afterwards, when attempting a mission to China, and already in sight of that powerful kingdom, he closed his life at the island of Sancian, in the year 1552.¹ After his death, other missionaries of the order of Jesuits entered China; among whom the most distinguished was *Matthew Ricci*, an Italian; who so conciliated the favour of some of the chief men, and even of the emperor, by his great skill in mathematics, that he obtained, for himself and companions, liberty to explain the doctrines of Christianity to the people.² He, therefore, may justly be considered as the founder and chief author of the numerous body in China, which still worships Christ, though harassed and disquieted by various calamities.³

§ 4. Those who had withdrawn themselves from the jurisdiction of the pontiffs, possessing no territories beyond the bounds of Europe, could attempt scarcely anything for the extension of the empire of Christ. Yet we are informed, that in the year 1556, fourteen missionaries were sent from Geneva to convert the Americans to Christ.⁴ But by whom they were sent, and what success attended them, is uncertain. The English, moreover, who near the close of the century sent out colonies to North America, planted there the religion which

¹ See the writers referred to by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii*, &c. c. xxxix. p. 677, &c. Add Jos. Fran. Lafitau's *Hist. des Découvertes et Conquêtes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde*, iii. 419, 424; iv. 63, 102, &c. *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, i. 92, &c.

² Jo. Bapt. du Halde's *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, iii. 84, &c. ed. in Holland.

³ That certain Dominicans had gone into China before Ricci, is certain. See Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, iii. 1354. But these had effected nothing of importance. [Three Italian Jesuits, Matthew Ricci of Macerata in Ancona, Pasio of Bologna, and Roger a Neapolitan, after devoting some years to the acquisition of the Chinese language in India, were by Alexander Vinignano, superintendent of the Jesuits' mission at Macao, in 1582, attached to an embassy sent to a governor in China. Ricci was acute, learned, modest, of winning address, persevering and active. His knowledge of mathematics recommended him to the Chinese. He exhibited a map of the world, with which they were much taken. Connecting himself with the Bonzes, or idolatrous priests, he assumed their dress and manners, and studied under their guidance seven years. He then assumed the garb of a Chinese man of letters; and wrote tracts on the Christian religion, and particularly a catechism. Many persons of rank put themselves under his instruction, and he at length gathered a congregation of Christians. After twenty years' labour he

gained access to the emperor, to whom he presented pictures of Christ and the virgin Mary, and a clock; and obtained liberty to visit the palace, with his associates, at pleasure. He now made converts very fast, from all ranks of the people. Siu, one of the principal mandarins, and his granddaughter, Candida, with her husband, became converts, and themselves built thirty churches, in the provinces where they lived; and assisted the missionaries to procure the erection of ninety more, besides forty chapels for prayer, in another province. They also caused numerous religious tracts to be printed, and translations of comments on the Scripture, and even the great *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas. They gathered the foundlings, with which China abounded, and brought them up Christians. Ricci's two companions, Pasio and Roger, were early recalled; but when he began to be successful, assistants were sent to him, who continued to labour after his decease, which took place in 1610. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* iii. 677, &c. *Tr.*]

⁴ Bened. Pictet's *Oratio de Trophæis Christi*; in his *Oratt.* p. 570. I have no doubt that the celebrated admiral Coligni was the man who sent for these Genevan teachers to come to him into France. For that excellent man, in 1555, projected the sending of a colony of protestants to Brazil and America. See Charlevoix's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, i. 22, &c. [and Thuanus, *Historia Generalis*, lib. xvi. *Tr.*]

they themselves professed; and as these English colonies afterwards increased and gathered strength, they caused their religion to make progress among the fierce and savage tribes of those regions. I pass over the efforts of the Swedes for the conversion of the Finns and Laplanders, no small part of whom were still addicted to the absurd and impious rites of their progenitors.

§ 5. There was no public persecution of Christianity in this century. For those mistake the views and policy of the Mahomedans, who suppose that the Turks waged war upon the Christians, in this age, for the sake of promoting their religion in opposition to that of Christ. But private enemies, both to all religion, and especially to the Christian, as many have represented, were lurking here and there in different parts of Europe; and they instilled their nefarious dogmas, both orally and in books, into the minds of the credulous. In this miserable class are reckoned several of the peripatetic philosophers who illumined Italy; in particular, *Peter Pomponatius*; and besides these, among the French, *John Bodin*, *Francis Rabelais*, *Michael de Montaigne*, *Bonaventure des Perieres*, *Stephen Dolet*, and *Peter Charron*; among the Italians, the sovereign pontiff, *Leo X.*, *Peter Bembo*, *Angelus Politianus*, *Jordan Brunus*, and *Bernardin Ochino*; among the Germans, *Theophrastus Paracelsus*, *Nicholas Taurellus*, and others.¹ Nay, some tell us,

¹ The reader may consult Jac. Fred. Reimann's *Hist. Atheismi et Atheorum*, *Hildesh.* 1725, 8vo. Jo. Fran. Buddæus, *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. i. Peter Bayle's *Dictionnaire Histor. et Crit.* in various articles; and others. [Pomponatius was born at Mantua in 1462, taught philosophy at Padua and Bologna, and died about 1526. In a treatise on the immortality of the soul, he denied that reason could decide the question; and maintained that it was purely a doctrine of faith, resting on the authority of revelation. In a treatise on incantations, he denied the agency of demons in producing strange occurrences; and explained the efficacy of relics, &c., by the influence of the imagination. In a tract on fate, freewill, and predestination, he declared himself utterly unable, satisfactorily, to solve the difficulties of the subject; commented on the usual explanations; showed their insufficiency; and wished others to investigate the subject more fully. At the same time he pronounced the stoic and the Christian exposition of the subject the most plausible; and submitted himself to the authority of the church. Many account him an atheist; and the inquisition condemned his principles. See Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, art. *Pomponace*; and Stäudlin's *Gesch. der Moral-philosophie*, p. 584. [Hallam's *Lit. Hist.* i. 321, ed. 1855. *Ed.*]—John Bodin was a French jurist, civilian, and man of letters; and died A.D. 1596, aged 67. His works were

numerous, consisting of translations of the Latin classics, law and political writings; and an unprinted dialogue between a catholic, a Lutheran, an indifferentist, a naturalist, a reformed, a Jew, and a Turk, on the subject of religion. He here appears a free-thinker. See Bayle, l. c. art. *Bodin*. [Hallam, ii. 148. *Ed.*]—Rabelais was a great wit, and a distinguished burlesque writer. Born about 1500, he became a Cordelier, led a scandalous life, became a Benedictine, forsook the monastic life in 1530, and studied physic; was employed as a physician, and librarian, by cardinal du Bellay; went to Rome, returned, and was curate of Meudon, from 1545, till his death in 1553. His works, consisting of his *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua*, are comic satires, full of the burlesque; and were printed in 5 vols. 8vo, Amsterd. 1716; and 3 vols. 4to, *ibid.* 1741. His satire on the monks excited their enmity, and caused him trouble. But he does not appear to have been in speculation a deist, or a heretic; though his piety may be justly questioned.—Montaigne was a French nobleman, born in 1533, well educated in the classics at Bourdeaux; succeeded to the lordship of Montaigne in Perigord, and to the mayoralty of Bourdeaux, where he ended his life, A.D. 1592. His great work is his *Essays*, often printed in 3 vols. 4to and 6 vols. 12mo. He there appears to be sceptical in regard to scientific or philosophical morals; but he was a firm believer in revelation,

that in certain parts of France and Italy, there were schools opened, from which issued swarms of such monsters. And no one who is

which he regarded as man's only safe guide. See Stäudlin, l. c. p. 606, &c.—Des Perierres was valet de chambre to Margaret, queen of Navarre, and was a wit and a poet. A volume of his French poems was published after his death, which was in 1544. Before his death, he published in French a pretended translation of a Latin work entitled, *Cymbalum Mundi*, which consists of four dialogues, not very chaste, ridiculing the pagan superstitions in the manner of Lucian. See Bayle, l. c. art. *Perierres*. [Hallam, ii. 96. *Ed.*]—Dolet was a man of learning, though indiscreet and much involved in controversies. After various changes, he became a printer and a bookseller at Lyons; and having avowed lax sentiments in religion, he was seized by the inquisition, and burnt, upon the charge of atheism, A.D. 1546, at the age of 37. What his religious opinions were, it is not easy to state. He professed to be a Lutheran. See Bayle, l. c. art. *Dolet*, and Rees's *Cyclopædia*. — Peter Charron was born at Paris, in 1541, studied and practised law several years, and then became a catholic preacher in very high estimation. He died at Paris, A.D. 1603. He was a philosophical divine, bold and sceptical. He did not discard revelation, yet relied more upon natural religion. His most noted work was *De la Sagesse*, in three books; first printed at Bourdeaux, in 1601. See Bayle, l. c. art. *Charron*; and Stäudlin, l. c. p. 612, &c. [Hallam, ii. 460. *Ed.*]—Leo X. was a man of pleasure, and gave no evidence of genuine piety. Du Plessis, and other protestants, have reported remarks, said to have been made by him in his ungarded moments, implying that he considered the Christian religion a fable, though a profitable one; that he doubted the immortality of the soul, &c. See Bayle, l. c. art. *Leo X.*, note (I.) p. 83.—Bembus was secretary to Leo X., a man of letters, a facetious companion, a poet, and historian. He also is reported to have spoken equivocally of a future state, and to have despised St. Paul's Epistles, on account of their unpolished style. See Bayle, l. c. art. *Bembus* and art. *Melancthon*, note (P). — Politian was a learned classic scholar in the preceding century, and is reported to have said that he never read the Bible but once, and he considered that a loss of time. He was also reported to have given the preference to Pindar's poems before those of David. On these rumours he has been classed among freethinkers. See Bayle, l. c. art. *Politian*.—Jordan Brunus was a Neapolitan freethinker. He attacked the Aristotelian

philosophy, and denied many of the plain truths of revelation. Driven from Italy for his impieties, he travelled and resided in Germany, France, and England; and returning to Italy, he was committed to the flames in 1600. See Bayle, art. *Brunus*.—Bernardin Ochín was an Italian, born in 1487, at Sienna. He early became a Franciscan, first of the class called Cordeliers, and then a Capuchin, of which last order he was the general from A.D. 1537—1542. He was now a very austere monk, and a distinguished preacher. But in 1541, meeting with John Valdes, a Spanish civilian, who had accompanied Charles V. to Germany, and there imbibed Lutheran sentiments, Ochín was converted to the same faith. The change in his views soon became known; and he was summoned to Rome to give account of himself. On his way thither, he met with Peter Martyr, a man of kindred views, and they both agreed to flee beyond the reach of the papal power. They went first to Geneva, and thence to Augsburg, where Ochín published a volume of sermons, married, and lived from 1542 till 1547. From Augsburg both Ochín and Martyr were invited into England by Archbishop Cranmer, and were employed in reforming that country. But on the accession of queen Mary, in 1553, they were obliged to quit England. Ochín returned to Strasburg, and in 1555 went to Bâle, and hence to Zurich, where he became pastor to a congregation of Italian protestants till 1563. He now published a volume of dialogues, in one of which he represented polygamy as lawful, in certain cases, and advanced some other opinions which gave offence. The magistrates of Zurich banished him from the canton. He retired to Bâle in mid winter, and being refused an asylum there, he travelled with his family to Poland, where he met the like reception, and set out for Moravia; on his way, he and his family were taken sick, two sons and a daughter died; he recovered so far as to pursue his journey, but died three weeks after at Slakow, A.D. 1564, aged 77. He is said to have impugned the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Antitrinitarians claim him as one of their sect. His works were all written in Italian, and consisted of six volumes of Sermons, Commentaries on the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, a Treatise on the Lord's Supper, another on Predestination and Free-will, &c. See Bayle, l. c. art. *Ochín*.—Theophrastus, or as he called himself, Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus Bombastus von Hohenheim, was a vain, un-

well acquainted with the state of those times will reject these statements in the gross; for all the persons that are charged expressly with so great a crime cannot be acquitted altogether. Yet, if the subject be examined by impartial and competent judges, it will appear that many individuals were unjustly impeached, and others merited only a slighter stigma.

§ 6. That all the arts and sciences were in this age advanced to a higher degree of perfection, by the ingenuity and zeal of eminent men, no one needs to be informed. From this happy revival of general learning, the whole Christian population of Europe derived very great advantages to themselves, and afterwards imparted advantages to other nations, even to the remotest parts of the world. Princes and states, perceiving the vast utility of the advancing state of knowledge, were everywhere at much expense and pains to found and protect learned associations and institutions, to foster and encourage genius and talent, and to provide honours and rewards for literary and scientific men. From this time onward, that salutary rule took effect, which still prevails among the larger and better part of the Christian community, of excluding all ignorant and illiterate persons from the sacred office and its functions. Yet the old contest between piety and learning did not cease; for extensively, both among the adherents to the Roman pontiff and among his foes, there were persons,—good men perhaps, but not duly considerate,—who contended more zealously than ever, that religion and piety could not possibly live, and be vigorous, unless all human learning and philosophy were separated from it, and the holy simplicity of the early ages restored.

§ 7. The first rank among the learned of that age was held by those who devoted themselves to editing, correcting, and explaining the ancient Greek and Latin authors, to the study of antiquities, to the cultivation of both those languages, and to elegant composition, both in prose and verse. There still exist numerous works that are the admiration of the learned, from which it appears that the finest geniuses in all parts of Europe prosecuted these branches of learning with the greatest ardour, and even considered the preservation of religion and civil institutions, and the very life of all solid learning, to depend on these studies. And though some of them might go too far in this thing, yet no candid man will deny that the prosecution of these studies first opened the way for the improvement of the minds of men, and rescued both reason and religion from bondage.

learned, but ingenious alchymist, physician, and philosopher of Switzerland, born in 1493. He travelled much, was a short time professor of physic at Bâle, and died at Salzburg in 1541. He was the father of the sect of Theosophists, a sort of mystics, who pretended to derive all their knowledge of nature immediately from God. See Rees's *Cyclopædia* and Schroeckh's *Kirchen-gesch. seit der Reform.* iii. 145, &c. — Taurillus (Oechslein), a philosopher and phy-

sician of Mompelgard, who taught at Bâle and Altorf, lived at a time when Aristotle reigned with boundless sway in all the universities; he ventured to correct some of Aristotle's opinions concerning God, providence, the human soul, &c., and thus became embroiled with the friends of Aristotle, and was suspected of atheism. But Dr. Feurlein has defended him, in a *Dissert. Apologetica*. See Schlegel's note. *Tr.*]

§ 8. Those who devoted themselves principally to the study and improvement of philosophy, were indeed less numerous than the lovers of elegant literature; yet they formed a body neither small nor contemptible. They were divided into two classes. The one laboured to investigate the nature and truth of things by contemplation or speculation; the other recurred also to experiments. The former either followed after their guides and masters, or they struck out new paths by their own ingenuity and efforts. Those who followed masters either fixed their eye on *Plato*, to whom many now, especially in Italy, gave the preference, or they followed *Aristotle*. The professed followers of *Aristotle*, again, were greatly divided among themselves. For, while many of them wished to preserve the old method of philosophizing, which was falsely called the peripatetic by the doctors that still reigned in the schools, others wished to have *Aristotle* taught pure and uncontaminated, that is, they wished to have his works themselves brought forward and explained to the youth. Different from both were those who thought that the marrow should be extracted from the lucubrations of *Aristotle*, illumined with the light of elegant literature, corrected by the dictates of sound reason and correct theology, and thus be exhibited in separate treatises. At the head of this last class of peripatetics was our *Philip Melancthon*. Among those discarding the dogmas of the ancients, and philosophizing freely, were *Jerome Cardanus*, *Bernhard Telesius*, and *Thomas Campanella*; men of great and splendid genius, yet too much devoted to the fictions and visions of their own fancies. To these may be added *Peter Ramus*, an ingenious and acute Frenchman, who, by publishing a new art of reasoning, opposed to that of *Aristotle*, and better accommodated to the use of orators, excited great commotion and clamour. From nature itself, by means of experiments, critical observation, and the application of fire to develop the primary elements of bodies, *Theophrastus Paracelsus* endeavoured to discover and demonstrate latent truths. And his example was so alluring to many, that a new sect of philosophers soon rose up, who assumed the names of *Fire Philosophers* and *Theosophists*, and who, attributing very little to human reason and reflexion, ascribed everything to experience and Divine illumination.¹

§ 9. These efforts and this emulation among men of genius, besides proving highly beneficial in many other respects, remedied everywhere among Christians, though they did not entirely cure, that barbarous, uncouth, and vile method of treating religious subjects, which had prevailed in the preceding centuries. The Holy Scriptures, which had been either wholly neglected, or interpreted very unsuitably, now held a far more conspicuous place in the discussions and the writings of theologians; the sense and the language of the books were more carefully investigated; the subjects were far more justly and lucidly analysed; and the dry and insipid style which the old schools admired was exploded by all the better informed. These improvements were

¹ For the elucidation of these matters, *tica* will be found very useful. We here James Brucker's *Historia Philosophiæ Cri-* only summarily touch upon the subject.

not indeed carried so far that nothing was left for succeeding ages to correct and amend; much remained that was imperfect. Yet he must be ungrateful to the men of that age, or a very incompetent judge, who shall deny that they laid the foundation of all those excellences by which the theologians of subsequent times have distinguished themselves above those of the former ages.

§ 10. Hence the true nature and genius of the Christian religion, which even the best and most learned had not before sufficiently understood, were placed in a clearer light, and drawn forth as it were out of a well. There is indeed error enough still existing everywhere: yet even those Christian communities at this day, whose errors are the greatest and most numerous, have not such crude and inconsistent views of the nature and design of Christianity, and of the duties and obligations of Christians, as were formerly entertained even by such as claimed to be rulers of the church and chief among its teachers. This improved state of religion, moreover, had great influence in correcting and softening the manners of many nations that were before coarse, unpolished, and rude. For although it is not to be denied that other causes also contributed to introduce gradually, and to establish, that milder and more cultivated state of society which has prevailed in most countries of Europe since the times of *Luther*, yet it is very clear that religious discussions, and the better knowledge of many doctrines and duties to which they gave rise, have contributed very much to eradicate from the minds of men their former ferocity of character. Nor shall we go wide of the truth while we add, that since that time, genuine piety likewise has had more friends and cultivators, though they have always and everywhere been overwhelmed by the multitude of the ungodly.

SECTION III.

THE PARTICULAR HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

PART I.

THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN OR LATIN CHURCH.

§ 1. The Roman pontiff and his election — § 2. His power circumscribed — § 3. Disagreement respecting it — § 4. Diminution of the Roman church — § 5. Plans of the pontiffs for remedying this evil. Missions — § 6. The Egyptians and Armenians — § 7. 8. Nestorians, Indians — § 9. Internal state of the Roman church regulated and fixed — § 10. Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits — § 11. Nature and character of this order — § 12. Its zeal for the pontiffs — § 13. The Roman pontiffs — § 14. The clergy — § 15. Their lives — § 16. The monks. Old orders reformed — § 17. 18. New orders — § 19. The state of learning — § 20. Philosophy — § 21. Theological writers — § 22. Principles of the Roman religion — § 23. The council of Trent — § 24. Substance of the Roman faith — § 25. Exegetic theology — § 26. Interpreters of Scripture — § 27. Dogmatic theology — § 28. Practical theology — § 29. Polemic theology — § 30. Controversies in the Roman Church — § 31. Their greater controversies — § 32. First controversy — § 33. The second — § 34. The third — § 35. The fourth — § 36. The fifth — § 37. The sixth — § 38. Controversy with Michael Bais — § 39. Controversy with the Jesuits, Less and Hamel — § 40. Moluist controversy — § 41. Congregations on the aids — § 42. Ceremonies and rites.

§ 1. The Roman or Latin Church is a community extending very widely over the world, the whole of which is subject to the single bishop of Rome, who claims to be hereditary successor to the office and to all the prerogatives of *St. Peter*, prince of the apostles, the supreme bishop of the Christian church universal, finally the legate and vicerent of *Jesus Christ*. This mighty prelate is chosen, at this day, by a select number of the Roman clergy; namely, six *bishops* in the vicinage of Rome, fifty rectors or *presbyters* of churches in Rome, and fourteen overseers or *deacons* of Roman hospitals or *deaconries*; all of whom are called by the ancient appellation of *cardinals*. These *cardinals*, when deliberating upon the choice of a new pontiff, are shut up in a kind of prison, which is called the *conclave*, that they may the more expeditiously bring the difficult business to a close.

No one, who is not a member of the college of *cardinals*, and also a native Italian, can be made head of the Church; nor can all those cardinals who are Italians.¹ Some are excluded on account of their birthplace, others on account of their course of life, and others for other causes. Moreover, the Roman emperors, and the kings of France and Spain, have acquired, either legally or by custom, the right of excluding those whom they disapprove, from the list of candidates for this high office. Hence there are very few, in the great body of cardinals, who are *papable*, as the common phrase is, that is, so born and of such characteristics, that the august functions of a *pope* can fall to their lot.

§ 2. The Roman pontiff does not enjoy a power which has no limitations or restraints. For, whatever he decrees in the sacred republic, he must decree in accordance with the advice of the *brethren*, that is, of the *cardinals*, who are his ministers of state and counsellors. In questions of a religious nature, likewise, and in theological controversies, he must take the opinion and judgment of theologians. The minor matters of business, moreover, are distributed into several species, and committed to the management and trust of certain boards of commissioners, called *Congregations*, over which one or more cardinals preside.² What these boards deem

¹ The reader may consult Jo. Fred. Mayer's *Comment. de Electione Pontif. Roman.* Hamb. 1691, 4to. The *Ceremoniale Electionis et Coronationis Pontificis Romani*, was not long since published by Jo. Gerh. Meuschen, Francf. 1732, 4to. [To be eligible, 1st. A man must be of mature age; for the electors then hope that their turn may come to be elected. Besides, a pope 50 or more years old, will be more likely to rule discreetly and sagaciously. 2ndly. He must be an Italian; for a foreigner might remove the papal residence out of the country. 3rdly. He must not be the subject of any distinguished prince, but must be a native subject of the holy see; for otherwise he might promote the interests of his hereditary prince, to the injury of the holy see. 4thly. Monks are not readily preferred, lest they should confer too many privileges on their own order. 5thly. Nor are those who have been ministers of state, ambassadors, or pensioners of distinguished princes. 6thly. Nor such as have been much engaged in political affairs. 7thly. No one who has numerous relatives, especially poor ones; on whom he might exhaust the apostolical treasury. From these causes, the choice generally falls, at the present day, upon either learned or devout popes.—There are four methods of choosing a pope. I. *By scrutiny*; that is, by ballot. A golden cup is placed on the altar, into which each cardinal casts a sealed vote; and to make out a choice, one man must ordinarily have the suffrages of two-thirds

of the cardinals. II. *By access*. This method is resorted to when a candidate has many votes, but not enough to constitute a choice, and a trial is made to bring some of the other cardinals to *accede* to his election. It is properly a new scrutiny, though the ballots are of a different form. III. *By compromise*; that is, when the conclave continues long, and the cardinals cannot agree, they transfer the election to two or three cardinals, and agree to abide by their choice. IV. *By inspiration*. When the cardinals have become weary of their long confinement, sometimes one or more of them will clamorously announce an individual as pope, and the party in his favour, being previously apprised of the measure, join in the outcry, till the cardinals in opposition, through fear, join in the general clamour. A pope thus chosen by *inspiration* is particularly revered by the Italians, notwithstanding their belief that there can be no election by inspiration, unless the cardinals have previously behaved foolishly. *Schl.* — See also Rees's *Cyclopædia*, art. *Conclave*; and the *Ceremonial* of the election of a pontiff, ratified by Gregory XV., A.D. 1622, in the *Bullarium Magnum*, iii. 454—465. *Tr.*]

² The court of Rome is minutely described by Jac. Aymon, in a book entitled *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, Hague, 1707, 8vo: and by Jerome Limadoro, *Relation de la Cour de Rome et des Cérémonies qui s'y observent*, which (translated from the Italian into French) Jo. Bapt. Labat has subjoined

salutary, or right, is ordinarily approved by the pontiff; and *must* be approved unless there are very cogent reasons for the contrary. From such a constitution of the sacred republic, many things must often take place, far otherwise than would meet the wishes of the pontiff; nor are those well informed as to the management of affairs at Rome, who suppose that he who presides there is the cause of all the evils, all the faults, all the contests and commotions that occur there.¹

§ 3. Respecting the powers and prerogatives of this spiritual monarchy, however, its own citizens disagree very much. And hence the authority of the Roman prelate and of his legates, is not the same in all countries: but in some it is more circumscribed and limited, in others more extensive and uncontrolled. The pontiff

to his travels in Spain and Italy; *Voyages en Espagne et Italie*, viii. 105, &c. On the Roman congregations or colleges, besides Dorotheus Ascianus (*De Montibus Pietatis Romanis*, p. 510, &c.), Hunold Plettenberg has a particular treatise, *Notitia Tribunalium et Congregationum Curie Romanæ*, Hildesh. 1693, 8vo. — [The congregations are properly boards of commissioners, meeting at stated times, with full and definitive powers within certain limits, to decide summarily all controversies, and to control and manage all business that falls within their respective provinces. They have their own secretaries, keep records of their proceedings, may send for persons and papers, call on professional and learned men for their opinions, and are bound, in certain cases, to consult the pontiff before they come to a decision. The number, and the specific duties, of the several congregations, vary from time to time, as the pope and his council see fit to ordain. Besides these permanent congregations, others are created for special occasions, and expire when their business is closed. Sixtus V., in 1587, established fifteen permanent congregations, composed, most of them, of five cardinals each; and none of them of less than three. They were, I. The congregation of the holy inquisition; the supreme inquisitorial tribunal for all Christendom. In this the pope presided in person. II. The congregation on letters of grace, dispensations, &c. III. The congregation on the erection, union, and dismemberment of churches, bishoprics, &c. IV. The congregation for supplying the ecclesiastical states with corn, and preventing scarcity. V. The congregation on sacred rites and ceremonies. VI. The congregation for providing and regulating a papal fleet, to consist of ten ships. VII. The congregation of the Index of prohibited books. VIII. The congregation for interpreting and executing the decrees of the council of Trent, except as to the articles of faith. IX. The congrega-

tion for relief, in cases of oppression in the ecclesiastical states. X. The congregation on the university of Rome; with a general inspection of all Roman Catholic seminaries. XI. The congregation on the different orders of monks. XII. The congregation to attend to the applications of bishops and other prelates. XIII. The congregation on the roads, bridges, and aqueducts of the Roman territory. XIV. The congregation for superintending the Vatican printing establishment. XV. The congregation on the applications of all citizens of the ecclesiastical states, in civil and criminal matters. See the ordinance establishing these several congregations, in the *Bullarium Magnum*, ii. 677, &c. Considerable alterations were afterwards made, as to the number, duties, and powers of the Roman congregations. *Tr.*]

¹ Hence originated that important distinction which the French and others who have had contests with the Roman pontiff's very frequently make between the *Roman pontiff* and the *Roman court*. The *court* is often severely censured, while the pontiff is spared; and that justly. For the fathers and the congregations, who possess rights which the pontiff must not infringe, plot and effect many things, without the knowledge, and against the will of the pontiff. — [It may be worthy of remark that, although the Roman church is a political body, which is governed like other kingdoms and states, yet in this commonwealth everything is called by a different name. The ghostly king is called the *pope* or *father*; his ministers of state are called *cardinals*; his envoys of the highest rank are called *legates a latere*, and those of a lower order, *apostolical nuncios*. His chancery is called *dataria*; his boards of commissioners and judicatures are *congregations*; his supreme court of justice is named the *rota*; and his counsellors of state are called *auditors of the rota* (*auditores rotæ*). *Schl.*],

himself, indeed, lays claim to the highest supremacy, which his courtiers and friends abet him in doing; for he contends, not only that all spiritual power and majesty reside primarily in him alone, and are transmitted in certain portions, from him to the inferior prelates, but also that his decisions, made from the chair, are correct beyond even the suspicion of error. On the contrary, very many, of whom the French are the most distinguished, maintain, that a portion of spiritual jurisdiction, emanating immediately from *Jesus Christ*, is possessed by each individual bishop, and that the whole resides in the pastors collectively, or in ecclesiastical councils duly called; while the pontiff, separately from the body of the church, is liable to err. This long controversy may be reduced to this simple question: Is the Roman prelate the *lawgiver* of the Church, or only the *guardian* and *executor* of the laws enacted by Christ and by the Church? Yet there is no prospect that this controversy will ever terminate, unless there should be a great revolution; because the parties are not agreed respecting the judge who is to decide it.¹

§ 4. The Roman Church lost much of its ancient splendour and glory, from the time that the native aspect of the Christian religion and church was portrayed and exhibited before the nations of Europe by the efforts of *Luther*. For many opulent countries of Europe withdrew themselves, some of them entirely, and others in part, from adherence to its laws and institutions; and this defection greatly diminished the resources of the Roman pontiffs.² Moreover, the

¹ The arguments used by the friends of the pontifical claims may be seen in Robert Bellarmin, and numerous others, who have written in accordance with the views of the pontiffs, and whose works form a huge collection, made by Thomas Roccaberti. Even among the French, Matthew Petittidier lately defended the pontifical power, in his book *Sur l'Autorité et l'Infaillibilité des Papes*, Luxemb. 1724, 8vo. The arguments commonly employed to support the opinion adopted by the French clergy and by those who accord with them, may be best learned from various writings of Edmund Richer and John Launoï.

² [Yet the popes still have very considerable revenues; notwithstanding there is no country in the world where more beggars are to be met with, than in the ecclesiastical states, and while the apostolical treasury is always very poor; for, 1st. The pope has many clerical livings at his disposal; none of which are readily given away. In particular, he disposes of all the livings whose incumbents happen to die at his court; and also the livings of those that die in what are called the pontifical months. 2ndly. He confirms the election of bishops by cathedral chapters with his bulls of confirmation, which always cost large sums. 3rdly. He draws the *annates*, or the incomes of the first year of incumbency, in

bishoprics and archbishoprics. 4thly. He exacts a certain sum for the badge of spiritual knighthood in the Roman church, or from the *pallium* of archbishops. This is properly a neckcloth, which answers to the ribbon or garter of secular knighthood, and is worn by distinguished prelates when they say mass, and on the other solemn occasions. 5thly. There are certain cases reserved for the popes (*casus reservati*), in which no confessor can give absolution or a dispensation, and in which the granting dispensations brings a large revenue to the popes: for example, in matrimonial cases, in the relinquishment of the clerical office, monastic vows, &c. And, finally, the pope has power to impose extraordinary payments and contributions on his clerical subjects, which are called *subsides*. The monks also must pay an annual sum to the pope for his protection, which is called the *collects*. Thus the pope is, in reality, an opulent lord, even since the reformation; or he does not lack means for enriching himself, notwithstanding his public treasury is always poor. For the disposal of all these sums is in his hands; and he can let a portion of them flow into his treasury, or he can bestow them on his relations and dependents, or apply them to establishments that will make his name immortal. *Schl.*]

kings and princes, who did choose not to abandon the old form of religion, learned from the writings and discussions of the *protestants*, much more clearly and correctly than before, that the pontiffs had set up numberless claims without any right; and that, if the pontifical power should remain such as it was before *Luther's* time, the civil governments could not possibly retain their dignity and majesty. And hence, partly by secret and artful measures, and partly by open opposition, they everywhere set bounds to the immoderate ambition of the pontiffs, who wished to control all things, both secular and sacred, according to their own pleasure; nor has the Roman bishop found himself at liberty, as he did in former times, to take vengeance on this boldness, by excommunications or a holy war. Even the countries which still acknowledge the pontiff as the supreme lawgiver of the church, and above the danger of erring (commonly called *countries of the obedience*), nevertheless confine his legislative powers within narrow bounds.

§ 5. To repair, in some measure, this very great loss, the popes have laboured much more earnestly than their predecessors had done, to extend the bounds of their kingdom, out of Europe, both among the nations not Christian, and among the Christian sects. In this very important business, first the Jesuits, and afterwards persons of the other monastic orders, have been employed. Yet if we except the achievements of *Francis Xavier* and his associates, in India, China, and Japan, which have been already noticed, very little that is great and splendid was accomplished in this century, the arrangements for this business being not yet perfected. The Portuguese having opened a passage to the Abyssinians, who followed the dogmas and the rites of the Monophysites, there was a fine opportunity for attempts to bring that nation under subjection to the Roman see. Hence, first, *John Bermudez* was sent to them, decorated with the title of *patriarch* of the Abyssinians; and afterwards this mission was committed to *Ignatius Loyola* and his associates.¹ Various circum-

¹ [Friendly intercourse between Abyssinia and Portugal began in the 15th century, when Pedro de Covilhã, the ambassador of Prince Henry of Portugal, settled in Abyssinia. By his persuasion, the empress Helena sent Matthew, an Armenian, as envoy to Portugal; and in 1521 David her grandson opened negotiations with the pope, which ended in the appointment of John Bermudez as Metropolitan of Abyssinia. He was consecrated in Abyssinia, and went to Rome for confirmation. There the pope made him patriarch of Alexandria. He did not return to Abyssinia until 1541, when David was dead. Claudius, his successor, was unwilling to surrender the independence of his church, and Bermudez was in the end obliged to fly the country. The missionary work was then taken up by the Jesuits. *Ed.* — The pope now ordained John Nunez Barreto, of Portugal, patriarch

of Abyssinia; Andrew Oviedo, a Neapolitan, bishop of Nice; and Melchior Cornerius, of Portugal, bishop of Hierapolis; both the latter to be coadjutors and successors to Barreto. Ten other Jesuits of inferior rank were joined with them. They all sailed from Portugal in 1555; but on their arrival at Goa, they found that Claudius was not disposed to subject his kingdom to the pontiff. Barreto therefore stayed in India, where he was a successful missionary till his death. Oviedo went to Abyssinia, with a few companions, and was there imprisoned. Claudius had been slain in battle, in 1559, and his brother and successor, Adamas, or Menas, was a violent persecutor of the missionaries. After twenty years' labour in Abyssinia, Oviedo died, A.D. 1577. His companions died one after another, till, in 1597, Francis Lupus, the last of them, expired, and left the handful of Roman Catholics without a priest. See Nic. Go-

stances, and especially the wars of the nation, which the Abyssinian emperor hoped to terminate favourably by the aid of the Portuguese, seemed at first to promise success to the enterprise. But in process of time it appeared, that the attachment of the Abyssinians to the principles of their progenitors was too strong to be eradicated; wherefore, as the century ended, the Jesuits found almost every hope of success ended likewise.¹

§ 6. To the Copts or Egyptians, who were closely connected with the Abyssinians in religion and ecclesiastical customs, *Christopher Roderigo*, a famous Jesuit, was sent by authority of *Pius IV.*, in the year 1562. He returned to Rome with nothing but fair words, although he had laboured to overcome *Gabriel*, then the [Coptic] patriarch of Alexandria, with very rich presents and with subtle arguments.² But near the close of the century, in the year 1594, when *Clement VIII.* was head of the Roman church, the envoys of the Alexandrian patriarch, whose name was likewise *Gabriel*, appeared as suitors at Rome; which caused very great exultation at the time among the friends of the Roman court.³ But this embassy is justly suspected by ingenuous men, even of the Roman community; and was probably contrived by the Jesuits, for the purpose of persuading the Abyssinians, who generally followed the example of the Alexandrians, to embrace more readily the communion of the Roman pontiff.⁴ Nothing certainly occurred afterwards in Egypt, to indicate any partiality of the Copts towards the Romans.—A part of the Armenians had long manifested a veneration for the Roman pontiff, without, however, quitting the institutions and rites of their fathers; of which more will be said when we come to the history of the Oriental church. A larger accession was anticipated from *Serapion*, a man of wealth and devoted to the Romans, who, though the Armenians had two patriarchs already, was created third patriarch in the year 1593, in order to free his nation from oppressive debt. But he was soon after sent into exile by the Persian monarch, at the insti-

dignus, *De Abassinorum Rebus, deque Æthiopiæ Patriarchis*, Jo. Non. Barreto et Andr. Oviedo, Lugd. 1615, 8vo, and Od. Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* on the years specified. *Tr.* Neale's *Patr. Alexand.* ii. 343, &c. *Ed.*]

¹ See Job Ludolf's *Historia Æthiopiæ*: and the notes on that history, passim. Mich. Geddes, *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 120, &c. Henry le Grand's *Diss. de la Conversion des Abyssins*, p. 25, which is the ninth of the *Diss.* subjoined to Jerome Lobo's *Voyage Historique d'Abyssinie*; Matth. Veyss. la Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie*, l. ii. p. 90, &c.

² Franc. Sachinus, *Hist. Societ. Jesu*, pt. ii. lib. v., Euseb. Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 611. And especially, the *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, ii. 314, &c.

³ The documents of this embassy, em-

blazoned with a splendid exordium, are subjoined by Cæsar Baronius to the sixth volume of his *Annales Eccles.* p. 707, &c. [p. 691–700,] ed. Antwerp.

⁴ Eusebius Renaudot, in his *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* pp. 611, 612, has endeavoured to re-establish the credit of this embassy, which Baronius so exultingly extols. But he errs very much, when he supposes that only Richard Simon, relying on the fallacious testimony of George Dousa, has opposed it. For Thomas a Jesu, a Carmelite, did so; lib. vi. *De Conversione omnium Gentium procuranda*; and others have done so. See Mich. Geddes, *Church History of Ethiopia*, pp. 231, 232. [The documents all bear the marks of being the composition of one person, though they profess to be the letters of several different persons. *Tr.* See also Neale's *Patr. Alex.* ii. 379. *Ed.*]

gation of the other Armenians; and with him all the delightful anticipations of the Romans came to nothing.¹

§ 7. In the year 1551, a great contest arose among the Nestorians, or Chaldeans as they are also called, respecting the election of a new patriarch; one party demanding *Simeon Barmamas*, and another *Sulaka*. The latter made a journey to Rome, and was there consecrated in the year 1553, by *Julius III.*, to whom he swore allegiance. *Julius* gave to this new patriarch of the Chaldeans the name of *John*, and sent with him, on his return to his country, several persons well-skilled in the Syrian language, for the purpose of establishing the Roman dominion among the Nestorians. From that time onward, the Nestorians became split into two factions, and were often brought into the most imminent peril, by the opposing interests and contests of their patriarchs.² The Nestorians on the sea-coast of India, who are commonly called the *Christians of St. Thomas*, were cruelly harassed by the Portuguese, to induce them to exchange the religion of their fathers, which was much more simple than the Roman, for the Roman worship. The consummation of this business was reserved for *Alexius Menezes*, archbishop of Goa; who, near the close of the century, with the aid of the Jesuits, compelled those miserable, reluctant, and unwilling people, by means of amazing severities, to come under the power of the Roman pontiff. These violent proceedings of *Menezes* and his associates have met the disapprobation of persons distinguished for wisdom and equity in the Romish community.³

§ 8. Most of these missionaries of the Roman pontiff treated the Christians, whom they wished to overcome, unkindly and unreasonably. For they not only required them to give up the opinions in which they differed from both the Greek and the Latin churches, and to recognise the bishop of Rome as a lawgiver and vicegerent of Christ on the earth, but they also opposed sentiments that deserved toleration, nay, such as were sound and consonant to the Scriptures: insisted on the abrogation of customs, rites, and institutions that had come down from former times, and were not prejudicial to the truth; and, in short, required their entire worship to be conducted after the Roman fashion. The Roman court, indeed, found at length, by experience, that such a mode of proceeding was indiscreet, and unlikely to extend the papal empire. Accordingly, the great business of missions came gradually to be conducted in a more wise and temperate manner; and the missionaries were directed to make it their sole object to bring these Christians to become subjects of the pontiff, and to renounce, professedly at least, such opinions as had been condemned by the ecclesiastical councils; while all other things received from their fathers, whether doctrines or practices, were to remain

¹ See the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus, dans le Levant*, iii. 132, 133.

² Jos. Simon Asseman's *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, t. iii. pt. ii. p. clxiv. See below in the history of the

oriental church.

³ Matt. Veyss. la Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, l. ii. p. 88, &c. [Claud. Buchanan's *Christian Researches in Asia*, p. 85, &c. M. Geddes, *Hist. of the Malabar Church*, Lond. 1694, 8vo. Tr.]

inviolate. And this plan was supported by certain learned divines, who endeavoured to prove, though not always successfully and fairly, that there was but little difference between the doctrines of the Greek and other Oriental Christians, and those of the Roman church, provided they were estimated correctly and truly, and not according to the artificial definitions and subtleties of the scholastic doctors. This plan of using moderation was more serviceable to the Roman interests than the old plan of severity; though far less so than its authors anticipated.

§ 9. In guarding the church's frontiers and strengthening her internal arrangements against the force and subtlety of adversaries, no little pains have been taken at Rome, from the age of *Luther*. For that most effectual method of subduing heretics by *crusades* being impracticable, from the total change in Roman affairs, nay, rather in those of all Europe, the church could only be preserved by art and policy. Hence the terrible tribunals of the *inquisition*, in the countries where they were admitted, were fortified and regulated by new provisions. Colleges were erected here and there, in which young men were trained by continual practice to the best methods of disputing with the adversaries of the pope. The ingress into the church of books that might corrupt the minds of its members, was rendered extremely difficult, by means of what were called *expurgatory and prohibitory indices*, drawn up by the most sagacious men. The cultivation of literature was earnestly recommended to the clergy, and high rewards were held out to those who aspired to pre-eminence in learning. The young were much more solidly instructed in the precepts and first principles of religion than before; and many other means for the safety of the church were adopted. Thus the greatest evils often produce the greatest benefits. And the advantages arising from these and other regulations, would not perhaps, quite to the present times, have been realised by the Roman church, if the heretics had not boldly invaded and laid waste her territories.

§ 10. As the Roman pontiffs control, defend, and enlarge their empire, principally by means of the religious orders, whom various causes join more closely to them than other clergymen and bishops, it became very necessary, after the unsuccessful contest with *Luther*, that some new society should be established, wholly devoted to the pontifical interests, and making it their great business to recover, if possible, what was lost, to repair what was injured, and to fortify and guard what remained entire. For the two orders of *Mendicants*, by which especially the pontiffs had governed the church for some centuries, with the best effects, had from some several causes lost no small part of their reputation and influence, and therefore could not subserve the interests of the church as efficiently and successfully as heretofore. Such a new society as the necessities of the church demanded, was found in that noted and most powerful order, which assumed a name from *Jesus*, and was commonly called the society of the *Jesuits*; but by its enemies, the society of *Loyolites*, or (from the Spanish

name of its founder) the *Inighists*.¹ The founder of it, *Ignatius Loyola*, was a Spanish knight, first a soldier and then a fanatic, an illiterate man, but of an exuberant imagination.² After various

¹ The principal writers concerning the order of Jesuits are enumerated by Christopher Ang. Salig, *Hist. Augustanæ Confessionis*, ii. 73, &c. [Of these, the most valuable as general works, are the following:—*Historia Societatis Jesu*, to the year 1625, in 6 vols. fol. by members of the society: viz. pt. i. by Nic. Orlandinus, Antw. 1620. Pt. ii. by Fr. Sacchinus, ibid. Pt. iii. and iv. by the same, Rome, 1649, 1652. Pt. v. by Pet. Possinus and Jos. Juvencius, Rome, 1661 and 1710. Pt. vi. by Jul. Cordaro, Rome, 1750. Also, *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jésus*, &c. (by Pierre Quesne, surnommé Benard, to A.D. 1572) ed. 2nd, Utrecht, 1741, 3 vols. 12mo. *Histoire générale de la Naissance et des Progrès de la Comp. de Jésus* (by Christoph. Coudrette and Louis Adr. le Paige), 6 vols. 12mo. Amsterd. 1761, 1767. Essay of a New History of the Order of Jesuits (in German, to 1565), Berlin and Halle, 1769, 1770, 2 vols. 8vo. General Hist. of the Jesuits from the rise of the order to the present time (in Germ.), by Pet. Phil. Wolf, ed. 2nd, Lips. 1803, 4 vols. 8vo. Pragmatic Hist. of the Order of Jesuits from their origin to the present time (in Germ.), by Jo. Chr. Harenberg, Halle, 1760, 2 vols. 4to. The two last are considered the best summaries. *Tr.*]

² Many biographies of Loyola have been composed by his followers; most of which are rather eulogies of the man than simple correct statements of facts. They transmute common events into prodigies. [Of this class is Jo. Pet. Maffei, *De Vita, et Moribus, B. P. Ignatii Loyolæ*; Douay, 1561, 12mo. *Schl.*] Recently a Frenchman, who calls himself Hercules Rasiel de Selve, [an anagram of his real name Charles le Vier, a bookseller at the Hague. *Tr.*] has composed a history of Loyola, with a good degree of ingenuousness, if we except his own witty remarks. It is divided into two parts, and entitled *Histoire de l'admirable Dom Inigo de Guipuscoa* (which is the Spanish name of Ignatius), *Chevalier de la Vierge et Fondateur de la Monarchie des Inighistes*; printed at the Hague, 1736, and again 1739, 8vo.—[Ignatius Loyola was born at the castle of Loyola, in the district of Guipuscoa, in Biscay, Spain, A.D. 1491. Trained up in ignorance and vice, at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, he early became a soldier, and bravely commanded Pampeluna, when besieged by the French in 1521. Here he had his leg broken, and during a long confinement, amused himself with reading romances. A Spanish legend

of certain saints being put into his hands, led him to renounce the world and become a saint. He first visited the shrine of the holy Virgin at Montserrat in Catalonia; hung his arms on her altar, and devoted himself to her, as her knight, March 25th, 1522. He next went in the garb of a pilgrim to Manresa, and spent a year among the poor in the hospital. Here he wrote his Spiritual Exercises, a book which was not printed till many years after. He next set out for the holy land. From Barcelona he sailed to Italy, obtained the blessing of the pope, proceeded to Venice, and embarked for Joppa, where he arrived in August, and reached Jerusalem in Sept. 1523. After satisfying his curiosity, he returned by Venice and Genoa to Barcelona, where he began Latin; and at the end of two years, in 1526, removed to Alcalá (*Complutum*), and commenced reading philosophy. His strange appearance and manner of life rendered him suspected, and caused him to be apprehended by the Inquisitors. They released him, however, on condition that he should not attempt to give religious instruction till after four years' study. Unwilling to submit to this restraint, he went to Salamanca; and pursuing the same course there, he was again apprehended, and laid under the same restriction. He therefore went to Paris, where he arrived Feb. 1528. Here he lived by begging, spent much time in giving religious exhortations, and prosecuted a course of philosophy and theology. Several young men of a kindred spirit (among whom was the celebrated Francis Xavier, the apostle of the Indies) united with him in a kind of monastic association in 1534. At first they were but seven in number, but they increased to ten. At length they agreed to leave Paris, and to meet, in January, 1537, at Venice. Loyola went to Spain to settle some affairs, preached there with great effect, and at the time appointed joined his associates at Venice. As they purposed to perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, they went to Rome to obtain the papal benediction, and returned to Venice. But the war with the Turks now suspended all intercourse with Palestine, and they could not obtain a passage. Not to be idle, they dispersed themselves over the country, and preached everywhere. Rome now became their place of rendezvous. While thus employed, Ignatius conceived the idea of forming a new and peculiar order of monks. His companions came into the plan; and in 1540 they applied to

changes, he went to Rome, and, it is said, was there trained by the instructions and counsels of certain wise and acute men, so that he was enabled to found such a society as the state of the church then required.¹

§ 11. The *Jesuits* hold an intermediate place between the *monks* and the *secular clergy*, and approach nearest to the order of *regular canons*. For while they live like monks, secluded from the multitude, and bound by vows, yet they are exempted from the most onerous duties of *monks*, as stated hours of prayer, and the like; in order that they may have more time for the instruction of youth, writing books, guiding the minds of the religious, and other services necessary to the church. The whole society is divided into three classes; namely, the *professed*, who live in the *houses of the professed*; the *scholastics*, who teach youth in *colleges*; and the *novices*, who reside in houses provided especially for them. The *professed*, as they are called, in addition to the three common vows of monks, are bound by a fourth, by which they engage before God, that they will instantly go whithersoever the Roman pontiff shall at any time bid them; and they have no revenues, but live, like the *Mendicants*, on the bounties of the pious. The others, and especially the residents in the *colleges*, have very ample possessions, and must afford assistance, when necessary, to the *professed*. If compared with the other classes, the *professed* are few in number; and are, generally, men of prudence, skilful in business, of much experience, learned—in a word, true and perfect Jesuits. The others are Jesuits only in a looser sense of the term; and are rather *associates* of the Jesuits,

Paul III., who confirmed their institution with some limitations, and afterwards, in 1543, without those limitations. Loyola was chosen general of the order in 1541. He resided constantly at Rome, while his companions spread themselves everywhere, labouring to convert Jews and heretics, to reform the vicious, and inspire men with a religious spirit. His sect increased rapidly; and among the new members were three females. But they gave Loyola so much trouble, that he applied to the pope for a decree releasing them from their vow, and ordaining that the society should never be cumbered with female members any more. After obtaining a confirmation of his order in 1550, from Julius III., he wished to resign his generalship over it; but his associates would not consent, and he remained their general till his death, July 31st, 1556. He was beatified by Paul V., A.D. 1609, and enrolled among the saints by Gregory XV., A.D. 1622. When Loyola died, his society consisted of over 1000 persons, who possessed about 100 houses and were divided into twelve provinces, Italy, Sicily, Germany, the Netherlands, France, Arragon, Castile, the south of Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, Ethiopia, and the East

Indies. See Bayle, *Dict. Hist. Crit.* article *Loyola*, and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* iii. 515, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ Not only protestants, but also many Roman Catholics, and they men of learning and discrimination, deny that Loyola had learning enough to compose the writings ascribed to him, or genius enough to form such a society as originated from him. On the contrary, they say, that some very wise and extraordinary men guided and controlled his mind; and that better educated men than he, composed the works which bear his name. See Mich. Geddes, *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. iii. p. 429. Most of his writings are supposed to have been produced by Jo. de Palanco, his secretary. See M. V. la Croze, *Histoire du Christ. d'Ethiopie*, p. 55, 271. His *Spiritual Exercises* (*Exercitia Spiritualia*), the Benedictines say, were transcribed from the work of a Spanish Benedictine, whose name was Cisneros. See Jordan, *Vie de M. La Croze*, p. 83, &c. The constitutions of the society, it is said, were drawn up by Lainez and Salmeron, learned men among his first associates. See *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, i. 115, &c.

than real Jesuits. The mysteries of the society are imparted only to a few even of the *professed*, aged men, of long experience, and of the most tried characters: the rest are entirely ignorant of them.¹

§ 12. The Roman church, since the time it lost dominion over so many nations, owes more to this single society, than to all its other ministers and resources. This being spread in a short time over the greater part of the world, everywhere confirmed the wavering nations and restrained the progress of sectarians: it gathered into the Roman church a great multitude of worshippers among barbarous and most distant nations: it boldly took the field against the heretics, and sustained for a long time, almost alone, the brunt of the war, and by its dexterity and acuteness in reasoning, entirely eclipsed the glory of the old disputants: by personal address, by skill in the dexterous management of worldly business, by the knowledge of various arts and sciences, and by other means, it conciliated the good-will of kings and princes: by an ingenious accommodation of the principles of morals to the propensities of men, it obtained almost the sole direction of the minds of kings and magistrates, to the exclusion of the Dominicans and other more rigid divines;² and it everywhere most studiously guarded the authority of the Roman bishop from sustaining further loss. All these things procured for the society immense wealth and resources, and the highest reputation; but at the same time, prodigious envy, numerous enemies, and frequently the most imminent perils. All the religious orders, the leading men, the public schools, and the magistrates, united to bear down the Jesuits;

¹ [The general of the order held his office for life, under certain limitations; was to reside constantly at Rome; and had a select council to advise him, and to execute his orders. His authority over the whole order, and every person, business, and thing connected with it, was absolute; nor was he accountable to any earthly superior, except the pope. Over each province was a provincial, whose power was equally despotic over his portion of the society. He visited and inspected all the houses of his province, required regular monthly returns to be made to him from every section of the province, of all that was transacted, learned, or contemplated; and then made returns every three months to the general. Every person belonging to the order was continually inspected, and trained to implicit obedience, secrecy, and fidelity to the order. The whole society was like a regular army, completely officered, trained to service, and governed by the will of one man, who stood at the pope's right hand. See the constitution of the society, as published by Hospinian, *Historia Jesuistica*, lib. i. c. 4, &c. The secret instructions to the provincials, and to subordinate organs and members of the society, were totally unknown, for the most part, to any persons except those to whom they were addressed. The general

rules and artifices by which individuals were to insinuate themselves everywhere, and obtain for the society dominion and control over all persons and transactions, were also among the mysteries of the society. Two copies of them, however, the one larger and more minute than the other, entitled, *Privata Monita Societatis Jesu*, and *Secreta Monita*, &c., were said to have been obtained, the first from a ship bound to the East Indies, and captured by the Dutch, and the other found in the Jesuits' college at Paderborn. But the Jesuits have always and constantly denied their genuineness; nor have the world the means of substantiating their authenticity, except by their coincidence with the visible conduct of the Jesuits. According to these writings, which have been repeatedly published during the last two centuries, nothing could be more crafty and void of all fixed moral principle, than the general policy of the Jesuits. See Schroeck's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* iii. 647, &c. Tr.]

² Before the Jesuits arose, the Dominicans alone had the control of the consciences of the European kings and princes. These were superseded, in all the courts, by the Jesuits. See Will. du Peyrat, *Antiquités de la Chapelle de France*, lib. i. p. 322, &c.

and by innumerable books, demonstrated that nothing could be more ruinous, both to religion and to the state, than such a body. In some regions, as France, Poland, and others, they were pronounced to be public enemies of the country, traitors, and parricides, and were banished with ignominy.¹ Yet the prudence, or if you would rather say so, the cunning of the association, quieted all these movements, and even turned them, dexterously, to the enlargement of its power and the strengthening of it against all future machinations.²

§ 13. The pontiffs who governed the Latin or Roman church in this century, after *Alexander VI.*, *Pius III.*, *Julius II.*, *Leo X.*, *Adrian VI.*, who have been already mentioned, were *Clement VII.*, of the Medicean family;³ *Paul III.*, of the illustrious family of Farnese;⁴ *Julius III.*, who was previously called *John Maria del Monte*;⁵ *Marcellus II.*, whose name, before his pontificate, was *Marcellus Cervini*;⁶ *Paul IV.*, whose name was *John Peter Caraffa*;⁷ *Pius IV.*, who claimed to be a descendant of the Medicean family, and

¹ *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, iii. 48, &c. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*, vi. 559-648, and in many other places; and a great number of writers, especially those among the Jansenists.—[The Jesuits were expelled from France, A.D. 1694; but permitted to return again at the commencement of the next century. They were expelled from Venice in 1606, from Poland in 1607, and from Bohemia in 1618; to the last-named place, however, they were allowed to return two years after. Tr.]

² [It was under Lainez, the general of the order next after Loyola, that the spirit of intrigue entered freely into the society. Lainez possessed a peculiar craftiness and dexterity in managing affairs, and was frequently led by it into low and unworthy tricks. His ruling passion was ambition; which, however, he knew how to conceal from the inexperienced, most artfully, under a veil of humility and piety. Under him the society assumed a graver and more manly character than under his enthusiastic and often ludicrous predecessor; and its constitution was a master-piece of artful policy, rendering it a terrible army, that dared to undermine states, to rend the Church, and even to menace the pope. See the *Versuch einer neuen Gesch. des Jesuitenordens*, vol. ii. Schl.]

³ [Clement VII. was a bastard; but Leo X. removed this stain by his act of legitimation. His political sagacity would better have adorned a minister of state than a minister of Christ. Civil history informs us on what principles he acted with the emperor Charles V. See Jac. Ziegler's *Hist. Clementis VII.* in Schelhorn's *Amœnitat. Historiæ Eccles. et Litt.* i. 210, &c., and Sarpi's *Hist. du Concile de Trente*, i. 61, &c. Schl.]

⁴ Respecting Paul III. there has in our age been learned discussion between cardi-

nal Quirini and some distinguished men, as Kiesling, Schelhorn, and others, the former maintaining that he was a good and eminent man, and the latter that he was a crafty and perfidious character. See Quirinus de *Gestis Pauli III. Farnesii*, Brixia, 1745, 4to. [And Schelhorn's *Epistola de Consilio de Emendanda Ecclesia*, Zurich, 1748, 4to. Quirini, *ad Catholicum Æquumque Lectorem Animadversiones in Epistolam Schelhornii*, Brescia, 1747. Schelhorn's Second Epistle, 1748, 4to. Kiesling's *Epistola de Gestis Pauli III.*, Lips., 1747. Concerning this pope, in general, and respecting his views in regard to a general council, see Sarpi's *Histoire du Concile de Trente*, i. 131, &c. Thus much is clear from the discussions of these learned men, that Paul III. was an adept in the art of dissimulation, and therefore better fitted to be a statesman than the head of the church. His whole conduct in regard to the council forced upon him by the cardinals proves this. His two grandsons, Farnese and Sforza, he created cardinals; the father of the first, and the mother of the last, were his illegitimate children. Schl.]

⁵ [Julius III. is severely blamed for raising to the cardinalate a young favourite who had, when quite a child, attracted his attention by his courage when seized by an ape. Ranke, *Hist. Popes*, i. 211. Ed. Lond. 1847. Ed.]

⁶ [He reigned only twenty-two days. See Sarpi, l. c. ii. 139. Schl.]

⁷ [The arrogance and ambition of this pontiff appear from his treatment of queen Elizabeth. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*. He pretended by a bull to raise Ireland to the privilege and quality of an independent kingdom; and he also first instituted the *Index of prohibited books*, mentioned above, § 9. MacL.]

bore the name of *John Angelo de Medicis*; ¹ *Pius V.*, a Dominican monk, whose name was *Michael Ghislieri*, a man of sour temper, and excessive austerity, who is now accounted by the Romanists a saint; ² *Gregory XIII.*, previously cardinal *Hugo Buoncompagno*; ³ *Sixtus V.*, a Franciscan, called *Montalto* before his advancement to the papal throne, who excelled all the rest in vigour of mind, pride, magnificence, and other virtues and vices; *Urban VIII.*, *Gregory XIV.*, *Innocent IX.* (these three reigned too short a time to distinguish themselves.) Some of these were more, and others less meritorious: ⁴ yet, if compared with most of those that ruled the church before the

¹ [His family was very remotely, if at all, descended from the Medicean family of Florence. His character seemed to be totally changed by his elevation to the papal dignity. The affable, obliging, disinterested, and abstemious cardinal, became an unsocial, selfish, and voluptuous pope. So long as the council of Trent continued, which he controlled more by craft and cunning than direct authority, he was very reserved; but after its termination, he showed himself without disguise in his true character. This also may deserve notice, that this pope, in 1564, allowed the communion in both kinds, in the diocese of Mentz; which allowance also the Austrians and Bavarians had obtained of the pope. (Gudenus, *Codex Diplom. Mogunt.* iv. 709.) See Sarpi, l. c. ii. 183, &c. *Schl.*]

² [Pius V. was of low birth, but had risen, as a Dominican, to the office of general commissary of the inquisition at Rome. And as pope, he practised the cruel principles which he had learned in that school. For he caused many eminent men of learning, and among others the noted Palearius, to be burned at the stake; and showed so little moderation and prudence in his persecuting zeal, that he not only approved all kinds of violence, and let loose his warriors on France, but also employed the baser methods for the destruction of heretics, insurrections, and treason. Yet this method of proceeding had the contrary effect from what was intended, in France, England, Scotland, and the Netherlands. That he also laboured to prostrate entirely the civil power before the spiritual, and by unreasonably exempting the clergy from all civil taxation, greatly injured Spain, France, and Venice, may be learned from civil history. By his command, the Tridentine Catechism was composed and published. Clement X. gave him beatification, and Clement XI. canonisation; which has occasioned many partial biographies to be composed of this pope. *Schl.*]

³ See Jo. Pet. Maffei, *Annales Gregorii XIII.*, Rome, 1742, 4to. [He was elected by means of the Spanish viceroy of Naples, cardinal de Granvelle, and was of a milder

character than Pius V. Yet he openly approved the bloody massacre at Paris, on St. Bartholomew's eve, and participated in a treasonable plot against Queen Elizabeth. His idea of introducing his reformed kalendar as pope, drew on him obloquy from the protestants; and his attempt to free the clergy from all civil jurisdiction, also from the French. He published the Canon Law improved and enlarged. *Schl.*]

⁴ Pius V. and Sixtus V. distinguished themselves above the rest; the former by his extreme severity against heretics, and by publishing the celebrated Bull, called *In Cœna Domini*, which is [was till the reign of Clement XIV.] annually read at Rome, on the festival of the Holy Sacrament; and the latter by his many vigorous, splendid, and resolute acts for advancing the glory and honour of the church. The life of Pius V. has been written by many persons, in our age, since Clement XI. enrolled him among the saints. On the Bull, *In Cœna Domini*, and the commotions it occasioned, Giannone has treated, in his *Histoire Civile de Naples*, iv. 248, &c. [and still more fully and circumstantially, the author of the Pragmatic History of this Bull. *Schl.*]—The life of Sixtus V., by Gregory Leti, has been often published, and in different languages; but it is deficient in fidelity, in many parts. [He was a complete statesman, and possessing a high degree of dissimulation, could play any part; instead of the fruitless attempt of his predecessors to reduce the heretics to obedience, he endeavoured to increase his power by conquering the kingdom of Naples, by retaining the princes that were still in his interests, and by encroachments upon their power. The Jesuits, for whom he had no partiality, hated him. The splendour of the city of Rome, the papal treasury, and the Vatican library, owe much to him. He likewise promoted the Roman edition of the Septuagint in 1587, and the edition of the Vulgate, Rome, 1590, in 3 vols. fol. While a cardinal, in 1580, he published at Rome the collected works of Ambrose, in 5 volumes. See Dr. Walch's *History of the Popes*, p. 399. *Schl.*]

Reformation by *Luther*, they were all wise and good men. For, since the rise of so many enemies to the Roman power, both within and without, the cardinals have deemed it necessary to be exceedingly cautious, and not commit the arduous government of the church to a person openly vicious, or to a rash and indiscreet young man. And since that period the pontiffs do not, and cannot, assume such despotic power of deciding on the greatest matters according to their own mere pleasure, as their predecessors did; but they must pronounce sentence ordinarily, according to the decision of their senate, that is, the *cardinals*, and of the congregations to which certain parts of the government are entrusted. Moreover, neither prudence, nor the silently increasing power of emperors and kings, and the continual decrease of ignorance and superstition, will permit them to excite wars among nations, to issue bulls of excommunication and deposition against kings, and to arm the citizens, as they formerly did, against their lawful sovereigns. In short, stern necessity has been the mother of prudence and moderation at Rome, as it often has elsewhere.

§ 14. The condition of the clergy subject to the Roman pontiff remained unchanged. Some of the bishops, at times, and especially at the council of Trent, have sought very earnestly to recover their ancient rights, of which the popes have deprived them; and have calculated upon compelling the pontiff to acknowledge, that bishops were of Divine origin, and derived their authority from Christ himself.¹ But all these attempts have been frustrated by the watchfulness of the Roman court; which never ceases to repeat the odious maxim, that bishops are only the ministers and legates of the vicar of Jesus Christ resident at Rome, and are indebted for all the power and authority they possess, to the generosity and *grace of the apostolic see*. Yet there are some, particularly among the French, who pay little attention to that principle. And what the Roman jurists call *reservations, provisions, exemptions, and expectatives*, which had drawn forth complaints from all the nations before the Reformation, and which were the most manifest proofs of the Roman tyranny, have now almost entirely ceased.

§ 15. Respecting the lives and morals of the clergy, and the reformation of inveterate evils, there was deliberation in the council of Trent: and on this subject some decrees were passed, which no wise man could disapprove. But good men complain that those decrees have, to this day, found no one to act upon them, but are neglected with impunity by all, and especially by those of more elevated rank and station. The German bishops, as everybody knows, have scarcely anything, except their dress, their titles, and certain ceremonies, from which the nature of their office could be inferred. In other countries, very many of the prelates, with the tacit consent of the pope, are more devoted to courts, to voluptuousness, to wealth and ambition, than to Jesus Christ, to whom they profess to be conse-

¹ Here may be consulted Paul Sarpi's *Historia Concilii Tridentini*.

crated: and only a very small number regard the interests of the Christian community, and of piety and religion. Moreover, those who are most attentive to these things can scarcely escape invidious remarks, criminations, and vexations of various kinds. Many perhaps would be better and more devout, were they not corrupted by the example of Rome, or did they not see the very heads of the church, with their ministers, devoted wholly to luxury, avarice, pride, revenge, voluptuousness, and vain pomp. The *canons*, as they are called, almost everywhere continue to adhere to their pristine mode of life, and often consume, not very piously or honestly, the wealth which the piety of former ages had consecrated to the poor. The rest of the clergy, however, cannot everywhere copy after these preposterous moral guides at their pleasure. For it must be admitted, that since the reformation by *Luther*, much more pains are taken than were formerly, to prevent offences at least against sobriety and external decency, by the lower orders of clergy, so that they may not offend the people by open profligacy.

§ 16. Nearly the same commendation is to be given to the monks. In most of the governors of monasteries there are things which deserve the severest reprehension; nor are idleness, gluttony, ignorance, knavery, quarrels, lasciviousness, and the other once prevalent vices of cloisters, entirely expelled and banished from them. Yet it would be uncandid to deny, that in many countries the morals of the monks are restrained by stricter rules, and that the remaining vestiges of the ancient profligacy are at least concealed more carefully. There have also arisen some who laboured to restore the almost extinct austerity of the ancient rules, and others who attempted to establish new fraternities for the public benefit of the church. *Matthew de Baschi*, an Italian, an honest but simple man of that society of Franciscans, who consider themselves to obey the precepts of their founder more religiously than the others, and who are commonly called *Observant friars*,¹ thought himself called of God to restore the institutes of *St. Francis* to their original and genuine integrity. His design being approved by *Clement VII.*, in the year 1525, gave rise to the fraternity of *Capuchins*; which experienced the bitter indignation of the other Franciscans, and exhibited a great appearance of gravity, modesty, and disregard for worldly things.² The fraternity derived its name from the *cowl*,³ a covering for the head sewed on the Franciscan habit, which *St. Francis* himself is said to have worn.⁴

¹ Fratres de Observantia.

² See Luke Wadding's *Ann. Ord. Minorum*, xvi. 207, 257, &c. ed. Rome. Hipp. Helyot's *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques*, t. vii. c. xxiv. p. 264. And especially Zach. Boverius, *Annales Capucinorum*. [The founder of the order of Capuchins is not well known. Some give this honour to Matthew Baschi, and others to the famous Lewis de Fossembrun. Bover supposes that Baschi devised the cowl, but that Fossembrun was the author of the reform; and he

thence infers, that his order was not the work of men, but, like Melchisedek, without father and without mother. The order had the misfortune, that its first vicar-general, Bernard Ochin, and afterwards the third also, turned protestants; which well nigh worked its ruin. Yet it afterwards spread itself over Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, with extraordinary success. *Schl.*]

³ Caputium.

⁴ See Du Fresne's *Glossarium Latinitat. Medii Ævi*, ii. 298, ed. Bened.

Another progeny of the Franciscan order were those called *Recollets* in France, *Reformati* in Italy, and *Barefooted*¹ in Spain; and who likewise obtained the privileges of a separate association distinct from the others, in the year 1532, by authority of *Clement VII.* They differ from the other Franciscans by endeavouring to live more exactly according to the rules of their common lawgiver.² *St. Theresa*, a Spanish lady of noble birth, aided in the arduous work by *P. John de Matthia*, who was afterwards called *John de Santa Cruz*, endeavoured to restore the too luxurious and almost dissolute lives of the Carmelites to their pristine gravity. Nor were these efforts without effect; notwithstanding that most of the Carmelites made opposition. Hence the order was divided, during ten years, into two parties, the one observing severer, and the other laxer rules. But as this difference in their manner of life among the members of the same family occasioned much animosity and discord, *Gregory XIII.*, in the year 1580, at the request of *Philip II.*, king of Spain, directed the more rigid Carmelites, who were called *Barefooted*, from their naked feet, to separate themselves from the more lax. *Sixtus V.* confirmed and extended this separation, in 1587; and *Clement VIII.*, in 1593, completed it, by giving to the new association a chief or general of its own. A few years after, when new contests arose between these brethren, the same pontiff, in the year 1600, again separated them into two societies, governed by their respective generals.³

§ 17. Of the new orders that arose in this century, the most distinguished is that which glories in the name of *Jesuits*; and which has been already noticed among the props of the Roman power. Compared with this, the others are ignoble and obscure.—The Reformation afforded occasion for various societies of what are called *Regular Clerks*. As all these profess to aim at imitating and bringing back the ancient virtue and sanctity of the clerical order, they tacitly bear witness to the laxity of discipline among the clergy, and the necessity of a reformation. The first that arose were the *Theatins*, so named from the town *Theate* or *Chieti*,⁴ whose bishop at that time was *John Peter Caraffa*, afterwards pope *Paul IV.*; who, with the aid of *Cajetan da Thiene* and some others, founded this society in the year 1524. Destitute of all possessions and all revenue, they were to live upon the voluntary bounties of the pious; and were required to succour decaying piety, to improve the style of preaching, to attend upon the sick and dying, and to oppose manfully and vigorously all heretics.⁵ There were also some convents of sacred virgins connected with this order.—Next in point of time to them were those that assumed the name of *Regular Clerks of St. Paul*, whom they chose for their patron; but who were commonly called *Barnabites*, from the temple of *St. Barnabas* at Milan, which was given to them in the

¹ *Discalceati*. [*Descalzos*. S.]

340, &c.

² Luke Wadding's *Annales*, xvi. 167.
Helyot's *Hist. des Ordres*, t. vii. c. xviii. &c.
p. 129, &c.

⁴ [In the kingdom of Naples. *Tr.*]

⁵ Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, t. iv. c. xii. p. 71, &c.

³ Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, t. i. c. xlvi. p.

year 1545. The fraternity was approved by *Clement VII.*, in 1532; and confirmed by *Paul III.*, in 1535. It honoured as its founders *Antony Maria Zacharias*, a knight of Cremona, and *Bartholomew Ferrarius*, a knight of Milan; also *Jac. Antony Morigia*, of Milan. At first they renounced all possessions and property, like the Theatins, living solely upon the gratuitous gifts of the pious; but afterwards they deemed it expedient to hold property and have certain revenues. Their principal business was to labour as preachers in reclaiming sinners to their duty.¹ The *Regular Clerks of St. Majolus*, also called the *Fathers of Somasquo*, from the town *Somasquo*, where their first general resided, had for their founder *Jerome Emilianus*; and were approved by *Paul III.*, in the year 1540, and then by *Pius IV.*, in 1543.² These assumed the office of instructing the ignorant, and especially the young, carefully in the precepts of Christianity.—The same office was assigned to the *Fathers of the Christian doctrine*, both in France and in Italy. A distinguished society of this name was collected in France by *Cæsar de Bus*; and it was enrolled among the legitimate fraternities by *Clement VIII.*, in the year 1597. The Italian society owed its birth to *Marcus Cusanus*, a knight of Milan; and was approved by the authority of *Pius V.* and *Gregory XIII.*

§ 18. It would occupy us too long, and not be very profitable, to enumerate the minor fraternities which originated from fear of the heretics who disturbed the tranquillity of the church in one place and another, both in Germany and in other countries. For no age produced more associations of this kind than that in which *Luther* opposed the Bible to ignorance, superstition, and papal domination. Some of them have since become extinct, because they had no solid basis; and others have been suppressed by the will of the pontiffs, who considered the interests of the church as retarded, rather than advanced, by the multitude of such societies. We also omit the societies of nuns; among whom the *Ursulines* were distinguished for their numbers and reputation. But we must not pass over the *Fathers of the Oratory*, founded in Italy, by *Philip Neri*, and publicly approved by *Gregory XIII.*, in 1577; because they have had not a few men distinguished for their erudition and talents, (among whom were *Cæsar Baronius*, and afterwards *Odoric Raynaldi*, and in our age *James Laderchi*, the celebrated authors of the *Annals of the Church*), and because they have not yet ceased to flourish. The name of the sect is derived from the chapel or *Oratory* which *Neri* built for himself at Florence, and occupied for many years.³

¹ Helyot, l. c. t. iv. c. xv. p. 100. In this part of his noted and excellent work, Helyot, with great industry and accuracy, prosecutes the history of the other sects, which we have here mentioned.

² See the *Acta Sanctor. Februar. ii.* 217, &c.

³ Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, t. viii. c. iv. p. 12. [Raynald's *Annales Eccles. ad ann.* 1564, § 5. The exercises in the oratory were these: When the associates were col-

lected, a short time was spent in prayer; ordinarily silent prayer. Then *Neri* addressed the company. Next a portion of some religious book was read, on which *Neri* made remarks. After an hour occupied in these exercises, three of the associates successively mounted a little rostrum, and gave each a discourse of about half an hour long, on some point in theology, or on church history, or practical religion; and the meeting closed for the day. See *Baronius, An-*

§ 19. That both sacred and secular learning were held in much higher estimation in the Roman world after the time of *Luther* than before, is known by almost everybody. In particular, the Jesuits glory, and not altogether without reason, that the languages and the arts and sciences were more cultivated and advanced by their society in this century, than by the schools and by the other religious fraternities. The schools and universities (whether designedly or from negligence, I will not say) were not disposed to abandon the old method of teaching, though crude and tedious, nor to enlarge the field of their knowledge. Nor would the monks allow a more solid and elegant culture to be given to the minds of their pupils. Hence there is a great diversity in the Romish writers of this century; some express themselves happily, methodically, and properly, others barbarously, unmethodically, and coarsely. Ecclesiastical history was a subject which *Cæsar Baronius* undertook to elucidate, or, if you please, to obscure; and his example prompted many others to attempt the same thing. This labour was rendered necessary by the temerity of the heretics; for they, with *Matthew Flacius* and *Martin Chemnitz* at their head,¹ having demonstrated, that not only the sacred Scriptures, but also the voice of ancient history, were opposed to the doctrines and decrees of the Roman church, prompt resistance became necessary, lest the ancient fables, on which a great part of the claims of the pontiffs rested, should lose all their credit.

§ 20. Both among the French and the Italians, several men of fine talents, who have been named already, undertook to purify and reform philosophy. But their efforts were rendered ineffectual, by the exces-

nales Eccles. i. 555. Baronius was himself an early pupil of Neri, and succeeded him as head of the order. *Tr.*]

¹ The former in the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, and the latter in his *Examen Concilii Tridentini*. — [Matthias Flacius, after his removal from Wittemberg to Magdeburg, with the aid of the two Magdeburg preachers, John Wigand and Matthew Judex, the jurist Basil Faber, and Andrew Corvinus and Thomas Holthuters, published the *Magdeburg Centuries*, between 1559 and 1574, in 13 volumes folio, each containing one century. Its proper title is, *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ per aliquot studiosos et pios Viros in Urbe Magdeburgica Centuriæ XIII.* A new edition was begun in 1757, at Nuremberg; [but was carried only to the sixth volume, in 4to. An edition, with some abridgement, was published by Lucius, Basil, 1624, 13 vols. in 3, large folio. This edition is most current among the reformed, though disapproved by the Lutherans. *Tr.*] *Cæsar Baronius*, a father of the Oratory, [at the instigation of Philip Neri,] undertook to confute this work, in a work of 12 volumes folio, each likewise embracing one century. His work is entitled *Annales Ecclesiastici*, and was published at Rome between 1588

and 1607; and afterwards at Mentz, with approbation of the author. The latest, most splendid, and most complete edition, was published, with Antony Pagi, a French Franciscan's corrections, (entitled *Critica Historico-Chronologica in Annales Baronii*, 4 vols. fol.) and the continuation of Odoric Raynald, (in 10 vols. fol.) at Lucca, 1738–1756, in 38 vols. fol. These ecclesiastical annals are by no means impartial; yet they contain numerous documents which cast light on both ecclesiastical and civil history. Raynald's continuation reaches to 1565. James de Laderchi, likewise a father of the Oratory, extended the Annals to the year 1572. The apostate Calvinist, Henry de Sponde or Spondanus, bishop of Pamiers, likewise composed a continuation of Baronius to 1640, in three volumes, fol. So also the Polish Dominican, Abraham Bzovius, continued Baronius to 1572, in eight vols. folio; but he is the most faulty of all that have been named, both in respect to the matter and the spirit of his performance. *Schl.* — A continuation from 1572 to the present time, by Augustine Theiner, Priest of the Oratory, is now in progress, but the first three volumes embrace only fourteen years. Rome, 1856. *Ed.*]

sive attachment of the scholastic doctors to the old Aristotelian philosophy; and by the cautious timidity of many, who were apprehensive that such freedom of thought and discussion might subvert the tottering interests of the church, and open the way for other and new dissensions. The empire of *Aristotle*, therefore, whose very obscurity rendered him the more acceptable, continued unshaken in all the schools and monasteries. It even became more firmly established, after the Jesuits saw fit to subject their schools to it, and showed by their discussions and their books, that the Aristotelian scholastic subtilties, equivocations, and intricacies, were better suited to confound the heretics, and to carry on controversy with some appearance of success, than the simple and lucid mode of arguing and debating which reason, left to herself, would dictate.

§ 21. A very large catalogue of theological writers in the Roman church, during this century, might be made out. The most famous and most competent among them were, *Thomas de Vio Cajetan*, *John Eck*, *John Cochläus*, *Jerome Emser*, *Laurence Surius*, *Stanislaus Hosius*, *John Faber*, *James Sadolet*, *Albert Pighi*, *Francis Vatablus*, *Melchior Canus*, *Claudius Espenæus*, *Bartholomew Caranza*, *John Maldonat*, *Francis Turrianus*, *Benedict Arias Montanus*, *Ambrose Catharinus*, *Reginald Pole*, *Sixtus Senensis*, *George Cassander*, *James Paya Andradius*, *Michael Baius*, *James Pamelius*, and others.¹

¹ Concerning these, and others designedly omitted, the reader may consult *Lewis Ellies du Pin*, a doctor of the Sorbonne, in his *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiast.* t. xiv. and xvi. and the other writers of biography. — [The following brief notices of the writers mentioned by Mosheim may not be unacceptable:—

Of *Cajetan*, see above, sect. i. c. ii, § 7, notes.

John Eckius, or *John Mayr*, was born at *Eck*, a village in Suabia, A.D. 1483; was professor of theology at *Ingolstadt*, vice-chancellor, inquisitor, and canon of *Eichstadt*; and died 1543. He disputed and wrote much against *Luther* and the Protestants.

John Dobeneck, surnamed *Cochläus*, from the Latinised name of his birthplace, *Wendelstein*, by *Nuremberg*, was dean of *Frankfort*, and canon of *Mentz* and *Breslau*, and died in 1552; a most rancorous and uncandid opposer of the Reformation.

Emser was of *Ulm*, in *Suabia*, and died in 1527. He was a licentiate of canon law, criticised *Luther's* version of the New Testament, and undertook to make a better.

Surius, a laborious *Carthusian* monk of *Lubeck*, died at *Cologne* in 1578. Besides his translations, he published four volumes of the Councils, and seven volumes of lives of the saints; and wrote a concise general history, from 1500 to 1574, in opposition to *Sléidan's Commentaries*.

Hosius was of *Cracow*, and at his death, in 1579, was bishop of *Ermeland*, cardinal,

and grand penitentiary to *Pope Gregory XIII.* He acted a conspicuous part in the Council of *Trent*, was a manly opposer of the Reformation, and left works in 2 vols. folio.

Faber was a *Suabian*, named *Heigerlin*, but was called *Faber*, from his father's occupation. He was a *Dominican*, and opposed the sale of indulgences in *Switzerland*; yet aided the pope against the Protestants, and became bishop of *Vienna*.

Sadolet was a mild, liberal divine, secretary to *Leo X.*, bishop of *Carpentras*, and a cardinal. His works were printed at *Verona*, 1737, 4 vols. fol.

Pighi, a *Dutchman*, archdeacon at *Utrecht*, a mathematician, and a man of more reading than judgment, died in 1542.

Vatablus of *Picardy*, was a learned professor of *Hebrew* at *Paris*, in the reign of *Francis I.*

Canus, a *Spanish Dominican*, professor of theology at *Salamanca*, bishop of the *Canary Islands*, provincial of his order in *Castile*, died in 1560. His chief work was his *Locorum Communum*, libri xii.

Espenæus was a famous *Parisian* divine, of great erudition, who died in 1571.

Caranza was a *Dominican*, confessor to *Philip II.* of *Spain*, to queen *Mary* of *England*, and to *Charles V.*; also archbishop of *Toledo*; yet was charged with heresy, and suffered ten years in the inquisition; and died almost as soon as released, A.D. 1576. He wrote *Summa Conciliorum et Decret. Pontificum*.

§ 22. The religion which Rome would have regarded as the only true religion, and to be embraced by all Christians universally, is derived, as all their writers tell us, from two sources, *the word of God written and unwritten*, or the *holy Scriptures and tradition*. But as there are warm contests among the leading divines of that church respecting the legitimate interpreter of this twofold word of God, it may be justly said, that it is not yet clear whence a knowledge of the Roman doctrines is to be learned, or by what authority controversies on sacred subjects are to be decided. The Roman court, indeed, and all that favour the absolute dominion of the pontiff, maintain that no one can interpret and explain the import of either divine word, in matters relating to salvation, except the person who governs the church as Christ's vicegerent; and of course, that his decisions must be religiously obeyed. To give weight to this opinion, first *Pius IV.*, and afterwards *Sixtus V.*, established at Rome the congregation styled the *Congregation for interpreting the council of Trent*; ¹ which decides, in the name of the pontiff, the smaller questions respecting points of discipline; but the weightier questions touching any point of doctrine, it refers to the pontiff himself, as the oracle. ² But a very different

Maldonatus was a Spanish Jesuit, a distinguished theologian, and scriptural expositor; born 1534, died 1582.

Turrianus was also a Spanish Jesuit, but of less talents. He died in 1584.

Montanus was a Spanish orientalist, and editor of the Antwerp polyglott Bible. He also wrote commentaries on the Scriptures; and died in 1598.

Catharinus, of Siena, in Italy, was first a jurist, then a Dominican, bishop of Minorca, and lastly archbishop of Conza, in the kingdom of Naples. He wrote against the Protestants, commented on Paul's Epistles, and died in 1553.

Cardinal Pole was of royal English blood, opposed king Henry VIII. in the matter of his divorce, and left England; but returned, as papal legate, on the accession of queen Mary, was archbishop of Canterbury, and died on the very day his sovereign did, A.D. 1558. He was learned, discreet, and inclined to moderation. His letters were published by Cardinal Quirini, at Brescia, 1744. [Pole's principal work is the treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiastica*, in which Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn are treated with a vulgar scurrility that contrasts most unfortunately with the writer's high breeding and general mildness and courtesy of outward bearing. His own excuse for that which some people would be apt to represent as an unguarded disclosure of his real character, was, that while the work still remained among his private papers, some person purloined the parts most offensive to Henry. This determined him to publish as he wrote it. S.]

Sixtus of Siena was born a Jew, became

a Franciscan, was accused of heresy, joined the Dominicans, and died in 1569. His *Bibliotheca Sancta*, or introduction to Biblical literature, is the chief foundation of his reputation.

Cassander was born on the island of Cassand, near Bruges, and was a modest ingenuous divine, who studied to bring the Catholics and Protestants to a better agreement, and incurred the ill-will of both. He died in 1566; and his works were printed at Paris, in 1616, fol.

Andradius was a Portuguese theologian, who attended the Council of Trent, and attempted to vindicate its proceedings against Chemnitz's attack.

Baius was doctor and professor of theology at Louvain, chancellor of the university, general inquisitor for the Netherlands, and a strong adherent to the doctrines of Augustine; which brought him into difficulty, as we shall see presently, s. 38. He died in 1589.

Pamelius was a modest and honest theologian of the Netherlands, whose father, Adolphus, baron of Pamele, was councillor of state to Charles V. He died on his way to take possession of his new office of bishop of St. Omer, A.D. 1587. He edited the works of Tertullian and of Cyprian. *Tr.*]

¹ De interpretando Tridentino Concilio.

² Jac. Aymon, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, pt. v. cap. iv. p. 282, &c. [The canonists long debated whether the decisions of this congregation formed a part of the ecclesiastical law of the Catholic church. Those who maintained that they were not law, urged, unanswerably, that these decisions were not published; and that rules of

opinion is entertained, both by the greatest part of the French, and by other men of eminent learning; who maintain, that individual doctors and bishops may go directly to both sources, and from them obtain, for themselves and for the people, rules of faith and practice; and that the greater and more difficult questions of controversy are to be submitted to the examination and decision of councils. There is no judge that can terminate this controversy: and hence there is no prospect that the Roman religion will ever obtain a stable and determinate form.

§ 23. The council of Trent, which is said to have been summoned to explain, arrange, and reform, both the doctrine and the discipline of the church, is thought by wise men to have rather produced new enormities, than to have removed those that existed. They complain that many opinions of the scholastic doctors, concerning which in former times men thought and spoke as they pleased, were improperly sanctioned, and placed among the doctrines necessary to be believed, and even guarded by anathemas;¹ they complain of the ambiguity of the decrees and decisions of the council; in consequence of which, controverted points are not so much explained and settled, as perplexed and made more difficult;² they complain that everything was decided in the council, not according to truth and the holy Scriptures, but according to instructions from the Roman pontiff; and that the Roman legates took from the fathers of the council almost all liberty

conduct not made known could never be considered as laws by which men were to be judged. To remove this objection, in 1739 formal reports of the decisions of the congregation began to be published, reaching back to 1718; and the publication of these reports was continued to 1769, when 38 volumes, 4to, had been issued, embracing all the decisions of importance, from 1718 to 1769, inclusive. *Tr.*]

¹ [Here belong, for example, Peter Lombard's doctrine of *seven* sacraments, the necessity of auricular confession, the canonical authority of the apocryphal books, &c., and by the anathema pronounced against the opposite doctrines, the re-introduction of these supposed heresies into the church, and all attempts at a religious union in future are rendered impossible. *Schl.*]

² [The reader need only consult the second article, concerning justification and free will. The council here frequently expresses itself according to the views of Luther; but, presently, it takes back with one hand what it had given with the other. This arose from the disputes of the fathers in the council among themselves. The only way to quiet their contentions was to publish articles of faith so ambiguous, that each party could construe them to agree with its own opinions. Hence it is, that to this day, the council is so differently interpreted in the Roman church. Hence the Spanish

Dominican, Dominic Soto, wrote three books to prove that the council was of his opinion, on the subject of grace and justification; while the Franciscan, Andrew Vega, whose opinions were very different, wrote fifteen to prove directly the contrary. So is it also in regard to the doctrine respecting the penitence necessary to repentance. The Jesuits say, this penitence consists in an internal fear of God, and a dread of divine punishments, which they call *attrition*. Their opposers maintain that this is not sufficient, but that true penitence must arise from love to God, and regret for having sinned against him. This dispute is not decided by the council; for one passage appears to deny what another asserts. And hence John Launoi wrote a book, *De Mente Concilii Tridentini circa Contritionem, Attritionem, et Satisfactionem, in Sacramento Penitentiae*; and he there shows that the words of the council may be fairly construed as everyone pleases. The doctrines concerning the church, and concerning the power of the pope, and its limits, are for good reasons left undecided. So also the contested doctrines concerning the conception and birth of the Virgin Mary, and the real nature of the worship to be paid to images and to the saints. The doctrine respecting tradition is likewise made very equivocal and obscure. *Schl.*]

of correcting existing evils in the church:¹ they complain that the few decisions wisely and well made were left naked and unsupported, and are neglected and disregarded with impunity: in short, they think the council of Trent to have considered more carefully what would serve the papal domination, than what all the Christian church. It is not strange, therefore, that even among sons of the Roman church, there should be found those who choose to expound the decrees of the Tridentine council itself according to the sense of the sacred volume and *tradition*; and that the authority of those decrees should be differently estimated in different provinces of the Roman world.²

§ 24. Recourse must be had to the decrees of the council of Trent, together with the brief confession of faith, which *Pius IV.* caused to be drawn up, by all those who would gain a tolerable knowledge of the Romish religion. A full and perfect knowledge of it is not to be expected. For in the decrees of the council, and in the confession of

¹ [No pope was present in the council, but nothing was permitted to be discussed without the consent of the legates; and no conclusion was made, which had not been previously prepared and shaped in the particular congregations in which the legates always presided. There were, in fact, several intelligent and thinking men among the fathers of the council; but they were outvoted by the multitude of Italians and dependents of the pope. *Schl.*]

² Some provinces of the Roman church, as Germany, Poland, Italy, [and Portugal,] have received the council of Trent and its decrees entire, and without exceptions or conditions. But others, only under certain limitations and conditions, would subject themselves to it. Of these the principal were the countries subject to the king of Spain, which were long in controversy with the Roman pontiff respecting the council of Trent, and at last embraced it, with a reservation of the rights of the Spanish Kings (*Salvis Regum Hispaniæ Juribus*). See Giannone, *Hist. Civile du Royaume de Naples*, iv. 235, &c. Others again could never be induced to adopt it. Among these was France. See Hector. Godfr. Masius, *Diss. de Contemptu Concilii Tridentini in Gallia*; which is one among his collected dissertations: and Peter Francis le Courayer's *Discours sur la Réception du Concile de Trente, particulièrement en France*; which is subjoined to the second volume of his French translation of Paul Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, p. 775-789. Yet that part of the council which embraces the doctrines of religion, was tacitly and by practice admitted as a rule of faith among the French. But the other part, which relates to discipline and ecclesiastical law, has been constantly rejected, both publicly and privately; because it is deemed hostile to the authority and power of kings, no less than to the rights

and liberties of the French church. See Lewis Ellies du Pin, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, xv. 380, &c. Hungary also is said to have never publicly received this council. See Lorand Samuelof, *Vita Andr. Dudithii*, p. 56. As for the literary history of the council of Trent, the writers of its history, editions of its decrees, &c., see Salig's *History of the Council of Trent* (in German), iii. 190-320, and Jo. Chr. Köcher's *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolica*, p. 325, 377, &c.—[The reception of the council of Trent in Germany did not take place at once. Pius IV. sent the bishop of Vintimiglia, Visconti, to the emperor Ferdinand I., to persuade him to receive it. But the emperor consented only on two conditions; that the pope should allow his subjects the use of the cup in the sacred supper, and should not debar the clergy from marriage. The same indulgence was craved by the Bavarians. Pius allowed the first, but denied the second; and Ferdinand acquiesced, and received the council for himself and his hereditary dominions. The whole German nation has never received it; and the popes have never dared to submit its decrees to the consideration of the diet, and to ask its sanction of them.—This probably will have been the last general council of Christendom: for it is not probable that the opposing interests of the great, and good policy, will ever again allow of a general council; since the weakness and intrigues of such bodies have been so clearly exhibited by this. The popes also would show themselves not very favourable to another general council, since the right of summoning such a body to meet, and that of presiding in it, would be contested with them; and so many appeals would be likely to be made from their decisions to the general council, if proposed. *Schl.*]

faith above mentioned, many articles are so nerveless and jointless, that they reel hither and thither; and they were designedly left thus ambiguous, on account of the intestine dissensions of the church. Moreover, not a few things were passed over, in both those works, which yet must not be denied, nor even called in question without giving offence; and some things are there expressed more decently, and better, than daily practice and public usage allow of. Hence reliance must not always be placed on the language used by the council; but rather the import of that language must be qualified and measured by the practices and the institutions that generally prevail. Add to these considerations, that since the time of the council of Trent, some of the pontiffs have explained more clearly and unequivocally, in their particular constitutions or bulls, certain doctrines which were stated less lucidly by the council: in which no one appears to have acted more audaciously and unsuccessfully, than *Clement XI.* in his famous bull, called *Unigenitus*.

§ 25. To the correct interpretation and the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, the Roman pontiff has opposed all the obstacles in his power, from the time that he learned what very great damage and loss have accrued to him from this source. At first the shocking licence was allowed the disputants, of treating the Scriptures with contumely, and of publicly declaring their authority to be inferior to that of the pontiff and tradition. Next, the old Latin version, called the *Vulgate*, though it abounds with innumerable faults, and in very many places is quite barbarous and obscure, was, by a decision of the assembly at Trent, recommended as *authentic*, that is, faithful, exact, and accurate; and thus placed beyond all danger of being impugned. How much this contributed to conceal from the people the true meaning of the Scriptures, must be manifest. In the same assembly, this hard law was imposed, on interpreters, that *in matters of faith and morals*, they must not venture to construe the Scriptures differently from the common opinion of the church, and the consent of the ancient doctors; nay, it was asserted that the *church* alone, or its head and governor, the sovereign pontiff, has the right of determining the true sense of the Scriptures. Finally, the Roman church persevered in strenuously maintaining, sometimes more explicitly, and sometimes more covertly, that the sacred Scriptures were written for none but teachers; and in all places where it could be done,¹ ordered the people to be restrained from reading the Bible.

§ 26. For these reasons, the multitude of expositors, whom the example of Luther and his followers incited in this age, to come forward emulously as interpreters of the sacred books, consists for the most part of men who are dry, timid, and obsequious to the will of the Roman court. Nearly all of them are extremely cautious lest they should drop a single word at variance with the received opinions; always quote the authority and the names of the holy *fathers*, as they

¹ This could not be done in all countries. The French, and some other nations, read the Scriptures in their native language; notwithstanding the warm supporters of the Roman supremacy are bitterly opposed to the practice.

call them; and do not so much inquire what the inspired writers actually taught, as what the church would have them teach. Some of them tax their ingenuity to the utmost, to force out of each passage of Scripture that fourfold sense which ignorance and superstition devised, namely, the *literal*, *allegorical*, *tropological*, and *anagogical*. And for so doing they were not without a reason; for this mode of interpretation is most useful for artfully eliciting from the divine oracles, whatever the church wishes to have regarded as the truth. Yet we are able to name some who had wisdom enough to discard these vain mysteries, and to labour solely to ascertain the literal import of the Scriptures. In this class the most eminent were *Erasmus* of Rotterdam, who is well known to have translated the New Testament into neat and perspicuous Latin, and to have explained the books in a pleasing manner: *Thomas de Vio Cajetanus* the cardinal, who disputed with our *Luther* at Augsburg, and whose brief notes on nearly all the sacred books are better than many longer commentaries: *Francis Titelmann*, *Isidorus Clarius*, *John Maldonat*, *Benedict Justinian* (who was no contemptible interpreter of St. Paul's epistles), *John Gagneus*, *Claudius Espencæus*, and some others.¹ But these laudable examples ceased to have influence sooner than might be expected. For at the close of the century, there was only one in the university of Paris, namely, *Edmund Richer*, the celebrated defender of the Gallican liberties against the pontiffs, who investigated the literal meaning of the Scriptures; all the other doctors despising the literal sense, in the manner of the ancients, searched after recondite and concealed meanings.²

§ 27. Before *Luther's* time nearly all the schools were occupied by those philosophical theologians who are commonly called *Schoolmen*: so that, even at Paris, which was considered as the seat of all sacred knowledge, persons could not be found, competent to encounter our divines in reasoning from the Scriptures and the writings of the ancient doctors. And even in the council of Trent this extreme penury of *dogmatic* and *biblical* theologians, often produced singular difficulties, as the scholastics were accustomed to measure and define all doctrines, according to the precepts of their lean and meagre philosophy. Pressing necessity, therefore, urged the restoration and

¹ Concerning these, the reader may consult Richard Simon's *Histoire Critique du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament*.—[Titelmann was of Hasselt, in the bishopric of Liege, a Capuchin, skilful in Oriental literature, and died provincial of his order in 1553. He left many commentaries on the books of Scripture, particularly one on the Psalms. See Rich. Simon, *Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test.* l. iii. c. 9, p. 422.—Isidorus Clarius (de Chiara) was bishop of Foligno in Umbria, attended the council of Trent, and belonged to the Dominican order. He published notes on the Holy Scriptures, in which he attempts to correct the Vulgate. Rich. Simon, l. c. p. 320, expresses an un-

favourable opinion of him, and pronounces him a plagiarist. — Benedict Justinianus (Giustiniani) was a Jesuit of Genoa, and died at Rome in 1622. He left expositions of the Epistles.—John Gagneus, a Parisian chancellor, published notes on the N. T. and a paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans, of no great value. He died in 1549. *Schl.*]

² Andrew Baillet, *Vie de Edmund Richer*, p. 9, 10, &c. [Richer was an eminent theological writer, well acquainted with the antiquities of the church, and a bold defender of the rights of bishops against the pope. But he suffered persecution, which ruined his health, and he died in 1631. *Tr.*]

cultivation of that mode of treating religious doctrines, which makes more use of the holy Scriptures, and of the decisions of the fathers, than of metaphysical reasoning.¹ Yet the scholastics could not be divested of that ascendancy which they had long maintained in the schools: nay, they seemed to have acquired new strength, after the Jesuits had joined them, and had decided that dialectics were more efficacious for confronting heretics, than the holy Scriptures and the authority of the fathers. The *Mystics*, as they were not very offensive to the enemies of the church, and were not much inclined to engage in controversy, lost nearly all their influence after the reformation took place. Yet they were allowed to philosophize in their own way, provided they did it cautiously, and neither attacked too freely the decrees and the vices of the Roman church, nor inveighed too vehemently against either the futility of external devotion, or the metaphysical and polemic divines.

§ 28. Practical theology, no one among the papists of this century improved successfully; nor could any improve it, without incurring the greatest opposition. For the safety of the church was supposed to forbid such attempts. And in reality, many doctrines and regulations, on which the prosperity of the Roman church depends, would be brought into the greatest danger, if Christian piety in its true nature were uniformly held up to the view of the people. On the other hand, many honest men, and cultivators of piety, even in the Roman church, complain (how truly and justly, in all cases, I will not here enquire,) that the Jesuits as soon as they arose and began to have the ascendancy in courts and in the schools, first sapped the foundations of all correct practical theology, by their subtle distinctions; and then opened the door for all ungodliness and vice, by the lax and dissolute morality which they inculcated. This infection, indeed, spread unobserved in this century; but in the next, it appeared more manifest, and gave rise to the greatest commotions. —The moral writers of the Roman church, moreover, may all be distributed into three classes, the *scholastic*, the *dogmatic*, and the *mystic*. The first expounded the virtues and duties of the Christian

¹ See C. E. de Boulay's *Reformatio Facultatis Theol. Paris.* anno 1587, in his *Hist. Acad. Paris.* vi. 790, &c. In this reformation, the *Baccalaurei Sententiarum* are distinguished from the *Baccalaurei Biblici*; and, what deserves particular notice, the Augustinians (Luther's fraternity) were required (p. 794) annually to present to the theological college a biblical bachelor; from which it may be inferred that the Augustinian family (to which Luther once belonged) gave more attention to the study of sacred literature than the other orders of monks. But as the work of Boulay is in the hands of but few, it may be proper to quote the statute entire: 'Augustinenses quolibet anno Biblicum presentabunt, secundum statutum, fol. 21, quod sequitur:

Quilibet Ordo Mendicantium et Collegium S. Bernardi habeat quolibet anno Biblicum, qui legat ordinarie, aliqui priventer pro illo anno Baccalaureo Sententiarum.' It appears from this statute that all the Mendicant orders were bound, according to a decree of the college of theologians, to present annually a biblical bachelor (such as Luther was). Yet in this reformation of the college, the duty was required of none but the Augustinians. Who, then, will not make the inference, that the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the other Mendicant orders, wholly neglected biblical studies, and therefore had no biblical bachelors; and that the Augustinians alone were able to fulfil this statute of the Sorbonne?

life, by knotty distinctions and phraseology, and obscured them by multifarious discussions: the second elucidated them by the language of the Bible, and the sentiments of the ancient doctors: the third recommended men exclusively to withdraw their thoughts from all outward objects, compose the mind, and raise it to the contemplation of the divine nature.

§ 29. The vast multitude and the capital faults of the papal polemic theologians, no one is ignorant of. Most of them were abundantly fraught with all that is accounted criminal, in those who have no other object than gain and victory. The numerous Jesuits who took the field against the enemies of the Roman church, excelled all the others in subtlety, impudence, and invective. But the chief and *coryphæus* of the whole, was *Robert Bellarmine*, a Jesuit, and a cardinal, or one of the pontifical cabinet. He embraced all the controversies of his church in several large volumes; and united copiousness of argument with much perspicuity of style. As soon, therefore, as he entered the arena, which was towards the close of the century, he drew upon himself alone the strength and force of the greatest men among the Protestants. Yet he displeased many of his own party, principally because he carefully collected all the arguments of his antagonists, and generally stated them correctly and fairly. He would have been accounted a greater and better man had he possessed less fidelity and industry, and had he stated only the feebler arguments of his opponents, and given them mutilated and perverted.¹

§ 30. Although the Roman community proudly boasts of its peaceful and harmonious condition, it is full of broils and contentions of every kind. The Franciscans and Dominicans contend vehemently respecting various subjects. The Scotists and Thomists wage eternal war. The bishops never cease to wrangle with the pontiff and his congregations respecting the origin and limits of their power. The French, the Flemings, and others, openly oppose the Roman pontiff himself, and his supremacy; and he inveighs against them as often as he deems it safe and necessary, with energy and spirit, and at other times cautiously and circumspectly. The Jesuits, as from the beginning they laboured successfully to depress all the other religious fraternities, and also to strip the Benedictines, and others that were opulent, of a part of their wealth; so have they inflamed and armed all these bodies against themselves. Among them the Benedictines and Dominicans are their sharpest enemies: the former fight for their possessions; the latter for their reputation, their privileges, and their opinions. The contentions of the schools respecting various doctrines of faith, are without number, and without end. All these contests, the sovereign pontiff moderates and controls, by dexterous management and authority, so that they may not too much endanger the church: to adjust and terminate them,—which

¹ See Jo. Fred. Mayer's *Ecloga de Fide Baronii et Bellarmini ipsis Pontificiis dubiâ*,
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would perhaps be the duty of a viccgerent of our Saviour,—he has neither power nor inclination.

§ 31. Besides these *minor* controversies, which have slightly disturbed the peace of the church, other and *greater* ones, since the times of the council of Trent, have arisen, chiefly through the influence of the Jesuits; which, being gradually increased and continued down to our times, violently agitate the whole Roman community, and rend it into numerous factions. These, indeed, the Roman pontiffs labour most earnestly, if not to extinguish, yet to quiet in a degree, so that they may not produce excessive mischief: but minds warmed not so much by zeal for the truth, as by the heat of controversy and the love of party, will not coalesce and become united.

§ 32. Whoever considers these controversies with attention and impartiality, will readily perceive that the Jesuits,—that is, the greater part of them, or the fraternity in general, for in so very extensive a society there are individuals with different views, guard and defend that ancient and rude, but to the pontiffs and the church very useful, system of faith and practice, which prevailed and was inculcated, every where in the Roman church, before the times of *Luther*. For those very sagacious men, whose office it is to watch for the safety of the Roman see, perceive clearly, that the authority of the pontiffs, and the emoluments, prerogatives, and honours of the clergy, depend entirely on this ancient system of religion; and that if this were subverted, or changed, the church must unavoidably suffer immense injury, and gradually crumble to the dust. But, in the Roman church, and especially since the reformation by *Luther*, there are not a few wise and good men, who, having learned very clearly, from the sacred Scriptures and the writings of the ancient doctors, the deformities and faults of this ancient and vulgar system of religion, wish to see it corrected and amended, though in a different way; and urge the extirpation of those unhappy tares, from the field of the church, which has armed the heretics against her. And hence those eternal contests and collisions with the Jesuits, on various subjects. All these contests, however, may be pretty well brought under the six following heads.

There is a dispute (I.) respecting the *extent and magnitude of the power of a Roman pontiff*. The Jesuits and their numerous friends contend that a pontiff cannot possibly err; that he is the fountain and source of all the power which Jesus Christ has imparted to the church; that all bishops and religious teachers are indebted to him for whatever authority and jurisdiction they may possess; that he is not bound by any enactments of the church and its councils; that he is, in fine, the supreme lawgiver of the church, whose decrees no one can resist without incurring the greatest guilt. But others hold, that he may err; that he is inferior to councils; that he is bound to obey the church and its laws, as enacted by councils; and that if he offend, he may be deprived of his rank and dignity by a council: from which it follows, that inferior prelates

and teachers receive the authority which they possess, from *Jesus Christ* himself, and not from the Roman bishop.

§ 33. There is a dispute (II.) respecting the *extent and the prerogatives of the church*. For the Jesuits, and those who follow them, extend widely the bounds of the church; and contend that many among those who have no connexion with the Roman worship,¹—nay, among the nations that are wholly ignorant of *Christ* and the Christian religion, may be saved and really are saved: they also hold, that sinners, living within the church, are nevertheless its real members. But their adversaries circumscribe the kingdom of *Christ* within much narrower limits, and not only cut off from all hope of salvation those who live out of the Roman communion, but also separate from the church all the vicious and profligate, though they live in it. The Jesuits moreover, not to mention other differences of less moment, hold that the church never can pronounce an erroneous or unjust decision, either as to fact or principle;² but their opponents believe, that the church is not secured from all danger of erring in deciding on matters of *fact*.

§ 34. There is a very warm dispute (III.) respecting the *nature, operation, and necessity of that Divine grace*, without which, as all agree, no one attains to eternal salvation; respecting what is called *original sin*, the *natural power of man to obey the Divine law*, and the *nature of God's eternal decrees* in regard to the salvation of men. For the Dominicans, the Augustinians, the followers of *Jansen*, and likewise many others, deny that Divine grace can possibly be resisted; deny that there is anything sound and uncorrupted in man; deny that there is any condition annexed to the eternal decrees of God respecting the salvation of men; deny that God wills the salvation of *all* men; and other similar doctrines. On the other hand, the Jesuits, and with them many others, would have it believed that the influence and extent of the sin which lies concealed in man's nature is not so great: that not a little power to do good is left in man; that so much Divine grace is proffered to all men as is necessary for the attainment of eternal salvation, and that by it no violence is offered to the mind; that God has, from eternity, allotted eternal rewards and punishments, not according to his arbitrary pleasure, but according to the conduct and merits of individuals foreseen by him.

¹ [They were accused at Spoleto, in 1653, of having maintained, in their public instructions there, the probability of the salvation of many heretics. See Le Clerc, *Biblioth. Univers. et Historique*, xiv. 320. *Macl.*]

² *Sive de facto, sive de jure*. [As to matters of fact, or matters of doctrine and right. *Tr.*—‘Relating to matters of fact, or points of doctrine.’ *Macl.*—‘This distinction with respect to the objects of infallibility was chiefly owing to the following historical circumstance: Pope Innocent X.

condemned five propositions drawn from the famous book of Jansenius, entitled *Augustinus*. This condemnation occasioned the two following questions: 1st. Whether or no these propositions were erroneous? This was the question *de jure*, i. e. as the translator has rendered it, the question relating to doctrine; 2nd. Whether or no these propositions were really taught by Jansenius? This was the question *de facto*, i. e. relating to matter of fact. The church was supposed by some infallible only in deciding questions of the former kind.’ *Id.* Note.]

§ 35. There is a dispute (IV.) respecting the various *points of morality* and *rules of conduct*; all the particulars of which it would be difficult to enumerate, and besides, the detail would be out of place here: hence we shall only state the commencement of the long controversy.¹ Those who take side with the Jesuits, maintain that it is of no consequence by what motives a person is actuated, provided he in fact performs the deeds which the law of God requires; and that the man who abstains from criminal actions through fear of punishment, is no less acceptable to God, than the man who obeys the Divine law through the influence of love to it. But this doctrine appears horrible to a very great majority, who deny, that any services are acceptable to God, unless they proceed from love to him. The former assert, that no one can properly be said to sin, unless he violates some known law of God, which is present to his mind, and correctly understood by him; and therefore, that no one can be justly charged with criminality and sin, who is either ignorant of the law, or doubtful as to its import, or who does not think of it at the time he transgresses. From these principles, originated the celebrated doctrines of *probabilism*² and of *philosophical sin*,³ which have brought so much ill-fame upon the schools of the Jesuits. The adversaries of the Jesuits detest all these principles strongly; and contend, that neither ignorance, nor doubts, nor forgetfulness, will afford any protection to the sinner at the bar of God. This controversy, respecting the fundamental principles of morals, has given rise to numberless disputes concerning the duties that we owe to God, to our fellow-men, and to ourselves; and has produced two sects of moralists, which have greatly disturbed and distracted the whole Roman church.

§ 36. There is a dispute (V.) respecting the *administration of the Sacraments*, especially those of *penance* and the *Lord's Supper*. The Jesuits, with whom very many agree, maintain that the sacra-

¹ No one has treated of all the points objected against in the Jesuits' moral doctrines with more clearness, neatness, and dexterity, and no one has pleaded the cause of the Jesuits with more ingenuity, than the eloquent and well-known Jesuit, Gabriel Daniel, in his *Entretiens de Oléandre et d'Eudoxe*, which is published in his collected Essays, i. 361, &c., and was composed in answer to that great man, and powerful adversary of the moral doctrines of the Jesuits, Blaise Pascal, whose *Lettres Provinciales* inflicted so great a wound on the Jesuits. Daniel treats very acutely on *probabilism*, p. 351; on the *method of directing the intention*, p. 556; on *equivocations and mental reservations*, allowed of by the Jesuits, p. 562; on *sins of ignorance and forgetfulness*, p. 719, &c., and some other subjects. If the cause of the Jesuits can be defended and rendered plausible, it certainly is so by this writer.

² [Moral *probabilism* is properly the doctrine of the Jesuits, that no action is sinful when there is the slightest *probability* that it may be lawful; and even when it has the approbation of any single respectable teacher; because it may be supposed that he saw reasons for his opinions, though we know not what they were, and can see so many reasons for a contrary opinion. *Schl.*]

³ [*Philosophical sins*, in opposition to theological, according to the Jesuits, are those in which a man, at the time of committing them, has not God and his law before his mind; and therefore, without thinking of God, transgresses natural or revealed law. These sins the Jesuits held to be *venial*; that is, such as do not draw after them a loss of divine grace, and do not deserve eternal, but only temporal punishment. *Schl.*]

ments produce their salutary effects *ex opere operato*,¹ as the schools express it; and hence, that no great preparation is necessary to the profitable reception of them; and that God does not require purity of heart, and a soul filled with heavenly love, in such as would derive benefit from them: and they infer, of course, that the priests should at once absolve such as confess their sins to them, and then admit them immediately to the use of the sacraments. Far different are the views of all those who had at heart the advancement of true piety. They think that the priests should long and carefully try those that applied for absolution and admission to the sacraments before they comply with their wishes, because these divine institutions profit none but persons that are purified and filled with that divine love which casteth out fear. And thus originated that noted controversy, in the Roman church, respecting *frequent communion*; which, in the last century, *Antony Arnauld*,² author of the celebrated book on frequent communion,³ and the Jansenists, waged with the Jesuits; and which, in our times, has been renewed, by the French Jesuit *Pichon*, to the great dissatisfaction of the French bishops.⁴ For the Jesuits are very careful to urge, upon all who entrust the guidance of their minds to them, the frequent use of the Lord's Supper, as a sure and safe method of appeasing God, and obtaining from him remission of their sins. But for this conduct they are strongly censured, not only by the Jansenists, but also by many other grave and pious men; who inculcate that the sacred supper profits no one, unless his soul is united to God by faith, repentance and love; and thus they condemn the famous *Opus operatum*.⁵

¹ [By virtue of the mere external act. *Tr.*—By their intrinsic virtue, and immediate operation. *Macl.*—In a note this writer adds: 'This is the only expression that occurred to the translator, as proper to render the true sense of that phrase of the scholastic divines, who say that the sacraments produce their effect *opere operato*. The Jesuits and Dominicans maintain that the sacraments have in themselves an instrumental and efficient power, by virtue of which they work in the soul, independently of its previous preparation or propensities, a disposition to receive the divine grace; and this is what is commonly called the *opus operatum* of the sacraments. Thus, according to their doctrine, neither knowledge, wisdom, humility, faith, nor devotion, is necessary to the efficacy of the sacraments; whose victorious energy, nothing but a mortal sin can resist.' Dr. Maclaine then refers to two notes appended by Le Courayer to his French translation of Sarpi's *Council of Trent*. These are to the following purport; that, if the *opus operatum* mean merely to assert for sacramental signs a virtue which they would not have had without their divine institution, it is a reasonable view, and one always entertained in the church, though not ex-

pressed in those terms; but if the *opus operatum* be opposed to the necessity of suitable dispositions, it is a worse error than that of the Zuinglians, because productive of a false confidence in the sacraments, and indifference to a due preparation for them; that it is one thing to make the sacraments produce grace by virtue of certain dispositions, and another thing to make them produce no grace without certain dispositions. (Edit. Lond. 1736, i. 380.) The council of Trent has not, however, entered into these distinctions, but has asserted the *opus operatum* in that general way, which leaves an opening for maintaining any one of the four views mentioned above. Of course, that is likely to be most in favour both with priest and people which claims a virtue for the former's acts irrespectively of the latter's dispositions. Full information upon this question of the *opus operatum* will be found in Chemnitz's *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, ii. 22. S.]

² Arnauldus.

³ [De la fréquente Communion. *Tr.*]

⁴ See the *Journal Universel*, xiii. 148; xv. 363; xvi. 124, &c.

⁵ [Of efficacy of the mere external act of communion. *Tr.*]

§ 37. There is a dispute (VI.) respecting the right *method of educating Christians*. While those who are anxious to promote religion, wished to have people imbued with a correct knowledge of religion from their very childhood; those who look rather to the interests of the *church*, recommend a holy ignorance, and think, that a person knows enough, who knows that he has to obey the commands of the church. The former think, that nothing is more profitable than the reading of the inspired books, and therefore wish to see them translated into the popular or vulgar language: the latter prohibit the reading of the Bible, and esteem it pernicious, if published in any other than a learned language, unknown by the people. The former compose various books, to nourish a spirit of devotion, and to dispel errors from the minds of men; they express and explain the public prayers and the solemn formulas of religion, in a language understood by the community; and exhort all to learn from these books, how to be wise, and to worship God rationally and properly: but the latter are displeased with all this; for they fear that people will never make acquisitions of light and knowledge, without a proportionate loss of obedience and submission.¹

§ 38. Of the preceding controversies, those which we have placed under the *third* head, namely, concerning divine grace, the natural power of men to do good, original sin, and predestination, actually broke out in this century: the others were agitated more in private, and did not break forth in public, till the next century. Nor will this surprise us, if we consider, that the controversies moved by *Luther*, respecting grace and free will, were not explicitly decided in the Roman church, but were in a manner hushed and concealed. *Luther's* doctrines, indeed, were condemned; but no definite and fixed form of doctrine, in regard to these subjects, was set up in opposition to them. *Augustine's* sentiments were also approved; but what the difference was between his sentiments and those of *Luther*, was never stated and explained. The commencement of this sad controversy may be traced to *Michael Baius*, a doctor in the university of Louvain,

¹ What we have said on the greater controversies in the Roman Church may be illustrated and confirmed from numberless books, published in the last and the present centuries, especially in France and the Netherlands, by the Jansenists, the Dominicans, the Jesuits, and others. Nearly all those that attack the doctrines of the Jesuits and the other partisans of the Roman pontiff, are enumerated by the celebrated French Jesuit, Dominic Colonia; for it is ascertained that he composed the book, published, without naming the place where, in the year 1735, 8vo, under the title, *Bibliothèque Janséniste, ou Catalogue Alphabétique des principaux Livres Jansénistes ou suspects de Jansénisme, avec des Notes Critiques*. His excessive zeal for the Roman pontiffs, and for the opinions of the

Jesuits, impaired his discretion; yet his book is very serviceable, for acquainting us with those controversies which so greatly disturb and afflict the Roman church. The book was condemned by the Roman pontiff, Benedict XIV.; yet it was republished, not long ago, in a new form, one-fifth larger, with this title: *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes, ou qui favorisent le Jansénisme*; in four volumes, Antwerp, 1752, 8vo. Undoubtedly, the book is very useful for acquainting us with the intestine divisions of the Roman church, the religious tenets of the Jesuits, and the numerous books published on the controversies I have mentioned; at the same time, it is full of gall and unjust aspersions upon many learned and excellent men.

no less eminent for his piety than for his learning.¹ As he, like the Augustinians, could not endure that contentious and thorny method of teaching which had long prevailed in the schools; and as he, in following *Augustine*, who was his favourite author, openly condemned the common sentiments in the Roman church respecting man's natural ability to do good, and the merit of good works; he fell under great odium with some of his colleagues, and with the Franciscans. Whether the Jesuits were among his first accusers or not, is uncertain; but it is certain, that they were then violently opposed to those doctrines of *Augustine*, which *Baius* had made his own. Being accused at Rome, *Pius V.*, in the year 1567, in a special letter, condemned seventy-six propositions extracted from his books; but in a very insidious manner, and without mentioning the name of *Baius*, for the recollection of the evils which resulted from a rash condemnation of *Luther* was a dissuasive from all violent proceedings. By the instigation of *Francis Tolet*, a Jesuit, *Gregory XIII.*, in the year 1580, renewed the sentence of *Pius V.*; and *Baius* subscribed to that sentence, induced either by the fear of a greater evil, or by the ambiguity of the pontifical rescript, as well as of the propositions condemned in it.² But others, who embraced the sentiments of *Augustine*, would not do so. For to the present time, numerous members of the Roman community, in particular the Jansenists, strenuously maintain, that *Baius* was unjustly treated; and that the decrees of both *Pius* and *Gregory* are destitute of all authority, and were never received by the church.³

§ 39. It is at least certain, that the doctrines of *Augustine* in regard to grace were as much esteemed and defended, in the Low-countries, and especially in the universities of Louvain and Douay, after this controversy with *Baius*, as before. This appeared at once, when the two Jesuits, *Leonard Less* and *Hamel*, at Louvain, were found teaching differently from *Augustine*, on the subject of predestination. For the theologians both of Louvain and of Douay, forthwith, expressed a public disapproval of their sentiments; the former in

¹ [Michael de Bay or Baius, D.D., was born at Melin, in the territory of Aeth, in 1513, and educated in the university of Louvain, where he was elected, in 1541, principal of a college, and in 1544, lecturer in philosophy. In 1550 he took his doctor's degree, and was appointed professor of the Scriptures. In 1563 he was sent by the king of Spain to the council of Trent, where he acted a conspicuous part. Soon after, charges of heresy were brought against him, which were renewed from time to time, notwithstanding his patient submission and silence, and must have given him much inquietude. Yet he retained his office through life, and was even promoted, for he became dean of St. Peter's, at Louvain, and chancellor of the university. He died in 1589, aged 76. Tolet, a Jesuit, and his enemy, said of him: *Michael Baio*

nil doctius, nil humilius. His works, chiefly relating to the doctrines of grace, free will, &c., were reprinted at Cologne, 1694, 4to. See Bayle's *Dictionnaire Hist. Crit. art. Baius*. Tr.]

² Here should be consulted, especially, the *Baiana, seu Scripta, quæ Controversias spectant occasione Sententiarum Baii exortas*; subjoined to the works of Baius, as a second part of them, in the edition of Cologne, 1696, 4to. Add also Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, i. 457. Lewis Ell. du Pin, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, xvi. 144, &c. *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, iii. 161, &c.

³ To demonstrate this, is the professed object of the anonymous author of the *Dissertation sur les Bulles contre Baius, où l'on montre qu'elles ne sont pas reçues par l'Eglise*, Utrecht, 1737, 2 vols. 8vo.

1587, and the latter in 1588. And as the Belgian bishops were about to follow their example, and consulted about calling councils on the subject, the pontiff *Sixtus V.* interposed, asserting that the cognisance of religious controversies belonged exclusively to the vicar of *Jesus Christ*, residing at Rome. Yet this crafty and sagacious pontiff, prudently declined exercising the prerogative which he claimed, lest he should provoke a worse controversy. Hence his legate, in the year 1588, terminated the disputes at Louvain, by allowing each party to retain its own opinions, but absolutely prohibiting all discussion respecting them, either in public or in private. And the Roman church would have been more tranquil at the present day, if the succeeding pontiffs had imitated this prudence of *Sixtus*, and had not assumed the office of judges in this dubious contest.¹

§ 40. The Roman community had scarcely tasted of this repose, when new commotions of the same kind broke out, far more terrible than the preceding. *Lewis Molina*,² a Spanish Jesuit, who taught in the Portuguese university of Evora, in a book which he published in 1588, on the union of grace and free will,³ endeavoured to clear up, in a new manner, the difficulties in the doctrines concerning grace, predestination, and free will, and in some sort to reconcile the discrepant sentiments of *Augustine*, *Thomas Aquinas*, the Semi-Pelagians, and others.⁴ The attempt of this subtle author gave so much offence

¹ See the *Apologie Historique des deux Censures de Louvain et de Douay, par Mr. Gery*, 1688, 8vo. That the celebrated Pasquier Quesnel was the author of this book, has been shown by the author of the *Catéchisme Historique et Dogmatique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 104. Jean le Clerc, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Controverses dans l'Eglise Romaine, sur la Prédestination et sur la Grace; dans la Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*, xiv. 211, &c.

² From him the name of Molinists, quite to our times, has been given to all such as seem inclined to sentiments opposed to those of *Augustine*, respecting grace and free will in man. Many, however, unjustly bear this name, as they differ much from the opinions of Molina.

³ The true title of this celebrated book is, *Liberi Arbitrii Concordia cum Gratia Donis, Divina Præscientia, Providentia, Prædestinatione, et Reprobatione; auctore Lud. Molina*. It was first printed at Lisbon, 1588, fol.; then, with enlargement, Antwerp, 1595, 4to; and at Lyons, Venice, and elsewhere. The third edition, further enlarged, was printed at Antwerp, 1609, 4to.

⁴ [The first congregation at Rome, for examining the sentiments in Molina's book, in their third session, Jan. 16, 1598, thus states the fundamental principles of his work:—'(I.) A reason or ground of God's predestination is to be found in man's right

use of his free will. (II.) That the *grace* which God bestows to enable men to persevere in religion may become the *gift* of perseverance, it is necessary that they be foreseen as consenting and co-operating with the divine assistance offered them, which is a thing within their power. (III.) There is a mediate prescience, which is neither the free nor the natural knowledge of God, and by which he knows future contingent events before he forms his decree.' (Molina divided God's knowledge into *natural*, *free*, and *mediate*, according to the objects of it. What he himself effects or brings to pass, by his own immediate power, or by means of second causes, he knows *naturally*, or has *natural knowledge* of; what depends on *his own free will*, or what he himself shall *freely* choose or purpose, he has a *free knowledge* of; but what depends on the voluntary actions of his creatures, that is, future contingencies, he does not know in either of the above ways, but only *mediately*, by knowing all the circumstances in which these free agents will be placed, what motives will be present to their minds, and thus foreseeing and knowing how they will act. This is God's *scientia media*, on which he founds his decrees of election and reprobation.)—'(IV.) Predestination may be considered as either general (relating to whole classes of persons) or particular (relating to individual persons). In general predestination, there is no reason or ground

to the Dominicans, who followed implicitly the teachings of *St. Thomas*, that they roused up all Spain, in which their influence was exceedingly great, and charged the Jesuits with a design to recall and give currency to the Pelagian errors. As a general tempest was evidently gathering, the pontiff, *Clement VIII.*, in the year 1594, enjoined silence on both the contending parties, and promised that, after examining carefully the whole subject, he would judge and decide the controversy.

§ 41. The pontiff, doubtless, expected that the evil would yield to these milder remedies; and that time would calm the feelings of the excited parties. But his hopes were entirely disappointed. The exasperated Dominicans, who had long indulged in great hatred of the Jesuits, did not cease to harass the king of Spain, *Philip II.*, and the pontiff, *Clement VIII.*, until the latter, wearied with their importunate clamours, assembled a sort of council at Rome, to take cognisance of the dispute. Hence, in the beginning of the year 1598, commenced those celebrated consultations, on the contests between the Dominicans and the Jesuits, which from the principal topic of controversy, were called *Congregations on the Aids*, that is, *of grace*.¹ The president of them was *Lewis Madrucci*,² a cardinal of the Roman court, and bishop of Trent; with whom there were ten assessors, or judges, namely, three bishops and seven theologians of different fraternities. These occupied the remainder of this century, in hearing the arguments of the parties.³ The Dominicans most strenuously defended the opinion of their *Thomas*, as being

of it, beyond the mere good pleasure of God; or none, on the part of the persons predestinated; but in particular predestination (or that of individuals), there is a cause or ground of it, in the foreseen good use of free will.' From this statement of the fundamental errors of Molina, it would appear that he embraced substantially the leading principles of the Semi-Pelagians and of the remonstrants of Dort. His *scientia media* was a new name for a thing well known before. See Fleury's *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, continué, livr. clxxxiii. § iv. vol. iii. p. 273, ed. Augsb. and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* iv. 296, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ Congregationes de Auxiliis, i. e. gratiæ.

² Madrusius.

³ The history of these congregations has been repeatedly written, both by Jesuits and by Dominicans and Jansenists. Among the Dominicans, Jas. Hyacinth Serry, under the fictitious name of Augustinus le Blanc, published his *Historia Congregationum de Auxiliis Gratiae Divinæ*; Louvain, 1700, fol. In reply to this, Livinus de Meyer, a Jesuit, assuming the name of Theodorus Eleutherius, published his *Historia Controversiarum de Divinæ Gratiae Auxiliis*; Antwerp, 1705, fol. The Dominicans also published the work of Thomas de Lemos (a subtle theo-

logian of their order, who defended in these congregations the reputation of St. Thomas [Aquinas], against the Jesuits), entitled, *Acta Congregationum et Disputationum quæ coram Clemente VIII. et Paulo V. de Auxiliis Divinæ Gratiae sunt celebratæ*; Louvain, 1702, fol. From these historians, a man who possesses the power of divination may perhaps learn the facts that occurred. For here are arrayed records against records, testimonies against testimonies, narrations against narrations. It is therefore still uncertain whether the Roman court favoured most the Jesuits or the Dominicans: nor is it more clear which of them most wisely and successfully managed their cause. There is also a French history of these congregations, written with ability: *Histoire des Congrégations de Auxiliis, par un Docteur de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris*; Louvain, 1702, 8vo. But this, being written by a Jansenist, a bitter enemy of the Jesuits, states everything just as the Dominicans would wish to have it stated. [Two of the continuators of Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History*, namely, John Claude Faber (a father of the Oratory), and R. P. Alexander (a barefooted Carmelite), have also given a tolerably full and apparently a candid account of the proceedings in these congregations. *Tr.*]

the only true opinion. The Jesuits, although they refused to adopt the sentiments of *Molina*, as their own, yet felt that the reputation and the honour of their order required that *Molina* should be pronounced free from any gross error, and uncontaminated with the errors of *Pelagius*. For it is common with all the monastic orders, to regard any disgrace which threatens or befalls any one of their members, as bringing a stigma upon the whole body; and they will, therefore, exert themselves to the utmost to screen him from it.

§ 42. Of the multitude of vain and useless ceremonies, of which the Romish public worship was full, the wisdom of the pontiffs would suffer no diminution; although the best men wished to see the primitive simplicity of the church restored. On the other regulations and customs of the people and the priests, some of which were superstitious, and others absurd, the bishops assembled at Trent, it appears, wished to impose some restrictions; but the state of things, or rather, I might say, either the policy or the negligence of the Roman court and clergy, opposed their designs. Hence, in those regions, where nothing is to be feared from the heretics, as in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, such a mass of corrupt superstitions and customs, and of silly regulations, obscures the few and feeble rays of Christian truth yet remaining, that those who pass into them from countries more improved, feel as if they had found their way into midnight darkness.¹ Nor are the other lands, which either proximity to the heretics, or their own good sense, renders rather more enlightened, free from a considerable share of corruptions and follies. If to these things we add the pious, or rather the impious, frauds by which the people in many places are deluded with impunity; the extreme ignorance of the great majority; the devout farces that are acted; and the insipidity and puerilities of the discourses that are publicly delivered; we must be sensible that it is not ingenuous dealing to speak of the Roman religion and ecclesiastical discipline as altogether corrected and reformed, since the time of the council of Trent.

¹ The French who travel in Italy, often laugh heartily at the monstrous superstition of the Italians. And on the other hand, the Italians look upon the French that come among them as destitute of all religion. This may be clearly perceived, among others, from John Bapt. Labat, a French

Dominican's Travels in Spain and Italy, who neglects no opportunity of satirising the religion of the Spaniards and Italians; nor does he conceal the fact, that he and his countrymen were considered by them as very irreligious.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE GREEK AND ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

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§ 1. WHAT is commonly called the *Oriental church* is dispersed over Europe, Asia, and Africa, and may be distributed into three parts: (I.) That which is in communion with the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, and refuses the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff: (II.) That which differs in opinions and in customs, both from the Latin and the Greek patriarchs; and has its own peculiar patriarchs: (III.) That which is subject to the authority of the Roman pontiff.

§ 2. The church which is in communion with the Constantinopolitan patriarch is properly called the *Greek church*; though it calls itself the *Oriental church*. It is, moreover, divided into two parts: one of which bows to the sovereign power and jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople; while the other, though it is in communion with him, yet will not admit his legates, nor obey his decrees and commands, but is free and independent, and has its own rulers, who are subject to no foreign jurisdiction.

§ 3. The church, of which the Constantinopolitan patriarch is the head, is divided, as it was anciently, into four great provinces; those of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*; over each of which is a prelate of the first rank, called a *patriarch*, whom all the inferior bishops, as well as the monks, honour as a father. Yet the chief of all the patriarchs, and the supreme pontiff of the whole church, is the patriarch of Constantinople by whom the other patriarchs, at the present day, though still elected, are designated, or nominated for election, and approved; nor dare they project or attempt any thing of great importance, without his sanction and permission. Those good men, however, though bearing the splendid title of *patriarchs*, are not able to attempt any thing great, as things are now situated, on account of the feeble state, and the slender revenues of the churches which they govern.

§ 4. The jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople extends widely over European and Asiatic Greece, the Grecian islands, Wallachia, Moldavia, and many other provinces in Asia and Europe now subject to the Turks. The patriarch of Alexandria, at present, generally resides at Cairo, or Misra; and governs the Christian church in Egypt, Nubia, Libya, and a part of Arabia.¹ The patriarch of Antioch resides, for the most part, at Damascus, and governs Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilicia, and other provinces.² The patriarch of Jerusalem styles himself patriarch of Palestine, Syria, Arabia, the region beyond Jordan, Cana in Galilee, and Mount Sion.³ But these three patriarchs have very slender and poor dominions. For the Monophysites have long occupied the sees of Alexandria and Antioch; and have left very few members of the Greek church, in the countries where they have dominion. And Jerusalem is the resort of Christians of every sect and doctrine, who have their respective prelates and priests; so that the dominion of the Greek patriarch there is confined within very moderate limits.

§ 5. The right of electing the patriarch of Constantinople belongs at this day to the twelve bishops nearest to that city; the right of approving the election, and of imparting to the prelate authority to use his powers, belongs to the Turkish emperor.⁴ But the corrupted

¹ Of the patriarchate and the patriarchs of Alexandria, the Jesuit Jo. Bapt. Sollerius treats, directly, in his *Commentarius de Patriarchis Alexandrinis*; prefixed to the fifth vol. of the *Acta Sanctor. Mensis Junii*; and Mich. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 329, &c. Respecting their office, authority, and election, see Euseb. Renaudot, *Diss. de Patriarcha Alexandrino*; in the first vol. of his *Liturgiæ Orientales*, p. 365. The Greek patriarch [of Alexandria], at the present day, has no bishops subject to him; but only *chorepiscopi*. All the bishops are subject to the Monophysite patriarch, who is the real patriarch of Alexandria. [*History of the Patriarchate of Alexandria*, by J. M. Neale. London, 1847. *Ed.*]

² On the patriarchs of Antioch, the Jesuits have inserted a treatise, in the fourth vol. of the *Acta Sanctor. Mensis Julii*: which, however, is considerably defective. On the territory of this patriarch, and other things pertaining to him, see Mich. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, ii. p. 670, &c., and Blasius Tertius, *Siria Sacra o Descrittione Historico-Geografica delle due Chiese Patriarcali, Antiochia et Gerusalemme*; Rome, 1695, fol. [*History of the Holy Eastern Church*, by J. M. Neale. London, 1850. *Ed.*] There are three prelates in Syria, who claim the title and the rank of patriarchs of Antioch. The first is of the Greeks, or Melchites (for thus those Syrian Christians are called, who follow the institutions and the religion of the Greeks): the second is of the

Syrian Monophysites: the third is of the Maronites. For this last also claims to be the true and legitimate patriarch of Antioch; and the Roman pontiff addresses him with this title. And yet the Roman pontiff creates a sort of patriarch of Antioch at Rome; so that the see of Antioch has, at this day, four prelates, one Greek, two Syrian, and one Latin or Roman *in partibus*, as the term at Rome is. [This phrase is elliptical; entire, it is, *in partibus infidelium*. Patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops *in partibus infidelium*, are such as are created for places, that are at present under the power of unbelievers. *Schl.*]

³ See Blasius Tertius, *Siria Sacra*, lib. ii. p. 165. There is also a tract of Daniel Papebroch, *de Patriarchis Hierosolymitanis*, in the third vol. of the *Acta Sanctor. Mensis Maii*. Add Mich. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, iii. 102, &c. [It is well known, from other accounts, that these patriarchs contend with each other, about the limits of their respective dominions. Hence it should not be regarded as a historical contradiction, that the patriarch of Jerusalem should include Syria in his title, while that province stands under the authority of the patriarch of Antioch. *Schl.* This is a sufficient answer to Dr. Maclaine's criticism on this passage of Mosheim. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Jac. Elsner's *Beschreibung der Griechischen Christen in der Türckey*, c. iii. § vi. p. 54, &c. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, i. 145, &c.

morals of the Greeks, and the avarice of the ministers, who, under the emperor, manage public affairs, if they do not entirely subvert, greatly impair the effects of these regulations. For the lust of pre-eminence leads many of the bishops to endeavour to obtain, by bribery, that patriarchal dignity, which they could never attain by the suffrages of their brethren. Thus, not unfrequently, men regularly elevated to the office, are deprived of it; and by the emperor's viziers, that candidate is generally esteemed most worthy of the office, who exceeds his competitors in the magnitude of his presents. Yet things of late are said to be changing for the better; and the patriarchs are represented as living more securely than formerly; since the manners of the Turks have gradually assumed a milder tone. Moreover, this patriarch possesses great authority among a people, oppressed, and from extreme ignorance, sunk in superstition. For he not only summons councils, and by them regulates and decides ecclesiastical affairs and controversies, but likewise, by permission of the emperor, he holds courts and tries civil causes. His power is maintained partly by the authority of the emperor, and partly by his prerogative of excluding the contumacious from the communion; which is a punishment immensely dreaded by the Greeks. He is supported, principally, by contributions imposed on the churches subject to his jurisdiction; which are sometimes greater, and sometimes less, according to the exigencies and posture of affairs.¹

§ 6. The Greeks acknowledge, as the basis of their religion, besides holy Scripture, the first seven councils, which are called *œcumenical* or general. Yet it is a received principle, established by long usage, that no private person may presume to expound and interpret those sources of knowledge for himself; but they all regard as divine and unalterable, whatever the patriarch and his assistants sanction. The substance of the religion professed by the modern Greeks is contained in *The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Oriental Church*; which was first composed by *Peter Mogilaus*, bishop of Kiow, in a council held at Kiow; and afterwards translated from Russian into Greek, and then publicly approved and adopted by *Parthenius*, the patriarch of Constantinople, and by all the patriarchs, in the year 1643: and lastly, *Panagiota*, an opulent man, and interpreter to the emperor of Turkey, caused it to be printed, at his own expense, in Greek and Latin, with a long recommendation by *Nectarius*, patriarch of Jerusalem, and gratui-

¹ William Cuper, a Jesuit, not long since, composed *Historia Patriarcharum Constantinopolitanorum*, which is printed in the *Acta Sanctor. Mensis Augusti*, i. 1—257. Mich. Lequien also, in the whole first volume of his *Oriens Christianus*, treats very fully of the patriarchate and the patriarchs of Constantinople: and in vol. iii. p. 786, &c., he gives account of the Latin patriarchs of Constantinople. [In the *Turco-Græcia* of

Martin Crusius, ii. 105, &c., there is a history of the Constantinopolitan patriarchs, from 1454 to 1578, in modern Greek, by Manuel Malaxi; with a translation and notes by Crusius. *Schl.*—'See also a brief account of the power and revenues of the present patriarch, and of the names of the several sees under his spiritual jurisdiction, in Smith, *de Ecclesiæ Græcæ Hodierno Statu*, p. 48—59.' *Macl.*]

tously distributed among the Greeks.¹ From this book it is manifest, that the Greeks differ as much from the adherents to the Roman pontiff, whose tenets they everywhere reject and condemn, as from other Christians; so that those are not slightly mistaken, who think them hindered by some little things only from joining either the one or the other.²

§ 7. This the Papists have often found; and our party likewise found it so, in this century, when they invited the Greeks to a religious union with them. First, *Philip Melancthon* sent a copy of the Augsburg confession, in a Greek translation by *Paul Dolscius*, accompanied with a letter, to the Constantinopolitan patriarch; hoping that the naked and simple truth would find access to his heart. But he did not even obtain an answer.³ After this, the divines of Tübingen, between the years 1576 and 1581, laboured to make a favourable impression upon the Greek patriarch, *Jeremiah II.*, both by letters, and by sending him a second copy of the Augsburg confession, together with *Jac. Heerbrand's* Compendium of theology, translated from Latin into Greek by *Martin Crusius*. This attempt drew from *Jeremiah* some letters, written indeed in a kind and friendly style, yet of such a tenor as clearly indicated, that to induce the Greeks to abandon the opinions and practices of their ancestors, would be a very difficult thing, and could not be effected by human efforts in the present state of that people.⁴

¹ Lawrence Normann caused this confession, accompanied with a Latin translation, to be printed at Leipsic, 1695, 8vo. In the preface, Nectarius is represented as its author. But this is refuted by Nectarius himself, in his epistle subjoined to the preface. Equally false is the statement, both on the title-page, and in the preface, that the book was now printed for the first time. For it had been previously printed in Holland, in 1662, at the expense of Panagiota. A German translation of it was published by Jo. Leonh. Frisch, Franef. and Lips., 1727, 4to. Jo. Christ. Köcher treats directly and learnedly of this Confession, in his *Bibliotheca Theologicæ Symbol.* p. 46, &c., and also speaks, with his usual accuracy, of the other Confessions of the Greeks, *ibid.* p. 53. A new edition of the *Orthodox Confession*, with its history prefixed, was published by Chas. Gottl. Hoffmann, primary professor of theology at Wittemberg, Breslau, 1751. 8vo. Of Panagiota, to whom this confession is indebted for much of its credit, and who was a man of eminence, and a great benefactor to the Greeks, Cantimir treats largely, in his *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, iii. 149, &c.

² A full and accurate catalogue of the writers, from whom may be derived a knowledge both of the state and the doctrines of the Greek church, is given by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. x. p. 441,

&c. [To this list may now be added Abp. Platon's *Orthodox Doctrine*, or Summary of Christian Divinity; in *The present State of the Greek Church*, by Rob. Pinkerton, New York, 1815, 12mo, p. 29, &c. *Tr.*]

³ See Leo. Allatius, *de Perpetua Consensione Ecclesiæ Orient. et Occident.* lib. iii. c. viii. § ii. p. 1005, &c. [The patriarch of Constantinople, Joseph, sent a deacon of his church, named Demetrius, to Wittemberg, to procure correct information respecting the reformation of which he had heard reports. Demetrius, after a half year's residence at Wittemberg, returned to Constantinople in 1559; and by him Melancthon sent the confession and letter to the patriarch. The letter may be seen in Hottinger's *Hist. Eccles.* [Pars v. seu] *Sæcul.* xvi. sec. ii. p. 51, and in Martin Crusius, *Turco-Græcia*, p. 557. See also Salig's *Gesch. der Augsb. Confess.* i. 721, 723. *Schl.*]

⁴ All the acts and papers relating to this celebrated correspondence were published in one vol. fol., Wittemb. 1584. See Christ. Matth. Pfaff's *Tract. de Actis et Scriptis Publicis Ecclesiæ Wittemberg.* p. 50, &c.; Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, x. 517, &c., and others; Emm. a Schelstrate, *Acta Eccles. Orientalis contra Lutheri Hæresin*; Rome, 1739, fol. Jo. Lamy, also, has much to say on this subject, while treating of the Greek patriarch, Jeremiah II., in his *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, viii. 176, &c. [This corres-

§ 8. Ever since the greatest part of the Greeks fell under the hard bondage of the Turks, nearly all learning, human and divine, has become extinct among them. They are destitute, in fact, of schools, and of all the means by which men's minds are polished, and trained in knowledge and piety. That moderate degree of information which some of their teachers possess, is either brought home with them from Sicily and Italy, to which they frequently resort, and where some love of learning still exists, or it is drawn from the writings of the ancients, and from the *Summa* of *St. Thomas*,¹ which they have in a Greek translation.² Hence, not only the people, but also those called their watchmen, for the most part, lead licentious and irreligious lives; and, what is much to be deplored, they increase their wretchedness by their own contentions and quarrels. Nearly the whole of their religion consists in ceremonies, which are, in general, useless and irrational. Yet in guarding and maintaining these, they are far more zealous than in defending the doctrines which they profess. Their condition, however, would be still more wretched, if individuals of their nation, who are employed in the emperor's court, either as interpreters, or

pompe with the patriarch was much facilitated by Stephen Gerlach, chaplain to the imperial German ambassador at Constantinople, David Ungnad. Its commencement, however, was not in 1576, but two years earlier. Indeed, some private letters were sent, as early as 1573: for Crusius wrote to Jeremiah, by Gerlach, who also carried a letter of introduction to the patriarch, dated April, 1573. The public, or official correspondence, was commenced by Jac. Andreas, chancellor of the university of Tübingen, in a letter to the patriarch, dated Sept. 15th, 1574.—The patriarch expressly declared his agreement with many articles in the Augsburg confession; but he also declared his dissent from many others: for example, in regard to the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, justification, the worship of images, the number of the sacraments, &c., and he broke off the correspondence, when the divines of Tübingen began to adduce scriptural proofs, respecting the disputed articles. See Schlegel's note here; and Schroeckh's *Kirchengeschichte seit der Reform.* v. 386, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ [Aquinas. *Tr.*]

² Such is the opinion of all European Christians, both Roman Catholics and others, respecting the knowledge and learning of the modern Greeks: and they support their opinion, by the evidence of numerous facts and testimonies. But a number of the Greeks, most strenuously repel the charge of ignorance and barbarism brought against their nation; and maintain, that all branches of literature and learning are equally flourishing in modern, as they were

in ancient Greece. The most distinguished of these vindicators of the modern Greeks is Demetrius Cantimir, in his *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, ii. 38, &c. To prove that it is a gross mistake to represent modern Greece as the seat of barbarism, he gives a catalogue of learned Greeks in the preceding century; and states that an academy had been founded at Constantinople, by a Greek named Manolaki, in which persons very learned in the ancient Greek teach with success and applause all branches of philosophy, as well as the other arts and sciences. These things are undoubtedly true: but they only show, that in this very widely-extended nation, and which embraces many ancient, noble, and opulent families, there is not an entire destitution of literary and scientific men. This fact was never called in question; but it does not prove, that the nation at large is rich in the liberal arts, and in secular and religious learning. For a people generally barbarous may still contain a small number of learned men. Moreover, this academy at Constantinople is unquestionably a recent institution; and therefore, it confirms, rather than confutes, the opinion of the other Christians respecting the learning of the Greeks. [What is said above, of the want of schools among the Greeks, must undoubtedly be understood of colleges and higher schools, and not of the inferior and monastic schools. For, that the Greeks of the sixteenth century had schools of the latter description, is clearly to be seen from Crusius' *Turco-Græcia*. *Schl.*]

as physicians, did not check their contentions, and still the impending storms, by their wealth and influence.

§ 9. The *Russians*, the *Georgians* or *Iberians*, and the *Colchians* or *Mingrelians*, all embrace the doctrines and rites of the Greeks, yet are independent, or not subject to the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople. The *Russians*, indeed, formerly received their chief prelate at the hand of the Constantinopolitan patriarch. But towards the close of this century, when the Constantinopolitan patriarch, *Jeremiah II.*, made a journey to Muscovy, in order there to raise money, with which he might drive *Metrophanes*, his rival, from the see of Constantinople; the Muscovite monks, by direction undoubtedly of the grand duke *Theodore*, son of *John Basilides*, beset him with intreaties and menaces, to place over the whole Russian nation a patriarch who should be independent, or *αὐτοκέφαλος*, as the Greeks express it. *Jeremiah* was obliged to consent; and in a council assembled at Moscow, in the year 1589, he proclaimed *Job*, the archbishop of Rostow, first patriarch of the Russians; yet under these conditions, that in future, every new patriarch should apply to the patriarch of Constantinople for his consent and suffrage, and at stated periods should pay to him five hundred Russian ducats. The transactions of the council of Moscow were afterwards, in the year 1593, confirmed in a council at Constantinople, called by the same *Jeremiah*, with the consent of the Turkish emperor.¹ But a little past the middle of the next century, *Dionysius* being patriarch of Constantinople, all the four Oriental patriarchs again conceded to the grand duke of Muscovy, that the patriarch of Moscow should be exonerated from the tribute, and from applying for the confirmation of his election and consecration.²

§ 10. The *Georgians* and *Mingrelians*, or, as they were anciently called, the *Iberians* and *Colchians*, are so fallen, since the Mahumedans obtained dominion over those countries, that they can scarcely be numbered among the Christian nations. This is more true, however, of the *Colchians*, who inhabit the woods and the mountains, almost in the manner of wild beasts, than it is of the *Iberians*, among whom there are some slight remains of civilisation and piety. These nations have a patriarch, whom they style a *Catholic*, and also bishops and priests; but such as are extremely ignorant, vicious, sordid, and worse almost than the common people; and since they know not themselves what is to be believed, they never think of instructing others. Hence it is rather to be conjectured, than positively known, that the Colchians and Iberians, at the present day, do not embrace either the sentiments of the Monophysites or those of the Nestorians, but hold the same doctrines as the Greeks. What little religion remains among them, consists

¹ See Anthony Possevin's *Moscovia*; near the beginning. Mich Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, i. 1292, and the Narrative of this transaction, by the patriarch Jeremiah II. himself, published in the *Catalogus Codic*,

MSS. Biblioth. Taurinensis, p. 433—469.

² Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, i. 155, &c. Nic. Bergius *de Ecclesia Moscovitica*, pt. i. sæc. i. ch. xviii. p. 164, &c. [Mouravieff, *Hist. Russ. Ch.* p. 126. Ed.]

wholly in feast days and ceremonies; and even these are destitute of all gravity and decorum; so that it is hard to say, whether their priests make a more decent appearance in eating, drinking, and sleeping, or in administering baptism and the Lord's supper.¹

§ 11. The Christians of the East, who have renounced the communion of the Greeks, and who differ from them both in doctrine and in rites, are of two kinds. The one contend, that in our most holy Saviour there is but one nature: the other conceive that there are two persons in him. The former are called *Monophysites*, and also *Jacobites*, from *Jacobus Baradaeus*, who resuscitated and regulated this sect, in the sixth century, when it was nearly extinct.² The latter are called *Nestorians*, because they agree in sentiment with *Nestorius*; and also *Chaldeans*, from the country in which they principally reside. The *Monophysites* are again divided into those of *Asia*, and those of *Africa*. The head of the *Asiatic Monophysites* is the patriarch of Antioch, who resides generally in the monastery of St. Ananias, now called the Zapharanensian monastery, not far from the city of Merdin; but sometimes at Amida, Merdin (which is properly his episcopal seat), Aleppo, or other cities in Syria.³ As he cannot alone govern conveniently the very extensive community over which he presides, he has an associate in his administration, to whose care are intrusted the eastern churches situated beyond the Tigris. This assistant is called the *maphrian*, or *primate, of the East*; and he formerly resided at *Tagrit*, on the borders of Armenia, but now resides in the monastery of St. Matthew, near the city of Mosul, in Mesopotamia.⁴ At this day all patriarchs of the *Monophysites* assume the name of *Ignatius*.

§ 12. The *African Monophysites* are subject to the patriarch of Alexandria, who resides at Cairo; and are divisible into the *Copts*

¹ See Clemens Galanus, *Conciliatio Ecclesie Armenicæ cum Romana*, i. 156, &c. Jo. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse et autres Lieux de l'Orient*, i. 67, &c., where is Jos. Maria Zampi's *Relation de la Colchide et Mingrellie*. Add Archangel Lambert's *Relation de la Colchide ou Mingrellie*; which is in the *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, vii. 160. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, i. 1333, 1339, &c. Yet consult also Rich. Simon's *Hist. Critique des Dogmes et Cérémonies des Chrétiens Orientaux*, cap. v.—vi. p. 71, &c., who endeavours [and not unsuccessfully, *Tr.*] to wipe off some of the infamy cast upon the Georgians and Mingrelians. The *Catholici* of Georgia and Mingrelia are at this day *αυτοκεφαλοι*, or independent; yet they pay tribute to the patriarch of Constantinople. [Their priests read the whole baptismal service through, and then apply the water, without repeating the words requisite. They consecrate the Eucharist in wooden chalices; care not if crumbs fall on the ground; put the host into leather bags, and tie them to their girdles; send it by laymen to the sick; and

do not accompany it with wax candles, processions, &c. Such are the *indecorums* complained of by the popish writers. *Tr.*—Georgia was annexed to Russia in 1801; the metropolitan of Tiflis becoming, *ex officio*, a member of the holy governing synod of all the Russias. Neale, *Holy Eastern Church*, i. 61. &c. *Ed.*]

² We commonly use the name *Jacobites* in a broad sense, as including all the *Monophysites*, except the Armenians; but it properly belongs only to those *Asiatic Monophysites*, of whom *Jacobus Baradaeus* was the head and father. See Rich. Simon's *Histoire des Chrétiens Orientaux*, cap. ix. p. 118, whose narrative, however, needs many corrections.

³ See Jos. Sim. Asseman's *Dissertatio de Monophysitis*, § viii. &c., in his *Biblioth. Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*. Nairon's *Euoplia Fidei Catholicæ ex Syrorum Monumentis*, pt. i. p. 40, &c. Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, ii. 1343, &c.

⁴ Asseman's *Diss. de Monophysitis*, § viii. &c.

and the *Abyssinians*. The *Copts* are those Christians who inhabit Egypt, Nubia, and the adjacent regions. Being oppressed by the power and the insatiable avarice of the Turks, they have to contend with extreme poverty, and have not the means of supporting their patriarch and bishops: yet these obtain a measure of support from such Copts as are taken into the families of the principal men among the Mahumedans, on account of their skill in domestic affairs, and other useful arts, of which the Turks are ignorant.¹ The *Abyssinians*, though far superior to the Copts in numbers, power, and worldly circumstances, since their emperor is himself a Christian, yet reverence the patriarch of Alexandria as their spiritual father; and do not create their own chief bishop, but always allow a *primate*, styled by them *abuna*, to be placed over them by the Alexandrine patriarch.²

§ 13. The *Monophysites* differ, in many points both of doctrine and of rites, from the Greeks, the Latins, and other Christians: but the principal ground of their separation from other Christians, lies in their opinion concerning *Jesus Christ*, our Saviour. With *Dioscorus*, *Barsumas*, *Xenaias*, *Fullo*, and others, whom they respect as their masters and founders, they believe, that the divine and human natures in Christ so coalesce, as to become *one*; and therefore they reject the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, and the noted epistle of *Leo the Great*. Yet, to avoid the appearance of following *Eutyches*, with whom they profess to have no connexion, they cautiously define their doctrine, denying all *confusion* and *intermixture* of the two natures; and represent the nature of Christ, as being indeed *one*, yet at the same time *compound* and *double*.³ And this explanation shows us, that it is no rash opinion of some very learned men, that the *Monophysites* differ from the Greeks and Latins more in *words* than in *substance*.⁴ The modern Jacobites, both of Asia and of Africa, are in general so rude and illiterate, that they defend their distinguishing doctrine, rather by blind perseverance, and the authority of their fathers, than by rational arguments.⁵

¹ Eusebius Renaudot published at Paris, 1713, in 4to, his very learned *Historia Alexandrinorum Patriarcharum Jacobitarum*. He also published *Officium Ordinationis hujus Patriarchæ*, with notes; in his *Liturgie Oriental*, i. 467. The state and internal condition of the Alexandrine or Coptic church, are described by Jo. Mich. Wansleb in his *Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie, que nous appellons celle des Jacobites-Coptes*, Paris, 1667, 8vo. Add his *Relation d'un Voyage en Egypte*, p. 293, &c., where he treats expressly of the monks and monasteries of the Copts. *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans le Levant*, ii. 9, &c., v. 122. Bened. Maillet's *Description de l'Egypte*, ii. 64, &c.

² See Job Ludolf's *Comment. in Historiam Æthiopicam*, p. 451, 461, 466, Jerome Lobo's *Voyage d'Abissinie*, ii. 36. *Nouveaux Mé-*

moires des Missions dans le Levant, iv. 277. Mich. Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, ii. 641, &c.

³ See Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Clementino-Vaticana*, ii. 25, 26, 29, 34, 117, 133, 135, 277, 297, &c. See the acute defence of the doctrine of his sect, by Abulpharajus, *ibid.* ii. 288, &c. The system of religion embraced by the Abyssinians may be best learned, in all its parts, from the *Theologia Æthiopica* of Gregory the Ethiopian, published by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii*, &c., p. 716, where also the other writers concerning the Abyssinians are enumerated.

⁴ M. V. la Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 23. Asseman, *l. c.* ii. 291, 297. Rich. Simon, *Histoire des Chrétiens Orientaux*, p. 119. Jo. Joach. Schröder, *Thesaurus Linguae Armenicæ*, p. 276.

⁵ The Liturgies of the Copts, the Syrian

§ 14. The *Armenians*, though they have the same opinion as the other Monophysites, respecting¹ our Saviour, yet differ from them as to many practices, opinions, and rites: and hence, there is no communion between them and those who are properly called *Jacobites*.² The whole Armenian church is governed by three patriarchs. Of these, the chief one, who governs the whole of the greater Armenia and the neighbouring provinces, and has forty-two archbishops under him, resides in a monastery at Echmiazin. He might, if he were disposed, live splendidly and luxuriously, on the very ample revenues that he receives:³ but he is frugal in his table, and plain in his dress; nor is he distinguished from the monks among whom he resides, except by his power. He is usually elected by the suffrages of the bishops assembled at Echmiazin, and is approved by the king of Persia. The second patriarch or *catholic* of the Armenians resides at Sis, a city of Cilicia, and governs the churches in Cappadocia, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Syria. He has twelve archbishops under him. This patriarch of Sis, at present, acknowledges himself inferior to the patriarch at Echmiazin. The third and least of their patriarchs, who has only eight or nine bishops under him, resides on the island of *Aghtamar*, in the middle of the great lake Varas-puracan; and is accounted, by the other Armenians, an enemy of the church. Besides these, who are properly and truly called patriarchs, there are others among the Armenians, who are patriarchs in name only, rather than in reality and in power. For the Armenian archbishop residing at Constantinople, whose authority is acknowledged by the churches in the neighbouring regions of Asia and Europe, is called a *patriarch*. So also the Armenian prelate at Jerusalem is saluted with the same title; and likewise, the prelate that resides at Kaminiec in⁴ Poland, and who governs the

Jacobites, and the Abyssinians, have been published, with learned notes, by Eusebius Renaudot, in the first and second volumes of his *Liturgie Orientales*.

¹ [The nature of. Tr.]

² The chief writer concerning the Armenians, as well in regard to their religion, as other matters, is Clemens Galanus, an Italian Theatine monk; whose *Conciliatio Ecclesie Armenice cum Romana* was published at Rome, 1650, &c., in 3 vols. fol. The other writers are mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii*, &c. p. 640, &c. To his list must especially be added, Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, i. 1362, &c. The recent *Hist. du Christianisme d'Arménie*, by M. V. la Croze, subjoined to his *Hist. du Christianisme d'Abissinie*, Haye, 1739, 8vo, does not correspond with the magnitude and importance of the subject. A far better account would have been given by this gentleman, who was so well informed on such subjects, if he had not been labouring under the infirmities of age. Respecting the singular customs and rites of the Armenians, see

Gemello Carreri, *Voyage du Tour du Monde*, ii. 146, &c.

³ A notice of all the churches subject to the chief patriarch of the Armenians, as communicated by Uscan, an Armenian bishop, is subjoined by Rich. Simon, to his *Histoire Critique des Chrétiens Orientaux*, p. 217, [in the English translation, by A. Lovell, Lond. 1685, p. 184, &c.] But we have noticed many defects in it. Respecting the seat, and the mode of life, of the patriarch of Echmiazin, see Paul Lucas, *Voyage au Levant*, ii. 247, and Gemello Carreri, *Voyage du Tour du Monde*, ii. 10, &c. See also the other travellers in Armenia and Persia. [The inferior patriarchates of Sis and Akhtamar originated in schisms caused by the migrations of the patriarchs of Echmiazin; that of Akhtamar was reconciled in 1294, and that of Sis in 1651, the antipatriarchs being allowed to retain their assumed title. Neale, *Holy Eastern Church*, i. 67. Ed.]

⁴ [Russian. Tr.]

Armenian churches in Russia, Poland, and the neighbouring countries. And these claim the title and the rank of patriarchs, because they have received, from the great patriarch of Echmiazin, the power of ordaining bishops, and of consecrating, and distributing, every third year, among their churches, the sacred ointment or chrism; which none but patriarchs, among the Oriental Christians, have a right to do.¹

§ 15. The *Nestorians*, who are also called *Chaldeans*, reside principally in Mesopotamia, and the adjacent countries. These Christians have many doctrines and customs peculiar to themselves: but they are chiefly distinguished from all other sects, by maintaining, that *Nestorius* was unjustly condemned in the council of Ephesus; and by holding with him, that there were not only two natures, but also two persons, in our Saviour. In ancient times this was regarded as a capital error; at this day, it is considered, by the most respectable men, even among the Roman catholics, as an error in words, rather than in thought. For these Chaldeans affirm indeed that Christ consists of two *persons*, as well as two natures: but they add, that these two persons and natures are so closely united, as to constitute *one aspect*, or, as they express it, one *barsopa*; which is the same with the Greek *πρόσωπον* [*person*].² From which it appears clearly, that by *aspect*, they mean the same as we do by *person*; and that what we call *natures*, they call *persons*. It is to the honour of this sect, that, of all the Christians resident in the East, they have preserved themselves the most free from the numberless superstitions, which have found their way into the Greek and Latin churches.³

§ 16. Formerly, all the Nestorians were subject to one patriarch or *catholic*; who resided first at Bagdat, and then at Mosul. But in this [sixteenth] century, they became divided into two parties. In the first place, as we have already noticed, in the year 1552, two patriarchs were elected by opposite factions, *Simeon Barmama* and *John Sulaka* or *Siul*. The latter of these, in order to obtain firm support against his antagonist, repaired to Rome, and swore allegiance to the Roman pontiff.⁴ To the party of this patriarch, who stood connected with the

¹ See the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans le Levant*, t. iii., where is given (p. 1—218) a long narrative respecting both the religious and the civil affairs of the Armenians; and which La Croze (than whom no man within our knowledge has bestowed more attention on these subjects) very highly commends for fidelity, accuracy, and research. See his *Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, p. 345, &c.

² It is thus that the inscriptions which adorn the sepulchres of the Nestorian patriarchs in the city of Mosul, express their sentiments. See Asseman's *Biblioth. Oriental. Vaticana*, t. ii. pt. ii. p. cmlxviii. See also *ibid.* p. 210, &c. Rich. Simon's *Histoire de la Créance des Chrétiens Orientaux*,

cap. vii. p. 94, &c. Peter Strozza, *de Dogmatibus Chaldeorum*, first published, Rome, 1617, 8vo.

³ Here should especially be consulted the very learned and copious dissertation of Asseman, *de Syris Nestorianis*; which fills the whole of the fourth volume of his *Bibliotheca Orient. Vaticana*. It was from this, chiefly, that Mich. Lequien took what he says in his *Oriens Christianus*, ii. 1078, &c.

⁴ [He planted himself at Caramit, in Mesopotamia, and styled himself patriarch of the East. His successor, Ebedjesu, attended the council of Trent. The next successor was Abathalla; and after him was Simeon Denha, who was obliged to quit Caramit.—*Von Ein.*]

Roman church, was added, in the year 1555, *Simeon Denha*, archbishop of Gelu: and when he afterwards succeeded to the patriarchate, he removed its seat to Ormia, in the mountainous parts of Persia; where his successors, all of whom assume the name of *Simeon*, have continued to reside till the present time. In the last [or seventeenth] century, they remained still in communion with the Roman bishop; but in this [eighteenth] century, they seem to have renounced that communion.¹ The greater patriarchs of the Nestorians, who stood opposed to this lesser patriarch, have all, since the year 1559, borne the name of *Elias*, and had their residence at Mosul.² Their dominion spreads widely in Asia, and embraces the Nestorians in Arabia, and also those on the coast of Malabar, who are called *Christians of St. Thomas*.³

§ 17. Besides these bodies of Christians, in which was something, or at least some appearance, of the religion taught by Christ, there are other sects far worse, scattered over a large part of Asia; which are undoubtedly descended from the Ebionites, the Manichæans, the Valentinians, the Basilidians, and other parties, that, in the early ages, set up churches within the church; but which, through the common hatred against them of both Mahumedans and Christians, have sunk into such barbarism, ignorance, and superstition, as to lose nearly altogether the reputation and the rights of Christians. *The Sabians*, as they are called by the Orientals, or the *Mendai Ijahi*, i. e. *Disciples of John*, as they call themselves, or the *Christians of St. John*, as they are called by Europeans, though they perhaps have some imperfect knowledge of *Christ*, seem to be a Jewish sect, and the descendants of the ancient *Hemerobaptists*, mentioned by the early Christian writers. At least, that *John*, whom they call the founder of their sect, was altogether unlike *John the Baptist*, and bore a far stronger resemblance to the *John*, whom the ancients represent as the father of the Jewish *Hemerobaptists*.⁴ They live in Persia and Arabia, especially at Bassora; and regard religion as consisting principally in frequent, solemn ablutions of the body, which their priests administer with certain ceremonies.⁵

¹ See J. S. Asseman's *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*, i. 538, and ii. 436.

² A catalogue of the Nestorian patriarchs is given by J. S. Asseman, *Bibliotheca Orient. Vaticana*, t. iii. pt. i. p. 611, &c., which he corrected, in t. iii. pt. ii. p. cml. Add Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, ii. 1078, &c. [The Catholici of the succession of Simeon Barmama took the name of Elias. Elias VII. inclined to Rome, and, his successor relapsing into Nestorianism, a new succession was brought from Rome, who took the name of Joseph. The successors of John Sulaka took the name of Simeon. Neale, i. 144. *Ed.*]

³ Of these, M. V. la Croze treats expressly in his *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*; with which should be compared, J. S. Asseman, l. c. t. iii. pt. ii. c. ix. p. ccccxiii.

⁴ See what I have written on this subject in my Commentaries, *de Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum*, p. 43, &c.

⁵ See the treatise of Ignatius à Jesu, a Carmelite, who resided long among these Mendæans, entitled, *Narratio Originis Rituum et Errorum Christianorum S. Johannis: cui adjungitur Discursus per modum Dialogi, in quo confutantur xxxiv. Errores ejusdem Nationis*; Rome, 1652, 8vo. Engelb. Kämpfer's *Aménitates Exoticae*, Fascie. ii., Relat. xi. p. 435, &c. George Sale's *Introduction to his English Version of the Koran*, p. 15. Jos. Sim. Asseman's *Biblioth. Oriental.* t. iii. pt. ii. p. 609. Thevenot's *Voyages*, iv. 584, &c. Barthol. Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 725. Theoph. Siegrfr. Bayer composed a particular treatise concerning the Mendæans, filled with much excellent

§ 18. The *Jasidians*, *Jasidavans*, or *Jezdeans*, of whom many uncertain accounts are extant, are a vagrant branch or tribe of the fierce and uncultivated nation of the Kurds, who inhabit the province of Persia called *Kurdistan*. They roam among the Gordiwan mountains, and the desert parts of the country; and are divided into the *black* and the *white* Jezdavans. The former are the priests and the rulers of the sect, and always dress in black; the latter are the common people, whose dress is white. They have a singular religion, and one not yet sufficiently explored: yet it is clear, that it is a compound of Christian principles with numerous fictions originating from other sources. They are especially distinguished from other classes of corrupted Christians, by their sentiments concerning the evil spirit: whom they call *Karubin*, or *Cherubin*, that is, one of the greater ministers of God; and if they do not actually worship him, they at least treat him with respect, neither offering him any insult or contumely themselves, nor suffering others to do it. In this matter, they go so far, that no tortures will induce them to express detestation of the evil spirit; and they will kill, if they can, any person whom they hear cursing him.¹

matter; which when he was about to commit to me for publication, he was suddenly cut off by death. It was Bayer's opinion (as appears from the *Thesaurus Epistolicus Crozianus*, i. 21), that they were a branch from the ancient Manichæans; which opinion was also approved by La Croze. See his *Thesaurus Epistol.* iii. 31, 52. But there is nothing in their opinions or customs that savours of Manichæism. Hence other learned men (to whose opinion the celebrated Fourmont, a few years ago, acceded; in a paper published in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, xviii. 23, &c.) suppose them descended from the ancient worshippers of a plurality of gods, and especially of the stars, whom the Arabs call *Sabii*, or *Sabi*, and *Sabiin*. But except the name which the Mahumedans are wont to give them, there is nothing at all to support this opinion. The Mendæans themselves say that they are Jews, and profess to have been removed from Palestine to the places which they now inhabit. This sect has some sacred books, which are very ancient; among others, what they call *The Book of Adam*; and a book written by John, the founder of their sect; and some others. As these books were introduced a few years since into the library of the king of France, it may be expected that from them, in due time, a better knowledge of this people will be obtained. [See above, cent. i. pt. i. c. 2, § 6, note. Tr.]

¹ See Tho. Hyde's *Historia Relig. Veterum Persar.* in the Append. p. 549. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, i. 121, ii. 249, &c. To this people, missionary journeys were made with great peril, in the seven-

teenth century, by the celebrated and learned Jesuit, Michael Nau (Laur. d'Arvieux, *Mémoires ou Voyages*, vi. 362, 377), and after him by another Jesuit, Monierius (*Mémoires des Missions des Jésuites*, iii. 291), but how these travellers were received, and what they accomplished, does not appear. Jac. Rhenferd considered the Jezdeans as the offspring of the ancient Sethians (see Gisb. Cuper's *Epistles*, published by Bayer, p. 130); but, in my opinion, as groundlessly as those who judge them to be Manichæans; a supposition which is sufficiently refuted by their opinion concerning the evil spirit. The name of this sect, Isaac de Beausobre, among others, derives from the name Jesus. See his *Histoire du Manichéisme*, ii. 613. I should conjecture that it is derived rather from the word *Jazid* or *Jezdan*, which in Persian signifies *the good God*; to whom is opposed *Ahriman*, or the *evil deity* (see Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 484, &c. Cherefeddin Aly, *Histoire de Timurbeck*, iii. 81, &c.); so that *Jazidean* denotes a worshipper of the *good* or *true God*. Yet they may have derived their appellation from the celebrated city Jезд, of which Otter treats, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, i. 283, &c. [W. Jowett, in his *Christian Researches in Syria*, &c., ed. Boston, 1826, p. 55, &c., gives us, from Niebuhr, the following account of this people, whom he met with, inhabiting a whole village, near Mosul: 'They are called Yesidians, and also Danasin: but as the Turks do not allow the free exercise of any religion in their country, except to those who possess sacred books (as the Mahumedans, Christians, and Jews), the Yesidians are obliged to keep the principles

§ 19. The *Duruzi*, *Dursi*, *Druzi* [*Druses*], for their name is written variously, are a fierce and warlike people, inhabiting a large part of the rugged mountains of Libanus. They represent themselves (how justly, is uncertain) to be descended from those Franks, who waged war in the eleventh century with the Mahumedans. As they cautiously conceal their religious creed, it is very dubious what their faith and worship are. Yet there are vestiges of Christianity sufficiently manifest in their customs and opinions. Learned men have suspected that the *Druzi*, as well as the *Kurds* that inhabit Persia, formerly held, and perhaps still hold, the doctrines of the Manichæans.¹—The *Chamsi* or *Solares* inhabit a certain district of *Mesopotamia*, and are supposed, by some, to be descendants of the *Samsæans*, mentioned by *Epiphanius*.²—There are many other semi-Christian sects in the East;³ and whoever will accurately trace them out, and introduce their sacred books into Europe, will doubtless receive the grateful thanks of all that take an interest in Christian antiquities. For the information which has reached us hitherto from various quarters, is both inconsistent and uncertain.

§ 20. Among most of these sects,⁴ the Roman pontiff's missionaries of their religion extremely secret. They, therefore, pass themselves off for Mahumedans, Christians, or Jews—following the party of whatever person makes inquiry into their religion. They speak with veneration of the Koran, of the Gospel, of the Pentateuch, and the Psalms; and when convicted of being Yesidiens, they will then maintain that they are of the same religion as the Sonnites. Hence it is almost an impossibility to learn anything certain on the subject. Some charge them with adoring the devil under the name of *Tscillebi*, that is to say, Lord. Others say that they exhibit a marked veneration for the sun, and for fire; that they are downright pagans; and that they have horrible ceremonies. I have been assured that the Dauasin do not invoke the devil; but that they adore God only, as the creator and benefactor of all men. They cannot, however, bear to speak of Satan, nor even to hear his name mentioned. When the Yesidiens come to Mosul, they are not apprehended by the magistrate, although known; but the people often endeavour to trick them; for when these poor Yesidiens come to sell their eggs or butter, the purchasers contrive first to get their articles into their possession, and then begin uttering a thousand foolish expressions against Satan, with a view to lower the price; upon which the Yesidiens are content to leave their goods at a loss rather than be witnesses of such contemptuous language about the devil. The Yesidiens practise circumcision like the Mohammedans.' Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii. 279, 280. From this account it appears that the Jezdæans are not that roaming savage race Dr. Mosheim

supposed, but that they are a plain, frugal, conscientious people, who are afraid to avow their religious sentiments, because they have no sacred books, which would entitle them to toleration under the Turkish government. *Tr.*—For a very interesting account of the Yezidis, see A. H. Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, i. 270, &c. *Ed.*]

¹ See Adrian's *Narrative concerning the Druses*; in Paul Lucas' *Voyage en Grèce et Asie Mineure*, ii. 36, &c. Thom. Hyde's *Historia Religionis Veter. Persarum*, p. 491, 554. Paul Rycaut's *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, i. 313, &c. [Modern researches, particularly by Chardin, De Sacy, and Burckhardt, clearly show that the Druses are with no propriety reckoned among Christian sects. They are apostate Mahumedans, followers of the false prophet Hakem, who pretended to be an incarnate deity. He was born at Cairo, A.D. 985, began to reign in Egypt, A.D. 996, and was assassinated in 1020. His charter, or commands to his followers, together with their oath of allegiance to him, are published by De Sacy, in his *Chrestomathie Arabe*, ii. 324, &c. See a full account of them in W. Jowett's *Christian Researches in Syria*, ed. Boston, 1826, p. 35, &c., 70, 83. *Tr.*]

² Hyde, *Historia Relig. Veter. Persarum*, p. 555, &c.

³ The Jesuit, Diusse (*Lettres Edif. et Curieuses des Missions Etrangères*, i. 63), relates that, in the mountains which separate Persia from India, there resides a sect of Christians who brand themselves with the figure of a cross, impressed with a hot iron.

⁴ [Of Oriental Christians. *Tr.*]

have, with great labour and expense, established societies living in obedience to the papal see. Among the Greeks, both those that are subject to the Turks, and those that are subject to the Venetians, to the Roman emperor, and to other Christian princes, as is generally known, there are everywhere Greeks that belong to the Latin church, and whose bishops and priests are approved at Rome. For the sake of preserving and enlarging their societies, a college is established at Rome, in which Greek youth, that appear to possess genius and a disposition to study, are supported and instructed in the useful arts and sciences, and are especially taught to reverence the authority of the Roman pontiff. But the most respectable men, even among the friends of the Roman court, do not deny, that these Greeks who are united with Latins, if compared with those who hold the Latin name in abhorrence, are few, and poor, and in a wretched condition; and that among them are many of Grecian faith, who, if opportunity came, would repay to the Latins the greatest kindnesses with the greatest injuries. They also say that the Greeks, who are educated with great care at Rome, by witnessing the faults of the Latins, often become the most ungrateful of all, and the most strenuously oppose the advancement of the Latin interests among their countrymen.¹

§ 21. For uniting, or rather subjecting to the Roman church that of Russia, the noblest portion of the Greek church, there have been frequent deliberations at Rome; but without success. In this [sixteenth] century, *John Basilides*, grand duke of the Russians, in the year 1580, sent an embassy to *Gregory XIII.*; by which he seemed to exhort the pontiff to resume and to accomplish this business. The next year, therefore, *Anth. Possevin*, a learned and sagacious Jesuit, was despatched to Muscovy. But he, although he spared no pains to accomplish the object of his embassy, yet found himself unable to effect it; nor did the Russian ambassadors, who a little after were sent to Rome, present anything to the pontiff but vague and inefficient promises.² Indeed, the result showed, that *Basilides* aimed only to secure the favour of the pontiff by flatteries, in order to succeed better in his unfortunate war with the Poles. But the arguments of *Possevin* and others had so much effect upon the Russians that inhabit Poland, that some of them, in the convention of Bresty, A.D. 1596, entered into an alliance with the Latins. These were subsequently called the *United Greeks*; while the other party, which continued in subjection to the patriarch of Constantinople, were called the *Non-united*.³ Moreover, there has been at Kiow, ever

¹ Here may be consulted, besides others, Urb. Cerri's *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 82, &c., where, among other things, it is said, 'Ils deviennent les plus violens ennemis des Catholiques, lorsqu'ils ont appris nos sciences et qu'ils ont connoissance de nos imperfections.' [They become the most violent enemies of the Catholics, when they have been instructed in our sciences, and have knowledge of our imperfections.] Other testimonies will be ad-

duced hereafter. A catalogue, though an imperfect one, is given of the Greek bishops who follow the Latin rites, in Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, iii. 860.

² See the *Colloquia Possevini cum Moscorum duce*, and his other writings relating to this subject, which are annexed to his *Moscovia*, p. 31, &c., and John Dorigny's *La Vie du Père Possevin*, liv. v. p. 351, &c.

³ Andr. Regenvolsceius, *Historia Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum*, l. iv. c. ii. p. 465, &c.

since the fourteenth century, a society of Russians subject to the Roman pontiff, and which has had its own *metropolitans* or bishops, distinct from the Russian bishops of Kiow.¹

§ 22. Among the *Monophysites*, as well Asiatic as African, the preachers of the Roman religion have effected but little that deserves attention. Among the Chaldean or *Nestorian* Christians, a small society, subject to the Roman pontiff, was collected near the middle of the preceding century. Its patriarchs, all of whom take the name of *Joseph*, reside in the city *Amida*, which is also called *Curamit*, and *Diarbeker*.² A part of the Armenians, as early as the fourteenth century, in the pontificate of *John XXII.*, embraced the Roman religion; and over them the pontiffs placed an archbishop, in 1318, who was a Dominican monk, and resided at Sultania,³ a city of Aderbijan. The archiepiscopal residence was afterwards removed to Naxivan; and to this day, is occupied exclusively by the Dominicans.⁴ The company of Armenians resident in Poland, and embracing the Roman doctrines, have also their bishop, who resides at Lemberg.⁵ Some of the Theatin and Capuchin monks have visited the Georgians and Mingrelians: but the ferocity and ignorance of those nations opposed such obstacles to the counsels and admonitions of the missionaries, that their labours were attended with scarcely any success.⁶

§ 23. The pompous accounts of their success among these sects, which the Roman missionaries give, can claim but little credit for ingenuousness and truth. For it is ascertained by unquestionable testimony, that all they did in some countries, was merely to baptize, by stealth, certain infants whom their parents committed to their care, because they professed to be physicians;⁷ and in other countries, they only gathered a poor miserable company, who generally forsook them as soon as their money was gone, and returned to the religion of their fathers.⁸ Likewise, here and there a prelate among the Greeks or other nations, would sometimes promise obedience to the Roman pontiff, and even repair to Rome as an evidence of submission: but avarice or ambition has been the cause. On a change

[For an account of the Russian Uniats and their return to the Russian church in 1839, see Mouravieff, p. 430. *Ed.*]

¹ See M. Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, i. 1274, and iii. 1126. *Acta Sanctorum*, Februar. ii. 639, &c.

² See Asseman's *Bibliotheca Orient. Vaticana*, t. iii. pt. i. p. 615, &c. Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, ii. 1084, &c.

³ Odor. Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* tom. xv. ad an. 1318, § 4.

⁴ Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, iii. 1362, and 1403, &c. Clemens Galanus, *Conciliatio Ecclesiæ Armenæ cum Romana*, i. 527, &c.

⁵ *Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus*, iii. 64, &c.

⁶ Urb. Cerri, *Etat présent de l'Eglise*

Romaine, p. 162, &c.

⁷ Urb. Cerri, *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 164. Gabr. de Chinon, *Relations Nouvelles du Levant*, pt. i. cap. vi. p. 174. This Capuchin monk speaks very ingenuously on many subjects.

⁸ See Jean Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, i. 186, ii. 53, 75, 206, 271, 349, and especially iii. 433, &c., of the last edition in Holland, 4to. For in the previous editions everything dishonourable to the Roman missions among the Armenians, the Colchians, the Iberians, or the Persians, was omitted. Gabr. de Chinon, *Relations du Levant*, pt. ii. p. 308, &c., where he treats of the Armenians. Bened. Maillet, *Description d'Egypte*, ii. 65, &c., who speaks of the Copts.

of circumstances, accordingly, such persons at once relapse, or deceive the Romans with equivocal professions. Those who, like the Nestorian prelate at Amida, continue steadfast in their profession, and propagate it to succeeding generations, persevere from no other cause than the uninterrupted liberality of the Roman pontiff. The pontiffs, moreover, are exceedingly indulgent to those sons, whom they adopt from among the Greeks and other Oriental Christians. For they not only suffer them to worship according to the rites of their fathers, though widely differing from those of the Romans, and to follow customs abhorred among the Latins; but they do not even require them to expunge from the public books those doctrines which divide them from Christians generally.¹ At Rome, if we are not greatly mistaken, a Greek, Armenian, or Copt, is esteemed a good member of the Roman church, provided he does not question, but will acknowledge, the sovereign authority of the Roman prelate over the whole Christian church.

§ 24. The whole nation of the *Maronites*, who reside principally on the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus, came under the dominion of the Roman pontiff, from the time when the Latins invaded Palestine.² But as they did so on condition that the Latins should change nothing of their ancient rites, customs, and opinions, hardly

¹ Jos. Sim. Asseman complains, here and there, in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis Vaticana*, that not even the books printed at Rome for the use of the Nestorians, Jacobites, and Armenians, are purged of the errors peculiar to those sects; and he contends that this is the reason why those people renounce the Roman religion after having adopted it. Add Rich. Simon's *Lettres Choïsies*, t. ii. lettre xliii. p. 156, &c., who excuses this negligence, or this imprudence, of the Romans.

² The Maronite doctors, and especially such as reside at Rome, take the utmost pains to prove that the Roman religion has always been held and preserved by their nation, pure, and uncontaminated with any error. This, beyond all others, Faustus Nairon endeavours to prove, with great labour, in his *Dissertatio de Origine, Nomine, ac Religione Maronitarum*, Rome, 1679, 8vo. From this book, and from other Maronite authors, De la Roque composed his long and well-written essay, *Sur l'Origine des Maronites, et Abrégé de leur Histoire*; which is printed in his *Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Liban*, ii. p. 28—128, ed. Amsterd. 1723, 8vo. But the most learned men among the catholics do not give credit to this statement, but maintain that the Maronites are the offspring of the Monophysites, and were addicted to the opinions of the Monothelites down to the twelfth century, when they united with the Latins. See Rich. Simon's *Hist. Critique des Chrétiens Orientaux*, c.

xiii. p. 146, &c. Eusebius Renaudot, *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrinorum*, preface, p. iii. z., and the history, p. 49, and many other writers. Jos. Sim. Asseman, himself a Maronite, advances a sort of intermediate opinion; *Bibliotheca Orient. Vaticana*, i. 496. Mich. Lequien leaves the question dubious, *Oriens Christianus*, iii. 1, &c., where he treats professedly of the Maronite church, and of its prelates. In my opinion, no one will readily put confidence in the Maronites, who, like all Syrians, are vain-glorious, if he considers that all the Maronite nation have not yet subjected themselves to the Roman pontiff. For some of this nation in Syria stand aloof from communion with the Latins: and in the last century, not a few of them in Italy itself gave the court of Rome no little trouble. Some of them went over to the Waldenses, that inhabited the valleys of Piedmont: others, to the number of six hundred, with a bishop and many priests, went over to Corsica, and implored the aid of the republic of Genoa against the violence of the Inquisition. See Urb. Cerri, *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 121, 122. I know not what could have excited these Maronites to make such opposition to the Roman pontiff, if they did not dissent at all from his doctrines and decrees: for the Roman church allows them freely to follow the rites and customs and institutions of their fathers. See the *The-saurus Epistol. Crozianus*, i. 11, &c. [and cent. vii. p. ii. c. 5, § 11, above. Tr.]

anything Latin can be found among the Maronites, except their attachment to the Roman prelate.¹ Moreover, this friendship costs the pontiff dear. For, as the Maronites live in extreme poverty under the tyranny of the Mahumedans, the pontiff has to relieve their poverty with his wealth; so that their prelate and leading men may have the means of appeasing their cruel masters, supporting their priests, and defraying the expenses of public worship. Nor is the expense small which is required by the college for Maronites, established at Rome by *Gregory XIII.*, in which young men sent from Syria are imbued with literature and with affection for the Roman see. The Maronite church is governed by a patriarch, residing at *Cannobin*, on Mount Libanus; which is a convent of monks that follow the rule of *St. Anthony*. He styles himself *Patriarch of Antioch*, and always takes the name of *Peter*, to whose see he would fain pass for being the successor.²

¹ Here consult, especially, the notes which Rich. Simon has annexed to his French translation of the *Voyage of Jerome Dandini*, an Italian Jesuit, to Mount Libanus, written in Italian, Paris, 1685, 12mo. See also Euseb. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrinor.* p. 548.

² See Petitqueux, *Voyage à Cannobin dans*

le Mont Liban; in the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus*, iv. 252, and viii. 355. La Rocque, *Voyage de Syrie*, ii. 10. Laur. d'Arvieux, *Mémoires ou Voyages*, ii. 418, &c., and others. [See W. Jowett's *Christian Researches in Syria*, &c., p. 23, &c., ed. Boston, 1826, 12mo. Tr.]

PART II.

HISTORY OF MODERN CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

§ 1. Commencement of the Lutheran church—§ 2. Its faith—§ 3. Public worship and ceremonies—§ 4. Ecclesiastical laws and government—§ 5. Liturgy: public worship: education—§ 6. Feast days: discipline—§ 7. Prosperous and adverse events—§ 8. Cultivation of learning among the Lutherans—§ 9. Polite learning and languages—§ 10. Philosophy—§ 11. Philosophical sects: Aristotelians: Ramists—§ 12. Fire philosophers—§ 13. Hofmann's controversy with his colleagues—§ 14. Theology gradually improved and perfected—§ 15. State of exegetic theology—§ 16. Merits of the biblical expositors—§ 17. Dogmatic theology—§ 18. Practical theology—§ 19. Polemic theology—§ 20. Three periods of the Lutheran church—§ 21. Contests in Luther's lifetime with fanatics—§ 22. Carlstadt—§ 23. Schwenckfeld—§ 24. His opinions.—§ 25. Antinomians—§ 26. Estimate of the sentiments of Agricola—§ 27. Contests after Luther's death, under Melanethon—§ 28. Adiaphoristic controversy—§ 29. That of *George Major*, respecting good works—§ 30. Synergistic controversy—§ 31. Flacius, the author of many dissensions—§ 32. His contest with Strigelius—§ 33. His disputation—§ 34. Effects of his imprudence—§ 35. Controversy with Osiander—§ 36. Controversy with Stancarus—§ 37. Plans for settling these disturbances—§ 38. Crypto-Calvinists in Saxony—§ 39. The Formula of Concord—§ 40. It produces much commotion on the part of the Reformed—§ 41. also on the part of the Lutherans—§ 42. Proceedings of Duke Julius—§ 43. New Crypto-Calvinistic commotions in Saxony—§ 44. Huber's contest—§ 45. Estimate of these controversies—§ 46. The principal divines and writers.

§ 1. WE have already described, in our concise way, the origin and progress of that church, which assumes the name of *evangelical*, because it revived the knowledge of the *Gospel* (that is, of the doctrine of salvation for mankind only through the merits of Christ, long overborne by superstition); and which does not reject the appellation of Lutheran, because it would not be ungrateful to the man who first dissipated the clouds that obscured the Gospel. Its commencement is to be dated from the time when *Leo X.* expelled *Martin Luther* and his adherents and friends from the bosom of the Roman church.¹ It acquired a stable form and consistency, in the year 1530, when the public confession of its faith was drawn up, and was presented to the diet of Augsburg. And lastly, it obtained the rank of a legitimate

¹ [A. D. 1520. *Tr.*]

and independent community among the Germans, and was entirely freed from the laws and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, in the year 1552, when *Maurice* of Saxony formed with *Charles V.* the religious pacification at Passau.

§ 2. According to the opinion of this church, all the principles of a correct religious faith and of a holy life are to be drawn exclusively from the books dictated by God; books, accordingly, so plain and easy to be understood, in things necessary to salvation, that every man of good sense, and competent knowledge of languages, can ascertain their meaning for himself, without an interpreter. This church has, indeed, certain books usually called *symbolical*, in which the principal truths of religion are collected together, and perspicuously stated. But these books derive all their authority from the sacred volume, the sense and meaning of which they exhibit: nor may theologians expound these books otherwise than as the divine oracles allow. The first of these [symbolical] books, is the *Augsburg Confession*, with the *Apology*. Then follow, what are called, the *Articles of Smalcald*; and next the *Catechism* of *Luther*, the *larger* for adults and persons more advanced in knowledge, and the *shorter* intended for children. To these, the greater part add the *Formula of Concord*: which, however, some do not receive; yet without any interruption of harmony, because the few things, on account of which it is disapproved, are of minor consequence, and neither add anything to the fundamentals of religion, nor detract from them.¹

§ 3. Concerning ceremonies and forms of public worship, there was at first some dissension in most places. For some wished to retain more, and others fewer, of the immense multitude of the ancient rites and usages. The latter, after the example of the Swiss, thought that everything should give way to the ancient Christian simplicity and gravity in religion: the former wished some allowance to be made for the weakness and inveterate habits of the people. But as all were agreed, that ceremonies depend on human authority; and that there is no obstacle to the existence of diversity as to rites, in the churches and countries professing the same religion; this controversy could not continue long. All usages and regulations, both public and private, which bore manifest marks of error and superstition, were everywhere rejected: and it was wisely provided, that the benefits of public worship should not be frustrated by the multitude of ceremonies. In other respects, every church was at liberty to retain so many of the ancient usages and rites that were not dangerous, as a regard to places, the laws, and the character and circumstances of the people, seemed to require. And hence, quite down to our times, the Lutheran churches differ much in the number and nature of their public rites; and it is so far from being a dishonour to them, that it is rather good evidence of their wisdom and moderation.²

¹ On the *symbolical* books of the Lutheran church, and the expounders of them, Jo. Christ. Köcher treats expressly in his *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 114, &c.

² See Balth. Meisner, *de Legibus*, lib. iv. art. iv. quæst. iv. p. 662—666. Jo. Adam Scherzer's *Breviarium Hülsemann. Enucleatum*, p. 1313—1321.

§ 4. In the Lutheran church, ecclesiastical affairs are administered by the same authorities that administer civil. This power they claim in part from the very nature of civil government; and it is in part, I conceive, surrendered to them by the tacit consent of the churches. Yet the ancient rights of Christian communities are not wholly subverted and destroyed; but in some places *more*, in others *fewer*, in all *some* traces of them remain. Besides, the civil authorities are prohibited, by the fundamental principles of the religion which they profess, from violating or changing, at their own pleasure, the system of religion, or anything essential to it; or from legislatively imposing such creeds and rules of life upon the citizens, as they may see fit. The bodies appointed by the sovereigns to watch over the interests of the church, and to direct ecclesiastical affairs, are composed of civil and ecclesiastical jurists, and bear the ancient name of *Consistories*. The internal regulation of the church is in form intermediate between the *episcopal* and the *presbyterian* systems; except in Sweden and Denmark, where the ancient form of the church, with its offensive parts lopped off, is retained. For while the Lutherans are persuaded that divine law makes no distinction, as to rank and prerogatives, among the ministers of the Gospel, yet they think it to be useful, and indeed necessary to the preservation of union, that some ministers should hold a rank, and possess powers, superior to others. But in establishing this difference among their ministers, some states are governed more, and others less, by a regard to the ancient polity of the church. For that which is determined by no divine law, may be ordered variously, without any breach of harmony and fraternal intercourse.

§ 5. Each country has its own *liturgy*, or form of worship; in accordance with which, everything pertaining to the public religious exercises and worship, must be ordered and performed. These liturgies are frequently enlarged, amended, and explained, as circumstances and occasions demand, by the decrees and statutes of those who hold supreme authority. Among them all there is no diversity in regard to things of any considerable magnitude or importance; but in regard to things remote from the essentials of religion, or from the rules of faith and practice prescribed in the sacred Scriptures, there is much diversity. Frequent meetings for the worship of God are everywhere held. The services in them consist of sermons, by which the ministers instruct the people, and excite them to piety, the reading of the holy Scriptures, prayers and hymns addressed to the Deity, and the administration of the sacraments. The young are not only required to be taught carefully the first principles of religion, in the schools, but are also publicly trained and advanced in knowledge by the catechetical labours of the ministers. And hence, in nearly all the provinces, little books, commonly called *Catechisms*, are drawn up by public authority, in which the chief points of religious faith and practice are explained by questions and answers. These the schoolmasters and the ministers follow as guides in their instructions. But as *Luther* left a neat little book of this sort, in which the first

elements of religion and morality are nervously and lucidly expressed, throughout the church the instruction of young children very properly commences with this; and the provincial *catechisms* are merely expositions and amplifications of *Luther's shorter catechism*, which is one of our *symbolical* books.

§ 6. As to holy days, in addition to that which is sacred to the memory of the Saviour's resurrection, and which occurs every week, the Lutheran church celebrates all those which the piety of former ages consecrated to those distinguished events, that constitute the basis of the divine authority of the Christian religion: nay, that it might not offend the weak, it has retained some of those which superstition, rather than religion, appears to have created. Some communities also observe religiously the days anciently devoted to the ambassadors of *Jesus Christ*, or the *Apostles*. The ancient regulation, which has come down to us from the earliest age of the church, of excluding the ungodly from the communion, the Lutheran church endeavoured to purify from abuses and corruptions, and to restore to its primitive purity. And in this [sixteenth] century no one opposed the wise and temperate use of this power by the ministers of our church. But in process of time it gradually became so little used, that at the present day scarcely a vestige of it, in most places, can be discovered. This change is to be ascribed, in part, to the faults of the ministers, some of whom have not unfrequently perverted an institution, in itself most useful, to the gratification of their own resentments; while others, either from ignorance or indiscretion, have erred in the application of it; in part also, to the counsels of certain individuals, who conceived, that for ministers to have the power of excluding offenders from church communion, was injurious to the interests of the state, and to the authority of the magistrates; and in part, lastly, to the innate propensity of mankind to licentiousness. This restraint upon wickedness being removed, it is not strange that the morals of the Lutherans should have become corrupted, and that a multitude of persons living in open transgression should everywhere lift up their heads.

§ 7. The prosperous and adverse events in the progress of the Lutheran church, after the full establishment of its liberties and independence, may be stated in a few words. Its growth and increase have been already stated; nor could it easily, after what is called the religious peace, extend further its borders. Towards the close of the century, the archbishop of Cologne, *Gebhard*, count Truchsess, was disposed to unite with this church; he married accordingly, and attempted the religious reformation of his territories. But he failed in his great design, which was repugnant to the famous *Ecclesiastical Reservation* among the articles of the religious peace; and he was obliged to resign his electoral dignity and his archbishopric.¹ Neither,

¹ See Jo. Dav. Köhler's *Diss. de Gebhardo Truchsessio*, and the authors he cites. Add Jo. Peter a Ludewig's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor. omnis ævi*, v. 383, &c. *Unschuldige*

Nachrichten, A.D. 1748, p. 484. [Gebhard was of the house of Waldburg Truchsess. After his change of faith, he married, first privately, Agnes, countess of Mansfeld;

on the other hand, could its enemies greatly disturb the peace and prosperity of the church. Yet it was apparent, from various indications, that a new war upon them was secretly plotted; and that the principal object aimed at, was to annul the peace of Passau, which was confirmed at Augsburg, and to cause the protestants to be declared public enemies. Among others, *Francis Burchard* sufficiently manifested such a disposition, in his celebrated work *de Autonomia*, written in 1586; and also *John Pistorius*, in his *Reasons* by which *James*, margrave of Baden, professed to be influenced, in abandoning the Lutheran party.¹ These writers, and others of the like character, commonly assail the religious peace, as being an iniquitous and unjust thing, because extorted by force and arms, and made without the knowledge and against the pleasure of the Roman pontiff, and therefore null and void; they also attempt to demonstrate, from the falsification or change of the Augsburg Confession, of which they say *Melancthon* was the father, that the protestants have forfeited their rights conferred on them by that peace. The latter of these charges gave occasion, in this century and the following, to many books and discussions, by which our theologians placed it beyond all doubt, that this Confession had been kept inviolate and entire, and that the Lutherans had not swerved from it in the least.² But none felt more severely the implacable hatred of the papists, against the new religion, as they call that of the Lutherans, than those followers of this religion,

and he allowed the protestants the free use of their religion, yet with the proviso, that the rights of the archiepiscopal see should remain inviolate. But the chapter, at the head of which was Frederick of Sachsen-Lauenburg, refused obedience to him, in 1583, and were supported in their disobedience by the Spaniards. On the other hand, Gebhard obtained the promise of assistance from the protestants assembled at Heilbron and Worms; yet only the palsgrave, John Casimir, fulfilled the promise. For Gebhard was of the *reformed* religion, and the contention between the reformed and the Lutherans was then carried to a great height; otherwise, probably, this business would have had a very different termination. The chapter applied to pope Gregory XIII., and, having obtained the deposition of their archbishop, made choice of prince Ernest of Bavaria, who was already bishop of Freysing, Hildesheim, and Liege. The archbishop, indeed, sought to support himself. But Augustus, elector of Saxony, hated the reformed too bitterly, and needed the aid of the imperial court in the affair of the Henneberg inheritance too much to be disposed to aid the archbishop; and John Casimir, who was threatened with the ban of the empire, dared not lead out *all* his forces, for fear of being abandoned by the other protestant princes, and becoming a prey to the Spanish and Bavarian

army. Gebhard was, therefore, compelled, as he would not accept the terms proposed in the congress at Frankfort, to retire from the territory of the archbishopric: and he died in Holland, A.D. 1601. *Schl.*

¹ See Christ. Aug. Salig's *Geschichte der Augsbургischen Confession*, vol. i. book iv. ch. iii. p. 767.

² Here Salig may especially be consulted, *Gesch. der Augsb. Confess.* vol. i. It must be admitted, that Melancthon did alter the Augsburg Confession, in some passages. It is also certain, that in 1555, he introduced into the Saxon churches, in which his influence at the time was very great, a form of the confession very different from its original form. But the Lutheran church [in general] never approved this rashness, or imprudence, of Melancthon; nor was *this altered confession* ever admitted to a place among the *symbolical* books. [Melancthon, doubtless, looked upon the confession as his own production, which he had a right to correct and improve; and he altered, in particular, the tenth article, which treats of the Lord's Supper, from a love of peace, and an honest desire to bring the protestants into a closer union with each other, so that they might oppose their common enemies with their united strength. But his good designs were followed by bad consequences. *Schl.*]

who lived in countries governed by princes that followed the Roman religion; and especially the Lutherans in the Austrian dominions, who, at the close of this century, lost the greatest part of their religious liberties.¹

§ 8. While the adherents of the Roman pontiff were thus plotting the destruction of the Lutherans by force and by stratagem, the latter omitted nothing which might contribute in any way to strengthen and establish their own church. Traces of past calamities were fresh in this age, which made men more than usually careful to prevent the like again: and, to confess the truth, there was more zeal for religion then, among men of distinction, and those in high stations, than at the present day. Hence the original confederacy for the defence of religion, which had been formed among the German princes, and of which the elector of Saxony was the head, was strengthened and made more efficient; and foreigners, especially the kings of Sweden and Denmark, were invited to afford it their support. And as all were convinced that the church could not exist and prosper unless its teachers were educated men, and unless literature and science everywhere flourished; for this reason nearly all the princes exerted themselves to set up the strongest barriers against ignorance, the mother of superstition. Their zeal in this matter is evidenced by the new universities founded by them at Jena, Helmstadt, and Altorf, and among the reformed at Franeker, Leyden, and other places; by the old universities reformed, and adapted to the state and necessities of a purer church; by the numerous schools that were opened in nearly all the cities; and by the high salaries for those times given to literary and scientific men, as well as the high honours and privileges conferred upon them. The expense of these salutary measures was defrayed, for the most part, out of the property which the piety of preceding ages had devoted to churches, to convents of monks and canons, and to other pious uses.

§ 9. Thus nearly every branch of human science and knowledge was cultivated and improved. To the Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, all who aspired to the sacred office were required to give attention: and in these languages, it is well known, great men appeared among the Lutherans. History was cultivated and adorned by the names of *Melancthon*, *John Cario*, *David Chytræus*, *Reinerius Reineccius*, and others. Of ecclesiastical history, in particular, *Matthias Flacius* may properly be called the father; for he and his associates, by composing that immortal work, the *Magdeburg Centuries*, threw immense light on the history of the Christians, which before was involved in darkness, and stained with innumerable fables. With him is to be joined

¹ See Bernhard Raupach's *Evangelical Austria*, written in German [*Evangelisches Oesterreich*], i. 152, &c., ii. 287, &c. [This was attributed especially to the influence of the Jesuits, who found ready access to the Austrian and Bavarian courts. At Vienna, Peter Canisius rendered himself very conspicuous; and, on account of his great pains

to hunt up heretics, and drive them to the fold of the church, the Austrian Protestants called him the Austrian *hound*; but those of his own community called him the second Apostle of the Germans. See *Versuch einer neuen Geschichte des Jesuiterordens*, vol. i. p. 372, 407, 468, and vol. ii. in various places. *Schl.*]

Martin Chemnitz, to whose *Examination of the Council of Trent* the history of religious opinions is more indebted than many at this day are aware. The history of literature and philosophy, the art of criticism, antiquities, and other kindred studies, were indeed less attended to; yet beginnings were made in them, which excited those who came after, to prosecute successfully these pleasing pursuits. Eloquence, especially in Latin, both prose and poetic, was pursued by great numbers, and those worthy of comparison with the best Latin writers; which is proof, that genius for scholarship and literature was not wanting in this age; but that it was the circumstances and troubles of the times, which prevented men of talent from attaining the highest excellence in every species of learning. *Philip Melancthon*, the common teacher of the whole Lutheran church, by his instructions, his example, and his influence, enkindled the ardour of all those who acquired fame by the cultivation of literature and ingenuous arts; nor did scarcely an individual of those who prosecuted either divine or human knowledge, venture to depart from the footsteps of this great man. Next to him, *Joachim Camerarius*, a doctor of Leipsic, spent no slight labour in rendering all branches of literature, but especially the more elegant, popular and perfect.

§ 10. Philosophy met with various fortune among the Lutherans. At first, both *Luther* and *Melancthon* seemed to discard all philosophy.¹ And if this was a fault in them, it is chargeable to the account of the doctors of the schools who had abused their barbarous method of philosophizing, as well as the precepts of *Aristotle*, to pervert and obscure exceedingly both human and divine knowledge. Soon, however, these reformers found, that philosophy was indispensably necessary to restrain the licentiousness of the mind, and to defend the territories of religion. Hence *Melancthon* explained nearly all the branches of philosophy in concise treatises, written in a neat and perspicuous style: and these treatises were for many years used in the schools and universities, and expounded to the youth. *Melancthon* may not improperly be called an *eclectic* philosopher. For, while in many things he followed *Aristotle*, and did not utterly despise the old philosophy of the schools, he at the same time drew much from his own genius, and also adopted other things from the doctrines of the Platonics and Stoics.

§ 11. But this simple mode of philosophizing, which *Melancthon* had devised, did not long prevail exclusively. For some acute and subtle men, perceiving that *Melancthon* assigned the first rank among philosophers to *Aristotle*, thought it best to go directly to the fountain; and therefore expounded the Stagirite himself to the students in philosophy. Others who perceived that the Jesuits, and other advocates for the Roman pontiffs, made use of the barbarous terms and the subtleties of the old scholastics in order to confound

¹ See Christ. August. Heumann's *Acts of the Philosophers*; written in German, art. ii. pt. x. p. 579, &c. Jo. Herm. ab Elswich, *Dissert. de Varia Aristotelis Fortuna in*

Scholis Protestantium; which he has prefixed to Jo. Launoi, *de Fortuna Aristotelis in Acad. Parisiensi*; § viii. p. 15, § xiii. p. 36, &c.

the protestants, thought it would be advantageous to the Church, for her young men to be initiated in the mysteries of the Aristotelico-scholastic philosophy. Hence, near the close of the century, there had arisen three philosophical sects, the *Melancthonian*, the *Aristotelian*, and the *Scholastic*. The first gradually decayed; the other two insensibly became united, and at length got possession of all the professorial chairs. But the followers of *Peter Ramus* attacked them in several countries, and not always unsuccessfully: yet they were at last, after various contests, obliged to retire from the schools.¹

§ 12. The same fate was afterwards experienced by the *Fire-Philosophers*,² or the *Paracelsists*, and other men of like character, who wished to abolish altogether the peripatetic philosophy, and to introduce their own into the universities in place of it. At the close of the century, this sect had many eloquent patrons and friends, in most countries of Europe; who, by their writings and their actions, endeavoured to procure glory and renown to this kind of wisdom. In England, *Robert a Fluctibus*, or *Fludd*, a man of uncommon genius, adorned and illustrated this philosophy, by extensive writings, which to this day find readers and admirers.³ In France, *Riverius*, besides others, propagated it at Paris, in spite of an opposition from the university there.⁴ Through Germany and Denmark, *Severinus* spread it with uncommon zeal;⁵ in Germany, also, after others, *Henry*

¹ Jo. Herm. ab Elswich, *de fortuna Aristotelis in Scholis Protestantium*, § 21, p. 54, &c. Jo. Geo. Walch's *Historia Logices*, lib. ii. cap. i. sec. iii. § 5, in his *Parerga Academica*, p. 613, 617, &c. Otto Fred. Schütz, *de Vita Chytræi*, lib. iv. § 4, p. 19, &c. [Ramus was professor of eloquence at Paris, and wished to combine eloquence with philosophy. But as it would not coalesce with the scholastic philosophy, he devised a new species of philosophy, which might be used in common life, at courts, and in worldly business. He separated from philosophy all idle speculations, which are useless in common life, and rejected all metaphysics. This innovation produced great disturbance at Paris. The Aristotelians opposed it most violently. And the king appointed a commission to investigate the controversy; from which Aristotle obtained the victory. From France this philosophy spread into Switzerland and Germany. At Geneva, Beza would have nothing to do with it. At Basil, it found more patrons. The most zealous adherents to Luther, who with him hated Aristotle, nearly all took the side of Ramus. Hence, in our universities there was often fierce war between the Aristotelians and the Ramists, and which frequently cost blood among the students. Indeed the Calixtine contest originated from Ramism. *Schl.*]

² Philosophi ex igne.

³ See Anth. Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniens.* i. 610, and *Histor. et Antiquit. Academiæ*

Oxoniensis, lib. ii. p. 390. Peter Gassendi's examination of Fludd's philosophy, an ingenious and learned performance, in his *Opp.* iii. 259, &c. [Fludd's appropriate work is entitled *Historia Macrocosmi et Microcosmi*; Oppenh. 1617, 1619, 2 vols. fol., and another, *Philosophia Mosaica*, Gouda, 1628, fol. He was a doctor of physic at Oxford, and died in 1637. Fludd, and those of his class, assumed as a first principle, that men can never arrive at true wisdom, until they learn the ways of God in his works of nature; moreover, nature can be learned only by the analysis of fire. Hence they were called Fire-Philosophers: and they were all chemists. They combined their philosophical wisdom with theology. God who is unchangeable, said they, acts in the kingdom of grace, just as He does in the kingdom of nature: so that whoever understands how natural bodies are changed, in particular the metals, understands also what passes in the soul in regeneration, sanctification, renovation, &c. Thus they erected a sort of theology upon the basis of their chemical knowledge; and of course, no one can understand them, unless he is a chemist, or at least has a chemical dictionary before him. *Schl.*]

⁴ Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* vi. 327, and passim.

⁵ Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Litterata*, i. 623, &c. [This Danish physician, who spent a great part of his life in travelling, was one of the strongest supporters of Paracelsus;

Kunrath, a chemist of Dresden, who died in 1605;¹ and in other countries, others established it and procured it adherents. As all these combined the precepts of their philosophy with a great show of piety towards God, and seemed to direct all their efforts to glorifying God, and establishing harmony among disagreeing Christians, they of course readily found friends. Just at the close of the century, they drew over to their party some persons among the Lutherans, very zealous for the promotion of true religion, as *Valerius Weigel*,² *John Arndt*,³ and others; who feared, lest too much disputing and reasoning should divert men from the true worship of God, to run after the noisy and perplexing trifles of the ancient schools.

§ 13. Towards the side of the same party, leaned also *Daniel Hofmann*, a celebrated theologian in the university of Helmstadt, who, in the year 1598, openly assailed all philosophy with great violence; and, relying principally on certain passages and sentences in *Luther's* works, maintained that philosophy was the enemy of all religion and all piety; and moreover, that there was a twofold truth, philosophical and theological, and that philosophical truth was false in theology. Hence arose a fierce contest between him and the philosophers of the university in which he taught, namely, *Owen Günther*,

and first reduced his ideas to a system in a work entitled *Idea Medicinæ Philosophicæ. Schl.*

¹ Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Litterata*, ii. 440, &c. [His principal work is entitled *Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ æternæ solius, veræ, Christiano-Kabbalisticum, Divino-Magicum, Physico-Chymicum*, &c. Hanau, 1609, fol., and Francf. 1653. *Schl.*]

² [This singular man was pastor of Tschoppau, in Meissen, and died in 1588. After his death he was, perhaps unjustly, pronounced a heretic; partly, because his language was not understood, and partly because much that appeared in his writings was not his, but was added by his chanter, who published his works after his death. He appears to have been an honest, conscientious man, without bad intentions, yet somewhat superstitious. See, respecting his life and writings, Godfrey Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzehistorie*, vol. ii. book vii. ch. xvii. and Zach. Hilliger's *Diss. de Vita, Fatis, et Scriptis Weigeli*; Wittemb. 1721. *Schl.*]

³ [Of the history and life of this divine, to whom our church and the cause of piety are so much indebted, nothing need here be said, since his writings are in every one's hands, and many editions of them contain a biography of him. It is well known that his writings gave occasion for violent contests: and for a long time public opinion was divided respecting his orthodoxy and merits. The chancellor of Tübingen, Lucas Osiander, and many others, could find gross heresies in his writings; but the

provost, Bengel, saw in him the Apocalyptic angel, with the everlasting Gospel. *Iliacos intra muros peccatur ex extra.*—If a man will read Arndt's writings, with the feelings of a dispassionate historian, he will hear one speaking in them, who is full of the spirit of Christianity, who abhors scholastic theological wrangling, speaks for the most part more forcibly, and more like the Bible, on practical Christianity, than his contemporaries do; yet he often sinks into a mysticism, which is not the mysticism of the Bible, but of Valerius Weigel, and of Angela de Foligny, from whose writings he borrows largely. In proof of this, read only the third and fourth books of his *True Christianity*; where also many chemical terms occur, such as the Theosophists use; and to which Arndt had accustomed himself, having been a physician in early life, and retaining in after life a fondness for chemical writings. And for this reason, it is probably not so wise in our times, when we have so many ascetic works that are more easy of comprehension and better adapted to our age, to always recommend to common Christians the writings of Arndt. For the people of his times his books were very valuable: but we should not, therefore, be ungrateful to those of our own age which God has vouchsafed to us. Respecting him, see Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzehistorie*, vol. ii. book xvii. chap. vi. § 5, &c., and Weismann's *Historia Eccles. N. Test.* ii. 1174, &c. *Schl.*]

John Caselius, *Conrad Martini*, and *Duncan Liddel*; and some out of the university likewise took part in it, by their writings. *Henry Julius*, Duke of Brunswick, to put an end to the commotion, took cognisance of the cause, calling in the divines of Rostock for counsel; and in the year 1601, ordered *Hofmann* to retract what he had written and spoken disrespectfully of philosophy and the philosophers, and to publicly acknowledge that sound philosophy was in harmony with theology.¹

§ 14. The theology, which is now taught in the Lutheran schools, did not at once attain its present form, but was improved and perfected progressively. Of this fact, those are aware who understand the history of the doctrines concerning the holy Scriptures, free-will, predestination, and other subjects, and who have compared the early systems of theology written by Lutherans, with those of more recent date. For the vindicators of religious liberty did not discover all truth in a moment; but, like persons emerging from long darkness, their vision improved gradually. Our theologians were also greatly assisted in correcting and explaining their sentiments, by the controversies they were involved in, both the external, with the papists, the disciples of *Zwingle* and *Calvin*, and others, and the internal, of which we shall speak hereafter. Those who, like *James Benignus Bossuet* and others, make this a reproach against the Lutherans, do not consider that the founders of the Evangelical Church never wished to be regarded as inspired men, and that the first virtue of a wise man is, to discover the errors of others, and the second is to find out the truth.

§ 15. The first and principal care of the teachers of the reformed religion was, to illustrate and explain the sacred Scriptures; which contain, in the opinion of the Lutheran church, all celestial wisdom. Hence there were almost as many expositors of the Bible among the Lutherans, as there were theologians eminent for learning and rank. At the head of them all stand *Luther* and *Melancthon*; the former of whom, besides other portions of the divine records, expounded particularly the book of Genesis, with great copiousness and sagacity; the expositions of the latter on *Paul's* epistles, and his other labours of this kind, are well known. After these a distinguished rank among the biblical expositors was attained by *Matthias Flacius*, whose *Glosses* on the holy Scriptures, and *Key* to them, were very useful for understanding the sacred writers; by *John Bugenhagen*, *Justus Jonas*, *Andrew Osiander*, and *Martin Chemnitz*, whose *Harmonies* of the Gospels were of great value; by *Victorinus Strigelius*; and by *Joachim Camerarius*, who, in his Commentary on the New Testament, acted the part merely of a grammarian, as he himself informs us; or in other words, calling in the aid of polite literature, in which he

¹ An accurate account of this controversy, and a list of the writings published on both sides, are given by Jo. Möller, in his life of Owen Günther, *Cimbria Litterata*, i. 225, &c. See also Jo. Herm. ab

Elswich, *de fortuna Aristotelis in Scholis Protestant.* § xxvii. p. 76, &c. Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, book xvii. ch. vi. § 15, p. 947, &c.

was well versed, he investigated and explained simply the import of the words and phrases, entirely neglecting theological discussions and controversies.

§ 16. All these interpreters of the holy volume abandoned the uncertain and fallacious method of the ancients, who took no notice of the literal sense, and laboured to extort from the holy oracles, by the aid of the fancy, a kind of recondite meaning, or, in other words, to divert them, without reason, to foreign applications. On the contrary, it was their first and great aim, to ascertain the import of the words, or what it is they express; adopting that golden rule of all sound interpretation which *Luther* first introduced, namely, that all the sacred books have but one only, and that the literal sense. Yet it must be confessed, that very many did not wholly lay aside the inveterate custom of extracting secret and concealed meanings from the language of the inspired writers, but were too sharp-sighted in applying the oracles of the Old Testament prophets to our Saviour, and in eliciting from ancient history prefigurations of future events. Moreover, all the expositors of this century may, I conceive, be divided into two classes. Some followed the example of *Luther*, who first explains the import of the sacred text in a free and artless style, and then makes application of it to theological controversies, to doctrines, and to practical duties. But others were better pleased with *Melancthon's* method; who first divided the discourses of the inspired writers into their constituent parts, or analysed them, according to rhetorical principles; and then closely and minutely surveyed each part, yet rarely departing from the literal meaning, and but sparingly touching upon doctrines and controversies.

§ 17. *Philip Melancthon* first reduced the theology of the Lutherans to a regular system, in his *Loci Communes*: and this work, afterwards enlarged and amended by the author, was in such estimation during this century, and even longer, that it served as the common guide to all teachers of theology, both in their lectures and in their written treatises.¹ The very title of the book shows that the doctrines of revealed religion are not in it artificially arranged, and digested into a philosophical system; but are proposed in an unconstrained and free manner, such as the author preferred. His mode of stating and explaining truth, especially in the earlier editions, is very simple, and unencumbered with the terms, the definitions, and distinctions of the philosophers. For this first age of the Lutheran church, as well as *Luther* himself, wished to discard, and to avoid altogether, the subtleties and syllogisms of the dialectic and scholastic doctors. But the sophistry of their adversaries, and their perpetual contests with them, in process of time caused this artless mode of teaching to be almost wholly laid aside. Even *Melancthon* himself led the way, by introducing gradually into his *Loci Communes* many things taken from the armory of the philosophers, with a view of

¹ See Jo. Fran. Buddeus, *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, lib. ii. cap. i. § 13, vol. i. p. 381, and the authors named by him.

meeting the fallacies of those who dissented from him. Subsequently, when the founders of the church were no more, and the Jesuits with others resolutely attacked the purified church with the old scholastic arms, this crafty mode of warfare had such influence upon our theologians, that they restored the thorny mode of explaining divine truth, which *Luther* and his companions had discarded; and employed, in the explication of religious doctrines, all the intricacies and barbarism of the scholastic philosophy. Several very distinguished and excellent men, near the close of the century, were exceedingly dissatisfied with this change, and bitterly lamented the loss of the ancient simplicity; but they could not prevail at all on the teachers in the universities to return to *Luther's* sober and artless method of teaching. For they said, necessity must govern us, rather than examples and authorities.

§ 18. That practical theology should be restored to its purity, by the very persons who exploded a corrupt doctrinal theology, might readily be supposed by such as understand the intimate natural connexion between them. And more may be learned respecting real piety, from the few writings of *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Weller*,¹ and the two *Riviers*,² not to mention others, than from all the volumes of the *casuists*, and the *moralisers*,³ as they were barbarously called. And yet, in this department also, the whole truth did not at once show itself to those excellent men. It appears rather, from the various controversies respecting the extent of Christian duties which were agitated in this century, and from the answers which even great men gave to questions proposed to them respecting the divine law, that all the first and fundamental principles of Christian duty were not fully settled; nor was it universally understood how far the law of nature and the precepts of Christianity coincide, and wherein they differ, or what there is in revealed religion consonant to the dictates of reason, and what that lies above reason. If the heat of their numerous enemies had allowed the Lutheran doctors more leisure and more opportunity to cultivate and diffuse religion, they would doubtless have been free from these faults, and would not have fallen below the more modern teachers. And the same answer may be given to those who think it strange that no one among so many excellent men—not even *Melancthon*, who seemed formed by nature for such an undertaking—should have thought of collecting and arranging the first principles of morals, and forming a system of practical religion,

¹ [Jerome Weller was born at Freyberg in Meissen, was long familiar with Luther at Wittenberg, and died the superintendent and inspector of schools in his native place, A.D. 1572. He was a practical theologian, and left many edifying and enlightened writings, which prove him a man of great experience. *Schl.*]

² [There were two *Riviers*, both called John: the one was of Westphalia, and a famous schoolmaster of his times, who taught at Cologne, Zwickau, Annaberg,

Schneeberg, and Freyberg; and was afterwards informant and counsellor to Augustus, elector of Saxony; and at last inspector of schools at Meissen. He died in 1553, and left many moral writings in Latin. The other John Rivier was of Venice, and lived near the same time; but whether he wrote anything on morals I know not. See Teissier's *Eloges des Hommes Savans*, i. 153, &c., and Melch. Adam's *Vite Germanor. Philosophorum*, p. 60, &c. *Schl.*]

³ *Moralisantes.*

but should have included all his instructions under the heads of *the law, sin, free-will, faith, hope, and charity*.

§ 19. To designate any one as a noted theologian of that age, is the same as to say that he was an ardent and energetic polemic. For the misfortunes of the times, and the multiplicity of contests, both internal and external, required all to take up arms. Among these defenders of the truth, all who were contemporary with *Luther*, or lived near his times, chiefly studied simplicity; and did not assail their adversaries with any other authorities than those of holy Scripture, and of the early teachers of the church. Those who flourished in the latter part of the century, came forth armed with the weapons of the Aristotelian philosophy; and therefore are less lucid. The cause of this change is to be sought for in their adversaries, especially the papists. For these having learned, by sad experience, that a plain and explicit mode of reasoning was ruinous to their cause, involved themselves and their opinions in all the obscurities and artifices of the scholastic doctors. And this led our theologians to think that they must fight with the same weapons with which they were attacked. Moreover, all disputants of this age, if we except *Melunethon*, to whom Providence had given a mild and modest spirit, are thought at this day to have been much too bitter and acrimonious, and no one more so than *Luther* himself, who is known to have inveighed against his adversaries in the coarsest manner, without regard to rank or dignity. Yet this fault will appear much alleviated, if it be estimated according to the customs of those times, and if compared with the brutality and cruelty of his opponents. Is it not allowable to designate malignant railers and ferocious tyrants, who labour to destroy, and actually do destroy, with fire and sword, the holy souls which they cannot vanquish in argument, by applying to them the epithets appropriate to their crimes?

§ 20. The internal history of the Lutheran church, and of the changes that took place in it, if we would render it easy of comprehension, and make the causes of events intelligible, must be divided into three periods. The first extends from the commencement of the Reformation to the death of *Luther* in 1546. The second embraces what occurred between the death of *Luther* and that of *Melunethon*, in 1560. The third period contains the remainder of the century.—In the first period, everything among the Lutherans took place according to the will and pleasure of *Luther*; who being a man of great energy of character, and possessing unbounded influence everywhere, suppressed without difficulty all the commotions and disturbances that arose, and did not suffer nascent sects to attain maturity and acquire strength in his new community. Therefore, so long as *Luther* lived, the internal state of the church was tranquil and peaceful; and such as were meditating alterations had either to be still, or to leave the church, and seek a settlement elsewhere.

§ 21. The very infancy of the new church was disturbed by a set of men, fanatical and void of self-control, who turned the world upside down, and pretended that a divine inspiration had marked them out

as founders of a new kingdom of Christ, free from all sin. The leaders of this turbulent and discordant tribe were *Thomas Münzer*, *Nicholas Storch*, *Mark Stübner*, and others, partly Germans, and partly Swiss; who greatly disquieted some parts of Europe, especially Germany, and raised tumults among the ignorant multitude, in some places very great, in others less, but everywhere formidable.¹ The history of these people is very obscure and perplexed: for it has not been methodically written, nor could it easily be so, if one were disposed to narrate it; because, everywhere, men of this sort, of dubious sanity, and differing variously from each other in opinions, roamed about, nor did the state of the times produce diligent recorders of such tumultuous proceedings. This is certain, that the worst members of this motley company combined together in that seditious band which produced the rustic war in Germany, and in that which afterwards disturbed Westphalia, and settled itself at Münster; while the better members, terrified by the miseries and slaughter of their companions, at length joined themselves to the sect called *Mennonites*. The zeal, vigilance, and resolution of *Luther*, prevented his community from being rent asunder by this sort of people, and the fickle and credulous populace from being deceived and led astray by them, as would undoubtedly have been the case, if he had possessed less energy of character.

§ 22. *Andrew Carlstadt*, a Franconian, *Luther's* colleague, a man neither ill-disposed nor unlearned, but precipitate, was too ready to listen to this sort of men; and accordingly, in the year 1522, while *Luther* was absent, raised no little commotion at Wittemberg, by casting the images out of the churches, and by other hazardous innovations. But *Luther* suddenly returning, his presence and discourses brought back peace. Departing now from Wittemberg to Orlamund, *Carlstadt* not only opposed *Luther's* opinions respecting the Lord's Supper, but, in many other things besides, discovered a mind not averse from fanatical opinions.² He was, therefore, expelled from Saxony, and went over to the Swiss; among whom he taught, first at Zurich, and then at Bâle; and as long as he lived, he showed himself inclined to the side of the Anabaptists, and of the men that made pretensions to divine visions.³ This second commotion, therefore, *Luther* happily terminated in a short time.

¹ Jo. Baptist Ott has collected much relating to these events in his *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 8, &c., and with him may be joined nearly all the historians of the Reformation. [The war of the peasants in 1525, was noticed in sec. i. ch. ii. § 21, &c., above; and that of the *Anabaptists* in Westphalia, A.D. 1533, *ibid.* ch. iii. § 10. The rise of the sect of *Mennonites* will be considered in the 6th chapter of this second part of the present section. *Tr.*]

² See Val. Ern. Löscher's *Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, pt. i. cap. i. Daniel Gerdes, *Vita Carolostadii*,

in his *Miscell. Gröningens. Novis.* t. i., and most of the historians of the Reformation.

³ [This affirmation of Dr. Mosheim wants much to be modified; since it is well known that *Carlstadt*, after his banishment from Saxony, composed a treatise against enthusiasm in general, and against the extravagant tenets and the violent proceedings of the Anabaptists in particular. Nay more; this treatise was addressed to *Luther*, who was so affected by it, that, repenting of the unworthy treatment he had given to *Carlstadt*, he pleaded his cause, and ob-

§ 23. A man of similar turn of mind, was *Caspar Schwenckfeld*, of Ossigk,¹ a Silesian knight, councillor to the duke of Liegnitz; who, with *Valentine Crautwald*, a learned man living at the court of Liegnitz, saw many deficiencies in *Luther's* opinions and regulations; and undoubtedly, if *Luther* and others had not strenuously resisted him, would have produced a schism, and a sect of considerable magnitude. For he led a blameless and upright life, recommended and laboured to promote piety among the people, with peculiar earnestness; and by these means so captivated very many, even learned and discreet men, both among the Lutherans and the Zwinglians, that they thought it their duty to patronise him, and to defend him against his adversaries.² But in the year 1528, he was banished by the duke, both from the court and the country; because *Zwingle* had declared, that *Schwenckfeld's* sentiments respecting the Lord's Supper, were not different from his own. From this time, he wandered through various provinces, and experienced various fortunes, till his death in 1561.³ He left a little community in his native Silesia; which the

tained from the elector a permission for him to return into Saxony. See Gerdes, *Vita Carolostadii*, in *Miscell. Gröningens*. After this reconciliation with *Luther*, he composed a treatise on the Eucharist, which breathes the most amiable spirit of moderation and humility; and, having perused the writings of *Zwingle*, where he saw his own sentiments on that subject maintained with the greatest perspicuity and force of evidence, he repaired, a second time, to Zurich, and from thence to Basil, where he was admitted to the offices of pastor and professor of divinity, and where, after having lived in the exemplary and constant practice of every Christian virtue, he died, amidst the warmest effusions of piety and resignation, on the 25th of December, 1541. All this is testified solemnly in a letter of the learned and pious Gryneus of Basil to Pitiscus, chaplain to the elector-palatine, and shows how little credit ought to be given to the assertions of the ignorant Moreri, or to the insinuations of the insidious Bossuet.' *Macl.*

¹ [Ossing. *Von Ein.*]

² See Jo. Conrad Fuesslin's *Centuria I. Epistolarum a Reformator. Helvet. Scripturibus*, p. 169, 175, 225. *Museum Helvet.* iv. 445, &c.

³ See Jo. Wigand's *Schwenckfeldianismus*, Lips. 1586, 4to. Conrad Schlüsselburg's whole tenth book of his *Catalogus Hæreticorum*, Francf. 1599, 8vo. But the history of *Schwenckfeld* is most studiously investigated, and accompanied with vindications of him, by Godfrey Arnold, *Kirchen- und Ketzehistorie*, book xvi. ch. xx. p. 720, &c. [vol. i. p. 835—856, and p. 1246—1292, ed. Schaffhausen, 1740, fol. Tr.] and by Chr. Aug. Salig, *Geschichte der Augsb.*

Confession, vol. iii. book xi. p. 951, &c. [Schwenckfeld was born in 1490, and was employed in the courts of Münsterberg and Liegnitz, and held a canonry at Liegnitz. He aided the reformation in Silesia: but *Luther's* reformation, in his view, did not go far enough. He not only wished for a stricter church discipline, but he also found some fault with certain points of doctrine. As early as 1524, he commenced an attack upon the Evangelical church, by his essay on the Abuse of the Gospel to carnal security; and the year following he brought forward his new opinion respecting the Eucharist. According to the epistle of the superintendent of Liegnitz, Simon Gruneus, to Abraham Scultetus of Heidelberg (in the *Supplem. ad Ind. I. Histor.* no 28, of Sekendorf's *Historia Lutheranismi*), it was not merely the duke that banished *Schwenckfeld* from Silesia, but also Ferdinand, king of the Romans. He seems to have drawn on himself the hatred of this lord, chiefly, by his opinion concerning the Eucharist; which he defended, in 1529, by a writing printed at Liegnitz, with a preface by Capito. From Silesia he retired to Strasburg, where he was supported for some time by the preachers, Matthew Zell and Capito. Afterwards he resided in several imperial cities of Suabia; and died at Ulm, in 1561, after having obtained many followers in Alsace, Würtemberg, and elsewhere. His writings were at first printed separately, but after his death, collectively, in 1564, in 2 parts, or four vols. fol., and in 1592, in 4 large volumes, 4to. The greater part of them were also published in 1566, fol., under the title of *Epistolar des edlen von Gott hochbegnadigten theueren Mannes Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossing*, &c. Besides these, he left

papists, in our own times, ordered to quit the country, but which the king of Prussia, in the year 1742, permitted to return to its ancient settlements.¹

§ 24. *Schwenckfeld* merits praise for good intentions, piety, and zeal in spreading it; but not for discretion, sound judgment, and intelligence. The good man was ever inclining to the side of those who are called fanatics, and fancied himself taught by the Spirit of God. From *Luther* and the other professors of the reformed religion, he differed principally, on three points: for I pass over inferences from his principles, and minor points of doctrine.—(I.) In regard to the Lord's Supper: he inverted the words of Christ, *This is my body*; and would have them understood thus: *My body is this*, that is, is such as this bread, which is broken and eaten; or, it is real food for the soul, nourishes, satisfies, delights it. And, *my blood is this*, namely, like wine, which refreshes and strengthens the soul. And this singular doctrine, he said, had been divinely communicated to him; which alone shows how weak his mind and discernment were.²

various MSS., which are in the Wolfenbüttel library, and which Salig consulted. One tolerable and devotional tract is on the Love of God, and was printed at Amsterdam, 1594, 8vo.—Crautwald was a professor and a pastor at Liegnitz, a promoter of the Reformation, but afterwards took sides with Schwenckfeld, participated in his views of the Eucharist, and published various writings under the name of Valentine Cratoald. Other adherents to Schwenckfeld were Jo. Siegm. Werner, court preacher to the duke of Liegnitz; who was displaced in 1540, after being sent by the duke to Wittemberg, to be better instructed by Luther and Melancthon. He now retired to the county of Glatz, where he established a school at Rengersdorf, and composed a Catechism and a Postill, under the name of *Siegm. Rengersdorf*. The Catechism is still regarded by the Schwenckfelders as one of their best elementary books; and the Postill is often used in their religious worship. Besides these, in the middle of the following century, lived one Daniel Frederic, who, in 1643, published *The Secret of Self-examination*. See, concerning him, Godfr. Arnold, l. c. vol. iv. sec. ii. no. 24. *Schl.*]

¹ On the Confessions of the Schwenckfelders, see Jo. Chr. Köcher's *Biblioth. Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 457. [Most of the Schwenckfelders joined the body, after the death of Schwenckfeld, when the concealed protestants in Bohemia, the county of Glatz, and Silesia, obtained possession of his writings, which were spread abroad in great numbers; and they established congregations, principally, in the territories of Liegnitz, Hirschberg, and Goldberg. But they were often severely persecuted, under the Austrian government, especially since 1718, and were

harassed by the Jesuit missionaries; hence the greater part of them retired to Pennsylvania, where they set up congregations, and held communion with other fanatical parties. Others, who remained in the vicinity, being invited back, returned when the country fell under the Prussian government. See Baumgarten's *Geschichte der Religions-Partheyen*, p. 1059, &c. *Schl.*]

² [He also discarded infant baptism; though he did not require those baptized in infancy to be rebaptized; and therefore differed in this from the Anabaptists. Hence Grunæus informs us (in Seckendorf's *Hist. Lutheranismi*, Supplem. ad Ind. I. no. 28), that, in 1526, infant baptism was nearly done away among the Schwenckfelders. *Schl.*—The Lutheran writers thus tax Schwenckfeld with discarding infant baptism. The fact was, he placed no reliance upon any outward rites for the salvation of the soul; and was strongly opposed to the prevailing idea, that water baptism was necessary to the salvation of any one. Baptism in the blood of Christ, or spiritual baptism, was everything, in his estimation. And he deemed it proper, though not essential, that this spiritual baptism should precede water baptism. See Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, book xvi. ch. xx. § 13, 14, vol. i. p. 842, &c., and p. 1271. Neither does Grunæus (in the passage in Seckendorf mentioned by Schlegel) intimate that Schwenckfeld treated infant baptism with any greater neglect or disrespect than he did the Lord's Supper, and other external rites. His words are these: 'Eo vero anno, 1526, progredi cœpit fanaticorum insania, ut administratio sacræ cœnæ aliquandiu plane intermissa, pædobaptismus quoque penitus prope fuerit exterminatus.' *Tr.*]

(II.) In regard to the efficacy of the word of God: he denied, that there is efficacy in the external word, as written down in the inspired books, to heal, illuminate, and regenerate the minds of men. This efficacy he ascribed to the *internal word*, which he said was *Christ* himself. But of this internal word, he expresses himself, in his usual manner, without uniformity and clearness; so that it is not easy to decide, whether he held the same views with the Mystics and the Quakers, or differed from them. (III.) In regard to the human nature of *Christ*: it displeased him to hear the human nature of Christ denominated a *creature*, or created existence, in what theologians call its state of exaltation: for this language he thought below the dignity and majesty of Christ's human nature, since it had become united with the divine nature in one person. This opinion appeared to resemble what is called the Eutychian doctrine. But *Schwenckfeld* would not be considered a Eutychian; and, on the contrary, accused those of Nestorianism, who called the human nature of *Christ* a *creature*.¹

§ 25. As *Luther* taught that the *gospel*, or the doctrine of a salvation procured for mankind by *Jesus Christ*, should be inculcated on the people, and censured and chastised the papists for confounding the law and the Gospel, and promising men salvation from obedience to the law, *John Agricola*, a native of Eisleben, and a celebrated divine of the Lutheran church, but whimsical and fickle, thence took occasion, in the year 1538, to teach that the law should be wholly excluded from the church, and never be taught to the people; and that the gospel alone should be taught, both in the schools and from the pulpit. Those who agreed in this with *Agricola*, were called *Antinomians*, or *enemies of the law*. But this sect also was suppressed in its very origin, by the energy and influence of *Luther*: and *Agricola*, through fear of so great a man, confessed and renounced his error. It is said, however, that the lion whom he dreaded, or *Luther*, being dead, he returned to the opinion he had renounced, and drew some persons to embrace it.²

¹ [Likewise in respect to the church, he held singular opinions. He regarded it as a visible community of believers only; and therefore held, that no hypocrite should be tolerated in the Christian church; that an absolute purity not only of the church generally, or as a body, but also of all the individual members of it, was possible; and, therefore, wished to restore the ancient church discipline in all its rigour. He likewise taught, that all the ministrations of unconverted preachers were inefficient; and that the whole efficacy of the sacred ministry depended on the gracious state of the preachers, or on the Spirit and internal word of God residing in them. On the whole, *Schwenckfeld* possessed too little true philosophy to state correctly and to substantiate his views; and too little acquaintance with their original languages, to expound

the Scriptures correctly. He first learned Greek from Crautwald. *Schl.*]

² See Caspar Sagittarius, *Introductio ad Historiam Ecclesiast.*, i. 838, &c. Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Islebius*, ii. 1567 [and art. *Agricola*, i. 100]. Conrad Schlüsselburg, *Catalogus Hereticor.* lib. iv. Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, book xvi. ch. xxv. p. 813, &c. [By the writers of those times, he is generally called Master Eisleben. He was a pupil of Luther; and in 1530, when the Augsburg Confession was presented, he aided Luther in defending it. He was a restless, fiery, contentious man, negligent in duty, and more of a courtier than was becoming in a minister. He was a rector and preacher; and after his dismission, read lectures at Wittenberg. Perhaps rivalry between the two colleagues, Melancthon and Agricola, and the desire of

§ 26. The opinions of the *Antinomians* were most pernicious, if we may believe their adversaries. For they are said to have taught, that a person may live as he lists, and break the law by sinning at his pleasure, provided he holds to Christ, and embraces his merits by faith. But any one who considers the whole subject fairly, will readily perceive that *Agricola* did not teach such impious and absurd doctrines, though he might sometimes utter harsh expressions, that were liable to misinterpretation and perversion. By the law, *Agricola* understood the ten commandments of Moses; which he viewed as a law enacted especially for the Jews, and not for Christians. The term Gospel he used in a broad sense, as including, not only the doctrine of Christ's merits, and salvation by faith, but likewise all that Christ and his apostles inculcated respecting holiness of life and the duties of men. Removing, therefore, unsuitable modes of expression, and mere integuments, he seems really to have meant no more than this: that the ten commandments of Moses were promulgated especially for the Jews, and of course might be neglected and laid aside among Christians; and that it would be sufficient to explain distinctly, and inculcate on the people, what Christ and his disciples had taught us, in the books of the New Testament, respecting both the way of salvation, and repentance, and a holy life. Most of the doctors of that age express their views with little precision and uniformity, nor are their definitions accurate; hence it often happens, that they are understood by others, in a way never contemplated by themselves.

§ 27. On *Luther's* death, in 1546, *Philip Melancthon* became the head and leader of the theologians in the Lutheran church. He was undoubtedly a great and excellent man, but much inferior to *Luther* in many respects,¹ especially in strength of mind, fortitude, and influence over others. For he was mild and gentle, excessively fond of peace and tranquillity, timid and shrinking before the resentment or

the latter to obtain the pre-eminence, rather than honest zeal for rescuing the truth from perversion, occasioned this contest. *Agricola* thought *Melancthon*, in the articles which he drew up for visitation of the churches, had deviated from the sentiments of *Luther* and other reformers; that he held the use of the law to be indispensable under the New Testament, and for conversion; and he wrote some propositions in opposition; which are printed in *Luther's Works* (ed. Altenb., vol. vii. p. 310), and bear the title, *Positiones inter Fratres Sparsæ*. *Luther* confuted them, in six discussions: and *Agricola* was now held to retract; which he did at Wittenberg. But on leaving Wittenberg, in 1540, and retiring to Berlin, where he possessed the goodwill of the electoral prince in a high degree, and was employed in furthering the Reformation, he did not cease, occasionally, to advance his propositions. Upon occasion of the *Interim*, he fell

into the opposite error, of the meritorious nature of good works. Among his adherents, *James Schenk*, superintendent at Freyberg, in Meissen, was the most famous. He was dismissed in 1538, on account of his Antinomian opinions, when, appearing to retract, he was called to Leipsic; but again bringing them forward, he was dismissed the second time. See also *Jo. Geo. Walch's Einleitung in die Streitigkeiten der Evangelisch. Luth. Kirche*, ch. ii. § 10, p. 115. *Schl.*]

¹ ['It would certainly be very difficult to point out the many respects, in which *Dr. Mosheim* affirms that *Luther* was superior to *Melancthon*. For if the single article of courage and firmness of mind be excepted, I know no other respect in which *Melancthon* is not superior, or at least equal, to *Luther*. He was certainly his equal in piety and virtue, and much his superior in learning, judgment, meekness, and humanity.' *Macl.*]

wrath of the powerful; in short, one that could secure the attachment and love of others, but who was not competent to terrify, repress, and hold in check the authors of disturbance and of new opinions. He also dissented from *Luther* on some subjects. For (I.) he thought that, for the sake of peace, many things might be given up and be borne with, in the Roman church, which *Luther* thought could by no means be endured; indeed, he did not hesitate to admit, that the ancient form of church government, and even the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, might be retained on certain conditions, and provided that no violence was done to the truth as clearly taught by the Holy Scriptures. (II.) He considered certain opinions maintained by *Luther* against the papists—for instance, concerning faith as the sole ground of justification, the necessity of good works in order to salvation, and the inability of man to convert himself to God—capable of some softening down, so as to close the door against new errors. (III.) Though his opinion coincided with *Luther's* as to the Holy Supper, yet he thought the controversy with the Swiss, on that subject, to be of no such moment as to make the parties unable to maintain brotherly affection; that it would be a sufficient provision for peace and concord, if the doctrine in regard to the Lord's Supper were stated in ambiguous terms and phrases, on which each party could put its own construction.—These opinions he did not indeed wholly dissemble and conceal during *Luther's* lifetime, but he proposed them with modesty, and always gave way to *Luther*, whom he honoured and feared. But when *Luther* was dead, all that he had before taught cautiously and timidly, he brought forward much more openly and explicitly. Now, all these things caused the Lutheran church, while he stood at the head of her theologians, to lose that peace which had been enjoyed under *Luther*, and to become in some measure the scene of many and fierce contests and commotions.

§ 28. The commencement of these calamities was in the year 1548, when *Maurice*, the new elector of Saxony, directed *Melancthon* and the divines of Wittemberg and Leipsic to assemble at Leipsic, and consider how far the noted *Interim* which *Charles V.* wanted to obtrude upon Germany, might be received. *Melancthon*, partly through fear of the emperor, and partly from his native mildness and moderation, here decided, with the concurrence of the other divines, that in things of an intermediate kind, or *indifferent*,¹ the emperor's will might be obeyed.² Among things of an intermediate kind,

¹ In rebus mediæ generis, seu *Adiaphoris*.

² The paper containing the opinion of *Melancthon* and the other divines, respecting things indifferent, or the result of their deliberations, is commonly called *The Leipsic Interim* (*Das Leipziger Interim*); and was republished by Jo. Erdm. Bieck, in his work entitled *Das dreyfache Interim*, Leipsic, 1721, 8vo. [This *Interim* is properly an appendage to the result of the Diet of Leipsic, Dec. 22, 1548. In it the theologians define what they regard as *indifferent* litur-

gical matters, which might be admitted, to please the emperor, and at his command. Among them were the dresses for priests, the apparel used at mass, the surplice; and many customs evidently indicative of worship paid to the host, such as tolling and ringing bells at the elevation of the host. Besides *Melancthon*, there were present at this diet, Paul Eber, Bugenhagen, and George Major, of the Wittemberg divines, and Pfeffinger of Leipsic; likewise the bishop of Merseburg, prince George of

or *adiaphora*, *Melancthon*, however, and his associates reckoned many things, which *Luther* deemed of great importance, and which, therefore, his genuine followers could not account *indifferent*; for instance, the doctrine of justification before God by faith *alone*, the necessity of good works in order to salvation, the number of the sacraments, several ceremonies contaminated with superstition, extreme unction, the dominion of the Roman pontiff and of bishops, certain feast days long abrogated, and other things. Hence arose the violent contest, called the *Adiaphoristic controversy*;¹ which was protracted many years, and in which the defenders and advocates of the old doctrines of *Luther* (at the head of whom was *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*,) opposed with immense fervour the *Wittenberg* and *Leipsic* divines, especially *Melancthon*, by whose counsel and influence the whole had been brought about; and accused them of apostasy from the true religion. On the other hand, *Melancthon*, and his disciples and friends, defended his conduct with all their strength.² In this sad and perilous controversy, there were two

Anhalt, and Justus Menius. This *Leipsic Interim* must be distinguished from that of Augsburg, and the still older one of Regensburg, of both which notice has already been taken. *Schl.*]

¹ [*Adiaphoristic*, from ἀδιάφοπος, *indifferent*. *Melancthon*, and those who thought with him, were called *Adiaphorists*. *Tr.*]

² Conrad Schlüsselburg, *Catalogus Hæreticorum*, lib. xiii. Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, book xvi. ch. xxvi. p. 816. Chr. Aug. Salig's *Historie der Augsbургischen Confession*, i. 611, &c. *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1702, p. 339, 393. Lucas Osiander, *Epitome Historiæ Eccles.* cent. xvi. p. 502, &c. [From the records of these contests (many of which are given by Schlüsselburg especially), it appears, that besides the points already mentioned, they contended about the use of Latin formulas of worship, and about chanting them; whether the prayers in public worship, and particularly at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, should be read, or be sung; respecting the observance of various times of worship, as vespers, matins, the canonical hours, and the days devoted to St. Mary and the Apostles. The most of these, though previously abolished, had already been again introduced, in electoral Saxony and Brandenburg, by prince Maurice, in order to please Charles V., and likewise in most of the imperial cities; among which Nuremberg stood prominent, because there most of the preachers were Philippists. *Schl.*—The representations of Mosheim, in the text, would seem to imply, what was by no means the fact, that *Melancthon* rejected the doctrine of justification by faith *alone*, held to salvation by works, and admitted seven sacraments, &c. Schlegel's representations, on the contra-

ry, would seem to imply, that *Melancthon* only conceded the lawfulness of yielding to the imposition of certain *ceremonies* and *forms* of worship. According to Schroeckh (*Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, iv. 690, &c.), the Augsburg *Interim*, which the emperor would force upon his subjects, contained nearly the whole system of the Roman theology, both as to faith and practice; yet expressed throughout in the most accommodating and unexceptionable language. *Melancthon*, and the other divines, endeavoured so to modify this *Interim*, that the protestants might conscientiously yield to it, under the present circumstances. They therefore altered and interpolated the doctrinal articles, and sifted and modified those relating to worship and ceremonies. They allowed the pope to remain at the head of the church; but without conceding to him a divine right, and without allowing him to be the arbiter of faith. The seven sacraments were permitted to remain, as religious rites; but not under the denomination of sacraments, nor as efficacious to salvation, in the popish sense. The mass was represented as merely a repetition of the Lord's Supper. Good works were allowed to be necessary to salvation; yet not as the meritorious ground of justification, but only as an essential part of the Christian character. Salvation was wholly by grace, through faith in the merits of Christ. Thus they supposed they secured all the essential articles of religion, and only yielded to be saddled with a load of cumbersome and injudicious ceremonies, rather than incur the vengeance of the emperor, and expose the whole Reformation to danger. *Melancthon*'s actual belief is to be learned from his *Loci Communes*, or *System of Theology*; no

principal points at issue. *First*: whether the things that *Melancthon* deemed of an intermediate kind, or *indifferent*, actually were so; which his adversaries denied. *Secondly*: whether it is lawful, in things indifferent, and not essential to religion, to give way to the enemies of truth.

§ 29. The *adiaphoristic* controversy was the fruitful parent of other contests equally pernicious. In the first place, it produced the contest with *George Major*, a divine of Wittemberg, respecting the necessity of good works to salvation. *Melancthon* had long been accustomed to concede, and in the consultation at Leipsic respecting the *Interim*, in 1548, he with his associates confessed, that it might be said, without prejudice to the truth, that *good works are necessary to salvation*. But as the defenders of the old Lutheran theology censured this declaration, as contrary to the doctrine of *Luther*, and highly useful to the popish cause, *Major*, in the year 1552, defended it against *Nicolas Amsdorf*, in a tract expressly on the subject of the necessity of good works. And now broke out again a fierce and bitter contest, such as all the religious controversies of that age were, between the more rigid Lutherans and the more lax. And in the course of it, *Nicolas Amsdorf*, a strenuous vindicator of *Luther's* doctrines, was carried so far by the heat of controversy, as to maintain, that good works are *pernicious* to salvation: which imprudent admission furnished fresh matter for controversy. *Major* bitterly complained, that his opinion was misrepresented by his opponents; and at last, that he might not appear to continue the war, and disturb the church unreasonably, he gave it up. Yet the dispute was continued, and was terminated only by the *Form of Concord*.¹

§ 30. From the same source arose what is called the *synergistic*² controversy. The *Synergists* were nearly the same as the Semi-Pelagians; i. e. they were persons who supposed, that God is not the sole author of our conversion to him, but that man *co-operates* with God in the renovation of his own mind. On this subject, *Melancthon* differed, at least in words, from *Luther*; and in the Leipsic conference, he did not hesitate to say, that *God so draws and converts adults, that some agency of their wills accompanies his influences*. The pupils and friends of *Melancthon* adopted his language. But the strenuous Lutherans conceived, that this sentiment corrupted and subverted *Luther's* doctrine of the *servitude* of the will, or of man's impotence to amend himself, and to perform any good actions; and they, therefore, violently assailed the persons whom they denominated *Synergists*. In this contest, the principal champions were *Victorin*

essential part of which, as he supposed, was given up in the *Leipsic Interim*. Tr.]

¹ Schlüsselburg, *Catalog. Hæreticor.* lib. vii. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, b. xvi. ch. xxvii. p. 822, &c. Jo. Musæus, *Prælect. in Form. Concord.* p. 181, &c. Arn. Greivus, *Memoria Jo. Westphali*, p. 166, &c. [Schlegel here inserts a long note, showing that neither *Melancthon* nor *Major*

held to justification on the ground of merit, or of good works, though they held good works to be necessary, in some sense, to a man's salvation. It seems, the parties misunderstood each other; and that both used very unguarded language, which led them into furious conflicts, for which there was no sufficient cause. Tr.]

² [From *συνέργεια*, *co-operation*. Tr.]

Strigel, who the most openly and ingeniously defended the Melancthonian doctrine, and *Matthias Flacius*, who defended the old opinion of Luther. Of these men, we shall give account shortly.¹

§ 31. In the midst of these tumults and commotions, the dukes of Saxe-Weimar (sons of that *John Frederic*, whose unsuccessful war with *Charles V.* brought on him so many evils and the loss of his electoral dignity) founded and opened a new university at Jena. And as the founders wished this school to be the seat of the true reformed religion of *Luther*, they called to it teachers and theologians, who were distinguished and famous for their love and zeal for the genuine theology of *Luther*, and for their hatred of all more moderate sentiments. And as none was more celebrated in this respect than *Matthias Flacius*, a most strenuous adversary of *Philip Melancthon*, and of all the Philippists or moderate party, he was made professor of theology at Jena, in the year 1557. But this turbulent man, whom nature had fitted to sow discord, and to promote contention, not only cherished all the old controversies, with incredible heat, but likewise stirred up new ones, and so involved the divines of Weimar and those of electoral Saxony with each other, that the discerning were afraid of a schism and the rise of sects among the Lutherans.² And undoubtedly, the Lutheran church would have been split into two communities, if his counsels had had the effect intended. For he recommended to his lords, the dukes of Weimar, in the year 1559, to order a *confutation* of all the errors that had been broached among the Lutherans, and especially of those with which the Melancthonians were taxed, to be drawn up, published, and subjoined to the other formulas of faith in their territories. But this attempt to rend the Lutheran church into opposing parties, proved abortive, because the other princes, who were truly Lutheran, disapproved the book, and feared it would be the cause of greater evils.³

¹ See Schlüsselburg, *Catalogus Hæreticor.* lib. v. Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, b. xvi. ch. xxviii. p. 826, &c. Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Synergistes*, iii. 2898. Christ. Aug. Salig, *Historie der Augsb. Confession*, iii. 474, 587, 880, &c. Musæus, *Prælect. in Form. Concord.* p. 88. [Melancthon, in his first writings, as well as Luther at first, maintained, according to St. Augustine, an irresistible operation of divine grace, in accordance with God's unconditional decrees; and he so taught in the first edition of his *Loci Communes*. But afterwards, in the third and eighteenth articles of the altered *Augsburg Confession*, he taught, that, for our conversion, we need only the assistance of God and his Spirit; and that, though weak and hard pressed, we can ourselves commence and effect it. In his *Examen Ordinandorum*, he maintains that there are three causes of conversion—God, the word of God, and free will; and he seems to ascribe to free will and to human ability, an appropriate natural power, though

in a feeble manner, to bring about conversion. Many of his pupils hereupon went still further; and especially, Victorin Strigel, one of his most able pupils, distinguished himself in this controversy. *Schl.*]

² See the memorable epistle of Augustus, the prince elector, respecting Flacius and his attempts; published by Arn. Grevius, *Memoria Joh. Westphali*, p. 393, &c.

³ See Chr. Aug. Salig's *Historie der Augsb. Confession*, iii. 476, &c. [A *confutation* was actually drawn by Strigel, Erhard Schnepf, and a preacher of Jena. When it was ready, the theologians of Jena, and the superintendents of the whole land, were called to Weimar, to examine it. Flacius advised, that the writers of it should not be admitted into the assembly, urging that the theologians would then express their opinions more freely, and that the presence of the writers, whose opinions might easily be known from the book itself, might occasion controversy and disunion. But the duke would not allow this advice, and the writers

§ 32. This extremely contentious man threw also the Weimarian church, and the university of Jena, of which he was a professor, into commotion, by his attacks upon *Victorin Strigel*, his colleague, a pupil and friend of *Melancthon*.¹ *Strigel* taught, in many points, according to the principles maintained by *Melancthon*; he denied, in particular, that the human mind is altogether inactive, while God moves and draws it to repentance. *Flacius*, therefore, so successfully accused him of *synergism*, before the court of Weimar, that he was put into close custody, by order of the prince. From this calamity he delivered himself, in 1562, by publishing an exposition of his views; and he was restored to liberty and to his office. Yet the contest did not here subside, because he was thought to have rather concealed his error under ambiguous expressions, than discarded it. Wherefore, lest he should be involved in new troubles, he retired from Jena, first to Leipsic, and then to Heidelberg; where he died, leaving posterity in doubt, whether he ought to be classed among the true followers of *Luther* or not.

§ 33. But *Flacius* set this controversy with *Strigel* on foot, greatly to his own injury, and to the great injury of the whole Lutheran church. For while pursuing his adversary intemperately, he fell himself into a sentiment so monstrous and wrong, that his own friends regarded him as a *heretic* and a corruptor of true religion. There was a formal dispute between him and *Strigel*, at Weimar, in 1560, respecting the natural power of man to amend himself and to do good, which *Strigel* seemed to exalt too much. In this conference, *Strigel*, who was well skilled in philosophy, with a view to cramp *Flacius*, asked him, whether original sin, or the vitiosity of the human soul, was to be classed among *substances* or among *accidents*? *Flacius* most imprudently replied, that it should be reckoned among *substances*; and to the end of his life he maintained this portentous sentiment, that *original sin is the very substance of a man*, with so much zeal and pertinacity, that he would sooner part with all his honours and privileges than with this error. The greatest part of the Lutheran church condemned the Flacian doctrine, and judged it to be nearly allied to Manichæism. But the high rank of the man, his learning, and his reputation, weighed so much with many, that even some very learned persons embraced his cause, and eagerly defended it; among whom *Cyriac Spangenberg*, *Christopher Irenæus*, and *Cælestine* were the most celebrated.²

were called to the council. There was now quarrel after quarrel; for *Flacius* and others found much to censure in the confutation, and the writers of it would not allow it to be altered. The superintendents next collected various confutations, out of which an abstract was afterwards made, which being amended by *Flacius*, *Erasmus Sarcarius*, *Joachim Mörlin*, and *John Aurifaber*, was printed in 1559, with an edict of the duke, and was afterwards admitted into the *Corpus Doctrinæ Thuringicum*; but *Strigel*,

from the first, strenuously opposed this form of a confutation. See *Narratio Action. et Certam. Matth. Flacii*, in *Schlüsselsburg's Catal. Hæreticor.* xiii. 802, &c. *Schl.*]

¹ See the biographers of *Strigel*; and, besides the others above mentioned, *Bayle*, in his *Dictionnaire*, iii. 1262.

² See *Conrad Schlüsselsburg's Catalogus Hæreticor.* lib. ii. *Jo. Balth. Ritter's Life of Flacius*, in German, *Frankf.* 1725, 8vo. *Christ. Aug. Salig's Historie dër Augsb.*

§ 34. It is almost impossible to express how much this new contest afflicted those Lutheran countries in which it raged, and how much detriment it brought to the Lutheran cause among the papists. For it spread also to the churches that had a dubious toleration in papal lands, especially in the Austrian dominions; and it so excited the teachers, who were surrounded by papists, that they became regardless of all prudence and all danger.¹ There are many who think that *Flacius* fell into this error through ignorance of philosophical distinctions and ideas, and that he failed more from using a term not familiar to him, than in point of fact. But *Flacius* himself seems to refute this; for, in numerous passages, he declares that he understood well the force of the word *substance*, and that he was not ignorant of the consequences of his doctrine.² Be this, however, as it may, it is beyond all doubt, that unbridled obstinacy was in the man, since he would rather ruin his own fortune, and disturb the peace of the church, than discard an unsuitable term, and a sentiment made up of contradictions.

§ 35. Finally, the well-known mildness of *Melancthon*, which *Andrew Osiander* contemned, gave rise to those contests, which the latter excited in the Lutheran church, in 1549. For if *Luther* had been alive, *Osiander* would doubtless not have dared to bring forward and defend his new opinions. This man, distinguished for pride and the love of singularity, after removing from Nuremberg, where he had been a pastor, to the university of Königsberg, on account of the *Interim*, first publicly taught opinions very different from *Luther's* respecting penitence and the divine image; and afterwards, from the year 1550, was so daring as to correct the public opinion of the Lutheran church, respecting the mode of obtaining justification before God. Yet it is easier to tell what he did not believe, than what he did believe: for, according to the custom of the age, *Osiander* expressed his views neither with clearness, nor with uniformity and consistency. Comparing all that he has said, this seems to have been his opinion: The man Christ Jesus could not have merited for us righteousness before God, by his obedience to the divine law: and therefore it cannot be, that we become righteous in the sight of God, by embracing by faith, and applying to ourselves, this righteousness of the man Jesus; but a man obtains righteousness by that eternal and essential righteousness which resides in Christ as God, or in that divine nature which was united with the human. And a man

Confess. vol. iii. p. 593. Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, b. xvi. ch. xxix. p. 829. Jo. Musæus, *Prælection. in Formulæ Concord.* p. 29, &c. John Geo. Leuckfeld's *History of Spangenberg*, in German, 1728, 4to. On the dispute at Weimar, see *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1740, p. 383, &c.

¹ Bernh. Raupach's *Zweifache Zugabe zu dem Evangelisch. Oesterreich*, p. 25, 29, 32, 34, 43, 64, who treats of the Austrian Fla-

cians, and particularly of Irenæus; *Presbyterol. Austriaca*, p. 69, &c. Respecting Cælestine, see *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1748, p. 314, &c.

² See the letters of Jo. Westphal (a friend of Flacius, and who endeavoured to persuade him to give up the term *substance*), addressed to Flacius, and the answers of Flacius; published by Arnold Grevius, in his *Memo-ria Joh. Westphali*, p. 186, &c.

becomes a partaker of this divine righteousness, by means of faith. For by faith, Christ *dwells* in men; and with Christ, also his divine nature. And this righteousness being present in the regenerate, on account of it God regards them, though sinners, as if they were righteous. And moreover, this divine righteousness of Christ excites the faithful to cultivate personal righteousness and holiness. The principal theologians of the Lutheran church, and among them *Melunthion* especially, and his colleagues, impugned his doctrine. Yet *Osiander* had also great men to support his cause. But after his death,¹ the controversy gradually subsided.²

§ 36. His colleague, *Francis Stancari*, an Italian, and professor of Hebrew at Königsberg, a turbulent and passionate man, in attempting to confute the error of *Osiander* respecting the mode of obtaining justification before God, fell into another opinion, which appeared equally false and dangerous. *Osiander* maintained, that the *man* Christ was under obligation to keep the divine law, on his own account; and therefore he could not, by obeying the law, procure righteousness for others; and of course, it was not as man, but only as God, that Christ expiated the sins of mankind and procured us peace with God. *Stancari*, on the contrary, excluded the divine nature of Christ from the work of redemption and atonement, and maintained that the office of a mediator between God and men,

¹ [A.D. 1552. Tr.]

² See Conrad Schlüsselburg's *Catalogus Hereticor.* lib. vi. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, b. xvi. ch. xxiv. p. 804, &c. Christ. Hartknoch's *Preussische Kirchenhistorie*, b. ii. ch. ii. p. 309, &c. Chr. Aug. Salig's *Historie der Augsb. Confession*, ii. 922. The opinion of the divines of Wittemberg, respecting this controversy, may be seen in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1739, p. 141, &c., and that of the divines of Copenhagen, in the *Dänische Bibliothek*, pt. vii. p. 150, &c., where is a long catalogue of the writers on this controversy. Add part viii. p. 313, &c. On the arrogance of *Osiander*, see Hirsch's *Nürnberg. Interims-Historie*, p. 44, 58, 60, &c. [Andrew *Osiander*, or *Hosemann* as his name was in German, was born at Sunzenhausen in Franconia, 1498; studied at Leipsic and Altenburg, under great poverty; and then at Ingolstadt. He possessed superior native talents; and became very learned, particularly in Hebrew, mathematics, and theology. He was eloquent; yet proud, self-sufficient, and contentious. In 1522, he became first preacher in a church at Nuremberg; and was there very active, and highly respected, notwithstanding he advanced some singular opinions. He supposed, the second person in the Trinity was that image of God, after which man was fashioned; that the Son of God would have become incarnate, if man had not sinned; and that repentance con-

sisted in abhorrence of sin, and forsaking it, without including faith in the Gospel. He also refused to pronounce the general absolution in public worship; which involved him in controversy. While at Nuremberg, he wrote his famous Harmony of the Gospels. The margrave, Albrecht of Brandenburg, had been converted by his preaching, and, therefore, became strongly attached to him. Having founded the university of Königsberg in 1544, Albrecht placed *Osiander* at the head of the theological department, in 1548. His colleagues disliked having a foreigner placed above them; and his bold avowal of singular opinions soon gave them occasion to break with him. He considered the *justification*, spoken of in the New Testament, to be equivalent to *sanctification*; or to be, not a forensic act of God, acquitting men from liability to punishment, but a gracious operation, which conferred personal holiness. And in this sense he used the term, in his theological writings. Legal justification, through the imputed righteousness of Christ, he would denominate *redemption*; and this he supposed always preceded what he called justification. The *mode* of justification, in his sense of the term, he supposed to be, by the *indwelling of Christ* in the soul, producing there a moral change. See Arnold, l. c. and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat.* iv. 572, &c. Tr.]

pertained exclusively to the human nature of Christ. Finding himself to be odious, on account of his doctrine, he left Königsberg, and retired first to Germany, and then to Poland, where he died in 1574. He likewise excited considerable commotion in Poland.¹

§ 37. All good men, friendly to the new church, were the more desirous of a termination of so many bitter contests, because they saw them turned by the papists to their own advantage. But while *Melancthon*, the principal cause of the disputes, continued alive, nothing scarcely could be done to terminate them. But when he died, in 1560, something could be attempted, with more safety, and with better prospects. Therefore, after other efforts, *Augustus*, prince elector of Saxony, and *John William*, duke of Weimar, in the year 1568, ordered the best theologians of both parties to assemble at Altenburg, and discuss in a friendly manner their principal controversies; so that it might better appear in what way they could be settled. But the warmth of the disputants, and other causes, prevented any good effects from this conference.² It was therefore thought best to try some other method of restoring harmony: and it was resolved, that a *formula* or book should be drawn up by wise and moderate theologians, in which the whole of these controversies should be examined and decided; and that this book, when approved by all the Lutheran princes and churches, should be annexed to the Symbolical books of the Lutheran church. To this great and difficult work, *James Andreae*, a theologian of Tübingen, at that time in very high estimation, was appointed in the year 1569, by authority of his prince the duke of Würtemberg, and of *Julius*, duke of Brunswick. With these princes, *Augustus* of Saxony, and other princes of the Lutheran communion, concurred: and supported by such authority, *Andreae* repeatedly travelled over Germany, and consulted with the ministers of the courts, and with theologians, respecting the best method of drawing up the *formula*, so that it might secure the assent of all.

§ 38. This business was hastened forward by the rash temerity of

¹ See Chr. Hartknoch's *Preussische Kirchengeschichte*, b. ii. ch. ii. p. 340, &c. Schlüsselburg's *Catalogus Hereticor.* lib. ix. the whole of it. Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Stancarus*, iii. 2649, &c. Before he came to Königsberg, in 1548, he lived awhile among the Grisons and the Swiss; and among them he occasioned disputes; for he approved several Lutheran sentiments, particularly those respecting the efficacy of the sacraments, which were offensive to the Grisons and the Swiss. See *Museum Helveticum*, v. 484, 490, 491, [and De Porta's *Historia Reformat. Ecclesiar. Reticar.* l. ii. p. 89, 121. Tr.] On the commotions he excited in Poland, in 1556, see Bullinger, in Jo. Conr. Fuesslin's *Centuria I. Epistolar. a Reformator. Helvet. Scripturarum*, p. 371, 459, &c. [Stancarus is said to have contributed to the spread of Socinian sentiments in Poland; by main-

taining, that it was only the human nature of Christ that made the atonement, and by arguing, that if the divine nature of Christ mediated between God and man, then his divine nature must have been inferior to that of God. From the first, the Socinians inferred, that there was no need of any nature but the human, in the Mediator; and from the second, they inferred, that He could not, at any time, be equal with God the Father. See Bayle, l. c. note G.]

² See Casp. Sagittarius, *Introductio ad Histor. Ecclesiar.* pt. ii. p. 1542. [The subjects discussed were, the Majoristic, Synergistic, and Adiaphoristic contests. The debaters were, in part, Misnian, and in part Thuringian divines. As all the transactions were in writing, the conferences were protracted to a great length; and on one single expression in the article on justification, the discussion lasted five months. *Schl.*]

Caspar Peucer, the son-in-law of *Melancthon*, a physician and professor of natural philosophy at Wittemberg, and others, theologians at Wittemberg and at Leipsic, and pupils of *Melancthon*: for they, relying on the approbation and countenance of *George Cracovius*, the chancellor of Dresden, and others in the Saxon court, both civilians and clergymen, endeavoured in 1570, by various clandestine arts, to abolish the doctrine of *Luther* concerning the Holy Supper, in Saxony, and to introduce in its stead the opinion of *Calvin* respecting both the Lord's Supper and the person of Christ. What *Melancthon's* final sentiments concerning the Eucharist were, appears uncertain:¹ though it is abundantly proved, that he would willingly have united the Saxons and the Calvinists, but was prevented by his timidity from directly attempting such a union. His son-in-law, with his associates above named, openly assented to [the doctrines of] *Calvin*, as appears from their writings; and thus they showed more courage and resolution than their father-in-law and preceptor, but less of prudence. Therefore, in the year 1571, in a German book entitled *The Foundation (die Grundfeste)*, and afterwards by other writings, they explicitly declared their dissent [from *Luther*], respecting the doctrine of the sacred supper, and the person of Christ: and the more readily to accomplish their wishes, they introduced into the schools a new *Catechism*, drawn up by *Petzel*, favourable to the doctrine of *Calvin*. These commotions and disputes having arisen in the Lutheran church, *Augustus* of Saxony ordered his theologians and superintendents to assemble at Dresden, in 1571, and declare their sentiments respecting the sacred supper. They did so; but deceitfully: and returning home, they zealously pursued the plan which they had formed, and by teaching and writing, and in other ways, endeavoured to extinguish the old Saxon doctrine concerning the sacred supper. The prince elector *Augustus*, when fully informed of this by numerous witnesses, summoned the celebrated convention of Torgau, in 1574; and having clearly learned the views of those *Crypto-Calvinists*, as they were generally called, imprisoned some of them, banished others, and compelled others to change their sentiments. On none of them did he animadvert with greater severity than on *Peucer*, who had acted a leading part in the transaction. He was kept in constant and close confinement till 1585; and then,

¹ [This is certain, that in his last years, *Melancthon* was more inclined towards the doctrine of the Reformed respecting the Holy Supper: but it is also equally certain, that he did not receive their whole doctrine on this subject. See his *Reflections*, in Latin, published by *Pezel*, Neustadt, 1600, 8vo. Here he writes, one year before his death, p. 385, in a letter to Dr. Jo. Crato, concerning the Supper: 'Verum est, Filium Deum adesse mysterio et in eo efficacem esse, καὶ τὸν ἄρτον κοινωνίαν εἶναι τοῦ σώματος, ut Paulus diserte locutus est. Scio enim, te virum doctum recte cogitare, quid κοινωνία

significet. Hæc nunc breviter scripsi, nec volo spargi in populum.' And in p. 390, writing to Abraham Hardenberg, he cites a passage from *Macarius's* Homilies, which he thus translates: 'In ecclesia offertur panis et vinum antitypon carnis et sanguinis ipsius: et accipientes de pane visibili spiritaliter comedunt carnem Domini.' And he subjoins: 'Scio te libenter tam vetus testimonium lecturum.' This letter is dated Feb. 9, 1560. See also *Löscher's Historia Motuum*, ii. 30, and especially p. 39, &c. *Schl.*]

being liberated at the intercession of the prince of Anhalt, whose daughter Augustus had married, he retired to Zerbst.¹

§ 39. The plans of the *Crypto-Calvinists* being frustrated, the prince elector, and those who agreed with him, urged forward anxiously and pressingly the business of the *Formula of Concord*, already mentioned. Therefore, after various consultations, in the year 1576, *James Andrea* especially, in a convention of many divines at Torgau, called by *Augustus*, composed the treatise, intended to give peace to the Lutheran church, and to guard it against the opinions of the Reformed; and which, from the place, received the name of the *Book of Torgau*. This book being examined, amended, and elucidated by most of the theologians of Lutheran Germany, the subject was again submitted to certain select divines assembled at Bergen, an old Benedictine monastery near Magdeburg; and after all the suggestions from various quarters had been carefully weighed, the famous *Formula of Concord* was brought to its perfected state. *James Andrea* had for assistants at Bergen, at first, *Martin Chemnitz*, and *Nicholas Schnecker*, and afterwards, also *Andrew Musculus*, *Christopher Cörner*, and *David Chytraeus*. The Saxons first received

¹ See Conr. Schlüsselburg's *Calvinistic Theology*, in German, b. ii. p. 207, b. iii. pref. and p. 1—22, 52, 57, 69, b. iv. p. 246, &c. Leonh. Hutter's *Concordia Concors*, c. i.—viii. Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-hist.* b. xvi. ch. xxxii. p. 389—395. Val. Ern. Löscher's *Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reform.* pt. ii. p. 176, pt. iii. p. 1, &c. Add. on the other side, Caspar Peucer's *Historia Carcerum et Liberationis Divinæ*; published by Christ. Pezel, Tiguri, 1605, 8vo. [Likewise Jo. Rudolph Kiesling's Continuation of the *Historia Motuum*, Schwabach, 1770, ch. i. § 9, 10. The Catechism of Pezel was printed at Wittemb. 1571, and entitled, *Catechesis, continens Explicationem Decalogi, Symboli, Orationis Dominicæ, Doctrinæ de Pœnitentia et Sacramentis*. The theologians of Jena and Lower Saxony wrote against this catechism. See Walch's *Bibliotheca Theol. Selecta*, i. 485. The *Crypto-Calvinists* defended it, the same year, in a treatise entitled, *Grundfeste von der Person und Menschwerdung unseres Herrn Jesu Christi, wider die neuen Marcioniten, Samosatener, &c.* In reply, the divines of Lower Saxony wrote, *Die widerhöhte christliche gemeine Confession und Erklärung*, &c. At the convention of Dresden, the *Consensus Dresdensis* was drawn up, through the intervention of the court party, and especially of the court preacher, *Schütze* or *Sagittarius*. It met with the greatest opposition from the foreign churches; and the house of Brunswick, with the duke of Würtemberg, made strong representations against it to the prince elector. Upon this, in 1574, followed

the *Exegesis perspicua Controversiæ de Cœna Domini*; in which indeed they sought to keep up an appearance of coincidence with our symbolical books; but very manifestly took pains to defend the Melancthonian doctrine concerning the holy Supper. The prince elector, prompted by so many complaints of foreign princes, who were apprehensive that the religious peace might be assailed by the Catholics, under the pretence of this contest, at last took measures to check the evil. He commanded certain articles to be drawn up, by the general adoption of which the religious contests might be terminated. These were actually formed in the diet of Torgau, 1574, and may be found in Hutter's *Concordia Concors*, p. 184, &c. They were, however, by the foreign theologians, to whom they were sent for examination, deemed insufficient to remove the contests. But mild as these first articles of Torgau were (and they must not be confounded with the articles of Torgau, in 1576), yet many hesitated to subscribe to them; and many that did subscribe, afterwards revoked their subscriptions. And now resort was had to those harsh measures, which never can be justified; to imprisonments and banishments, and to the forcible introduction of certain theological statements that were opposed to the statements of the Philippists. For Philippists [or Melancthonians] is the proper appellation for these *Crypto-Calvinists*; since they, for the most part, admitted the *real presence* in the Eucharist, and questioned only the *omnipresence* of Christ's human nature. *Schl.*]

this new rule of the Lutheran religion, by order of their prince, *Augustus*: and the greatest part of the Lutheran churches afterwards followed their example, some sooner and some later.¹ The effect of this celebrated *Formula*, as is well known, was, to decide and terminate the many controversies, which had drawn the Lutherans, especially after *Luther's* death, into disagreeing parties; and also, to

¹ The writers on the *Formula of Concord*, are mentioned by Jo. Geo. Walch, *Introductio ad Libros Symbolicos*, l. i. c. vii. p. 707, and by Jo. Christ. Köcher, *Bibliotheca Theologicæ Symbol.* p. 188. A catalogue of unpublished documents relating to its history, is extant in the *Unschuld. Nachricht.* A.D. 1753, p. 322. The principal historians of it are Rudolph Hospinian, a Swiss theologian, *Concordia Discors*: and Leonh. Hutter, *Concordia Concors*; and by comparing the accounts of both, it will be easy to discriminate the true from the false, and to understand the reasons of what took place. [See J. F. Balthasar's *Geschichte des Torgischen Buches nebst andern zur Historie des Concordienbuches gehörigen Nachrichten*, Greifsw. 1741, &c. 4to, and Semler's edition of the Book of Torgau, from a contemporary manuscript document, with a compendium of the most noticeable parts of this manuscript collection; 1760, 8vo. In tracing the history of the *Formula of Concord*, we should consider the preparatory events. These were (I.) The Suabian Concord, or *Formula Concordiæ inter Suevicas et Saxonicas Ecclesias*; which was formed in 1574. By the Saxon churches must here be understood those of Lower Saxony, and in particular the *Ecclesiæ Tripolitane*, or the churches of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Lüneburg, whose preachers were strenuous Lutherans; the duchies of Brunswick and Lüneburg; and the cities of Brunswick and Magdeburg. All these united with the Suabian, and especially the Würtemberg theologians, against those of electoral Saxony; and sent their *Formula* to the prince elector of Saxony, in order to show him, that his theologians had departed from the Lutheran doctrine, and that he could no longer be the chief director of the affairs of the Protestants. Then followed (II.) the convention held at Torgau, in 1574. Next followed, by order of Lewis, duke of Würtemberg, (III.) the convention of Maulbronn, in 1576; where the Würtemberg divines, Lucas Osiander and Balth. Bidenbach, with the concurrence of some foreign divines, drew up what is called the *Formula of Maulbronn*; in which they state the orthodox faith of our churches, and on what conditions they would unite with the divines of electoral Saxony, and recognise them as members of our church. Afterwards came

(IV.) the Lichtenberg convention, in Feb. 1576, in electoral Saxony; at which the *Formula* of Maulbronn was examined, and pronounced too rigorous. Then followed (V.) the convention of Torgau, in June of the same year, after the suspected divines of electoral Saxony were removed. Here the Book of Torgau was compiled from the Suabian Concord and the Maulbronn *Formula*; and this was the real basis of that *Formula* of Concord, which was afterwards sent to all the German courts and churches, to collect suggestions and amendments. After the suggestions of the foreign theologians were received, in 1577, at the cloister of Bergen, the proper *Formula of Concord* was formed from the Book of Torgau. The principal person concerned in it was James Andreä, who was occupied many years in the business, took a number of journeys, and showed extraordinary zeal in the whole affair, yet incurred many reproaches, by the ambiguous expressions which he employed. And by his influence it was, that the opinions of the Suabian divines, respecting the person of Christ, the communication of the attributes [of Christ's divine nature to his human], (*communicatio idiomatum*) and the omnipresence of Christ's human nature, which before had been only private opinions, were received into the *Formula* of Concord, as doctrines of the whole Lutheran church. With him was joined Nicholas Selnecker, a native of Herspruck, in Franconia, who was at that time superintendent at Leipsic; a learned and persevering man, who had endured much persecution from the Philip-pists. The two others that were associated with James Andreä, were still more learned, and at the same time much disposed to peace, Martin Chemnitz and David Chytræus, both pupils of Melancthon. The first was then superintendent at Brunswick, and had few equals in learning and facility in writing. He was a venerator of Melancthon, and endeavoured in many respects to find out a middle path, and to check the violence of Andreä. Hence, he and Andreä may be considered as the proper composers of the instrument. Chytræus was of Rosstock. Musculus and Corner were of Frankfurt on the Oder, and were famed for their zeal for Luther's doctrines; yet these had no great concern with the Book of Torgau. *Schl.*]

exclude from the Lutheran community the opinions of the Reformed, respecting the holy Supper and the person of Christ.

§ 40. Yet the book, which was to have restored harmony among the Lutherans, and which actually did so in many places, furnished also new ground of discord. In the first place, the Reformed, and those who either favoured the Reformed, or at least wished to be at peace with them for the sake of the common good, when they perceived, that by this *Formula*, every hope of healing the schism was at an end, and that the Reformed were entirely excluded from all communion with the Lutherans, violently attacked, and censured in bitter writings, both the *Formula* and its authors. Beyond the bounds of Germany, the Swiss (of whom *Rudolph Hospinian* was the chief) and the Belgians;¹ and in Germany, those of the Palatinate,² of Anhalt, of Baden, and others, waged furious war upon the *Formula*. This imposed upon the Lutheran divines, and especially those of Saxony, the disagreeable task of defending it and its authors in various treatises.³

§ 41. Even among the Lutherans themselves, some of the most distinguished churches could not be persuaded, either by entreaties or arguments, to receive the *Formula*, and add it to their guides in doctrinal instruction. It was accordingly rejected by the Hessians, the Pomeranians, the Nurembergers, the Holstenians (through the influence of *Paul von Eitzen*, the superintendent-general), by the Silesians, the Danes, the Brunswickers or Julians, and others.⁴ But all these were not influenced by the same motives and arguments. Some of them, as the Holstenians, were led by their respect and

¹ Peter Viller's *Epistola Apologetica Reformatarum in Belgio Ecclesiarum ad et contra Auctores libri Bergensis dicti Concordiæ*, with the notes of Lew. Gerh. a Renesse; republished by Daniel Gerdes, in his *Scrinium Antiquarium, or Miscellanea Grönningens. Novis. i. 125, &c.* Add *Unschuld. Nachricht. A.D. 1747, p. 957, &c.*

² The palsgrave, Jo. Casimir, forthwith, in 1577, called a convention of the Reformed at Frankfort, for the purpose of repelling this *Formula*. See Henry Altling's *Historia Eccles. Palatinæ*, § clxxx. p. 143, &c.

³ See Jo. Geo. Walch's *Introductio in Libros Symbolicos Lutheranor. l. i. c. vii. p. 734, &c.*

⁴ On the fate of the *Formula of Concord* in Holstein, see *die Dänische Bibliothek*, iv. 212, &c., v. 355, viii. 333—468, ix. 1, &c. Henry Muhlius, *Dissert. Histor. Theolog. Diss. i. de Reform. Holsat.* p. 108, &c. Arn. Grevius, *Memoria Pauli ab Eitzen*; who, however, only touches upon this subject. The transactions in Denmark relative to the *Formula*, and the causes of its rejection, may be learned from the above-mentioned *Dänische Bibliothek*, which contains numerous documents, vol. iv. p. 222—282: and from Eric Pontoppidan's *Annales Eccles.*

Danice Diplomatici, iii. 456, &c., who also shows (p. 476, &c.) that what Jo. Herm. von Elswich and others endeavour to make doubtful, was a real fact, namely, that king Frederic II., on receiving a copy of the *Formula*, threw it into the fire, and burnt it. Respecting the rejection of the *Formula* by the Hessians, see the documents in *die Dänische Bibliothek*, vii. 273—364, ix. 1—87. Add Tielemann's *Vita Theologor. Marpurgens.* p. 99, &c. Respecting the countries of Liegnitz and Brieg, see the *Unschuld. Nachricht. A.D. 1745, p. 173, &c.* [It cannot be denied, that there were faults preceding this *Formula of Concord*, which gave to many Lutheran churches a reasonable excuse for procrastinating or even refusing to subscribe to it. It was published too hastily, before the suggestions of all the churches had been received: whence many, as, e.g. the churches of Pomerania and Holstein, believed that the *Formula* was sent to them only for form's sake. It was thought, the Saxons assumed a power, in the whole transaction, which did not belong to them; that they sought a kind of control over the Lutheran churches, which no one would in this sense concede to them. *Schl.*]

reverence for *Melancthon*, to abhor a book, in which the opinions of so great a man were censured and confuted. Others were not only partial to *Melancthon*, but they also believed, that some of the sentiments condemned in the *Formula*, were nearer the truth than the prevailing views. Some were kept from approving the *Formula*, by their secret attachment to the opinions of the Reformed; and some by hopes which they had indulged, that the Reformed and the Lutheran churches might form an alliance.¹ Some either actually feared, or at least pretended to fear, that the peace and harmony of the Lutheran church might be injured, by adding a new symbolical book to their old ones. And others offered other reasons for their dislike of it.

§ 42. *Julius*, duke of Brunswick, had been a kind of second father of the *Formula of Concord*; and had contributed to the fabrication of it, both by his counsels and by liberal contributions. And when drawn up, he had commanded all the ministers of religion in his dominions to receive it, and subscribe their names to it. But after the *Formula* was published, *Julius* changed his mind, and permitted his divines at Helmstadt, *Tilemann Heshusius* and the others, to oppose it, and to exclude it from a place among the symbolical books of his territories. The principal grounds on which the divines of *Julius* rejected the *Formula*, were, (I.) That the printed copy differed in some part from the written *Formula* which the Brunswickers had approved. (II.) That the doctrine of free-will was incorrectly explained in the *Formula*; and that some of the harsher and unsuitable phrases of *Luther* were employed in it. (III.) That the *ubiquity* (as it was then termed), or the boundless presence of Christ's *human nature*, which the Lutheran church had never adopted as her doctrine, was taught in it. Besides these reasons, perhaps other and secret ones influenced duke *Julius* not to adopt the *Formula*. There

¹ [It was the fact, that the *Formula of Concord* cut off all prospects of a union of our church with the Reformed, and opposed a bar to all attempts at pacification. At that time, the points in controversy with the Reformed, were only two; namely, respecting the doctrine of the Supper, and the person of Christ. The first pervaded the whole Lutheran church; the second did not; for before the *Formula of Concord*, it was only the Suabian divines that defended the omnipresence of Christ's human nature, on the ground of a communication of attributes. *Luther* never attempted to prove his doctrine concerning the Supper, from the doctrine *de communicatione idiomatum*, but solely from the Scriptures. And if, when *Zwingle* (who would parry his proofs from Scripture) brought him on to the subject of the person of Christ, he derived the ubiquity of Christ's human nature, from its personal union with the divine nature; yet he never maintained, that the man Christ was *always* and *everywhere* present; but

merely, that he *could* be present, wherever the execution of his mediatorial office, and the fulfilment of his promises, required; and of course, at the celebration of the holy Supper. And in this, the theologians of Upper and Lower Saxony followed him. But the theologians of Suabia and Alsace maintained an absolute omnipresence; and their statements were transferred to the *Formula of Concord* (yet so that the other opinion was not explicitly excluded), and thus were made articles of faith: the doctrine of election by grace, also, was previously a private opinion of Calvin; and was transformed by the synod of Dort into an article of faith, to all that received the decrees of that synod. Thus the points of controversy between us and the Reformed were increased by the *Formula of Concord*. They were also rendered more virulent, because we censured as heretical, and condemned, a church that hitherto wished to be a sister to us. *Schl.*]

were various negotiations with him, and with his theologians, to remove these difficulties; and particularly in the year 1583, a convention of theologians from the electoral Palatinate, Saxony, Brandenburg, and Brunswick, was held at Quedlinburg, for the purpose of terminating this dissent: but *Julius* remained inflexible in his purpose, and wished to have the cause of the *Formula* referred to a council of the whole Lutheran church.¹

§ 43. In Saxony itself, not a few detested in their hearts that *Formula*, which they subscribed with their hands; holding fast the doctrines which they had received from *Melancthon* and his friends. These, on the death of *Augustus*, and the accession of *Christian I.*, who from his childhood had been imbued with the milder sentiments of *Melancthon*, and is said to have been too friendly to the doctrines and institutions of the Swiss, again lifted up their heads, and seemed to be plotting against the *Formula of Concord*, in order to open the way for Calvinistic opinions and regulations to be introduced among the Saxons. And they found much support from men of the first rank, and especially from *Nicolas Crell*, the prime minister of state. Through their influence, first some laws were enacted, which might prepare the minds of the people to acquiesce in the contemplated revolution: and then, in the year 1591, the *Formula of exorcism*, as it is called, was required to be omitted, in the administration of baptism.² Moreover, not only was there a new German *catechism* published, which was favourable to the designs of these patrons of the Reformed doctrines, but also a new edition of the German Bible, with the notes of *Henry Salmuth*, adapted to the object in contemplation, was prepared in 1591, at Dresden. And now violent commo-

¹ See Leonh. Hutter's *Concordia Concors*, cap. xlv. p. 1051. Phil. Jul. Reht-meyer's *Braunschweig. Kirchenhistorie*, pt. iii. ch. viii. sect. i. p. 483, and the writers mentioned by Christ. Matth. Pfaff, *de Actis et Scriptis Ecclesiæ Württemberg*. p. 62, and in his *Historia Litterar. Theolog.* pt. ii. p. 423. On the conference at Quedlinburg and its Acts, see also the *Dänische Bibliothek*, pt. viii. p. 595, &c. [This court appears, in this matter, to have been actuated by political considerations. For the objections of the theologians to the *Formula* might admit an answer. The first objection, respecting the discrepancy between the printed and the written copies of the *Formula*, was founded on fact. There really were words and phrases interpolated in some of the statements, which were not in the written copy. The other party did not deny the fact; but said, they were minute things, and not alterations of the doctrine, but merely changes in the phraseology, introduced for the sake of perspicuity. And this was actually true. Mosheim once compared the subscribed copy with the printed; and, as he asserted, the doctrine

in both was the same. So that, if they had been disposed, they might easily have compromised this point. So also the two other points were not so very important. The Helmstadt theologians would not concede the ubiquity; yet they held it possible that *Christ*, as man, should be in various places at the same time. Now, how far is one who concedes this, from believing the ubiquity? The grand difficulty was this. The electoral Saxons had, in the whole business, assumed too much to themselves, and had acted as lawgivers to the church. It was perceived, that if this matter was allowed to pass thus, the elector of Saxony would personate the pope, and his principal clergy the cardinals, and would in future prescribe laws to the whole Lutheran church. They would, therefore, maintain against the Saxons, their right to think for themselves in matters of religion, and would show, that they conceded to Saxony the direction of religious affairs, only under certain restrictions. *Schl.*]

² See Jo. Melchior Kraft's *Geschichte der Exorcismi*, p. 401, &c.

tions, and seditions of the people, breaking out everywhere, the government animadverted severely on the ministers of religion, who opposed the designs of the court. But the sudden death of *Christian*, which took place this very year, frustrated all these machinations. The theologians, by whom the business had been principally managed, were, after the death of the elector, punished with imprisonment and exile; and *Crell*, the prime director of it, received, in 1601, the fruit of his temerity, by being brought to capital punishment.¹

§ 44. At the end of the century, *Samuel Huber*, a Swiss of Berne, indiscreetly awakened a new controversy at Wittenberg, where he taught theology. Fired with hatred of the Calvinistic doctrine of absolute decrees, he maintained that the whole human race were, from eternity, elected of God to salvation; and he accused his colleagues, together with all the Lutheran church, of being Calvinists; because they taught that those only are elected, who God foresaw would die in the faith. Learned men are at this day agreed, that *Huber* swerved from the common Lutheran doctrine, rather in words, than in meaning: for, what the Lutherans maintain respecting the love of God, as embracing the whole human race, and excluding no one absolutely from eternal salvation, this he would explain in a new manner, and in new phraseology. But this age having learned from numerous examples, that new phraseology and new modes of explaining doctrines produced as lasting and as pernicious disturbance, as new errors, urged *Huber* to adopt the old and the universal method of teaching, in preference to his own. And when he declared that he could not do so, and his patrons here and there threatened to produce disturbance, he was compelled to relinquish his office, and go into exile.²

§ 45. That the controversies here recounted, and others of less magnitude, were very injurious to the public interests of the church founded by *Luther*, no one, well informed in the history of those times, will deny. Moreover, the method of discussing and terminating controversies in that age, if estimated according to the modern views of good men, contained much that was inconsistent with equity, moderation, and charity. And while *they* are unjust, who load with reproaches the authors of those evils indiscriminately, and boldly pronounce them destitute of all reason and virtue, those are still more *unjust*, who cast all the blame on the victors, and pronounce

¹ See Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, pt. ii. b. xvi. ch. xxxii. p. 863, and the writers mentioned by Herm. Ascan. Engelcken, *Diss. de Nic. Crellio, ejusque Supplicio*; Rostoch. 1724.

² The writers on this controversy are mentioned by Christ. Matth. Pfaff, *Introductio in Histor. Litterar. Theolog.* pt. ii. lib. iii. p. 431, &c. [See, in particular, Godf. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, b. xvi. ch. xxx. vol. i. p. 952, &c. It must not be supposed, by the incautious reader, that *Huber* believed in the final salvation

of all men. He used the words *decree* and *election*, as equivalent to *gracious invitation*. This he supposed, in the eternal counsels of God, extended to all men equally, and without distinction. But to make *their calling and election sure*, they must repent and believe; which, he supposed, the greater part of mankind *will not do*, and of course will be damned to all eternity. This he expressly stated in the Confession of his faith, published in 1595. See Arnold, l. c. p. 953, and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* iv. 664. Tr.]

the vanquished to be saints, and deserving of a better fate. That men recently led out of the thickest darkness into the light, should not at once discern and distinguish all objects as they do who have long been in the light, is not at all strange. Besides, that age was unpolished, and not only tolerated but even applauded many things in morals, and in the mode of living, acting, and contending, which modern times, improved by experience and education, disapprove and reject. But with what views and intentions the individuals contended, whether they acted maliciously or ingenuously, and in good faith, belongs not to us to decide, but to Him who knows the hearts of men.

§ 46. The theologians, among the Lutherans who illustrated the various branches of sacred learning, form a very long list. Besides *Luther* and *Melancthon*, who excelled all the rest in genius and learning, the more distinguished were, *Hieronymus Weller*, *Martin Chemnitz*, *John Brentius*, *Matthias Flacius*, *Urban Regius*, *George Major*, *Nicholas Amsdorf*, *Erasmus Sarcerius*, *John Matthesius*, *John Wigand*, *Francis Lambert*, *James Andreæ*, *David Chytræus*, *Nicholas Seluecker*, *Martin Bucer*, *Paul Fagius*, *Casper Cruciger*, *Victorin Strigel*, *Cyriacus Spangenberg*, *Matthew Judex*, *Tilemann Heshusius*, *Jochim Westphal*, *John Æpinus*, *Andrew Osiander*, and many others.¹

¹ For an account of these, Melchior Adam's *Vite Theologorum*, the historical and literary [and biographical] Dictionaries, Lewis Ellies du Pin's *Bibliothèque des Auteurs séparés de la Communion de l'Eglise Romaine*, and others, may be consulted. The lives of many of them have been separately written, with care, in our

age: e. g. the life of Hieronymus Weller by Laemmel, of Flacius by Ritter, of Heshusius and Spangenberg by Leuckfeld, of Fagius by Feuerlin, of Chytræus by Schütze, of Westphal by Arn. Grevius, of Bucer by Verporten, of Æpinus [Hück] by Grevius, &c.

POPES, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.

Name and Surname	Official Designation	Accession	Death
John XVI.	—	June 13, 1003	Dec. 7, 1003
Fasanus	John XVII. . .	Dec. 26, 1003	May —, 1009
Peter ¹	Sergius IV. . .	July —, 1009	June —, 1012
John	Benedict VIII. .	June 22, 1012	Ap. 7, 1024
John XVIII.	—	June —, 1024	Jan. —, 1033
Theophylact ²	Benedict IX. . .	Jan. —, 1033	—
John Gratian ³	Gregory VI. . .	May —, 1045	—
Suidger ⁴	Clement II. . .	Dec. 25, 1046	Oct. 9, 1047
Popponius	Damasus II. . .	July 17, 1048	Aug. 8, 1048
Bruno ⁵	Leo IX.	Feb. 12, 1049	Ap. 19, 1054
Gebehard	Victor II. . . .	Ap. 13, 1055	July 28, 1057
Frederic	Stephen IX. . .	Aug. 2, 1057	Mar. 29, 1058
John Mincius ⁶	Benedict X. . .	Mar. 30, 1058	—
Gerard	Nicolas II. . . .	Dec. 28, 1058	July 22, 1061
Anselm	Alexander II. .	Oct. 1, 1061	Ap. 21, 1073
Hildebrand	Gregory VII. . .	Ap. 22, 1073	May 25, 1085
Desiderius	Victor III. . . .	May 24, 1086	Sept. 16, 1087
Otho	Urban II. . . .	Mar. 12, 1088	July 29, 1099
Rainerius	Paschal II. . . .	Aug. 14, 1099	Jan. 21, 1118
John Cajetan	Gelasius II. . .	Jan. 25, 1118	Jan. 29, 1119
Guido	Calixtus II. . .	Feb. 1, 1119	Dec. 14, 1124
Lambert	Honorius II. . .	Dec. 21, 1124	Feb. 14, 1130
Gregory	Innocent II. . .	Feb. 14, 1130	Sept. 24, 1143
Guido del Castello . .	Celestine II. . .	Sept. 26, 1143	Mar. 8, 1144

¹ Elected after June 17, 1009, and died in 1012. 'This pope was called *Os Porci*, or *Hog's Snout*, as we read in Ditmar, a contemporary writer, and not Sergius II. as is said by Platina, who will have that pope to have been the first who, disliking his own name, took another. But that custom did not take place until long after the time of Sergius II.' Bower, v. 145.

² This pope sold the popedom to his successor, as it was generally said; but Otto of Frisingen represents the transaction as rather favourable than otherwise to the latter, his object being merely to furnish a notoriously bad pontiff with such an inducement as should make him resign peaceably a post which he disgraced. *Ibid.* 158, 159.

³ 'Though the election of Gregory was certainly null, he is reckoned in all the catalogues among the lawful popes, for no reason that I can see, but because the next

Gregory called himself the seventh of that name.' *Ibid.* 160.

⁴ A Saxon, bishop of Bamberg. *Ibid.* 161.

⁵ 'Leo was the first pope that marked in his bulls the years of our Lord, the preceding popes using no other date but that of the indictions.' He has been canonised, and his remains are objects of religious worship. *Ibid.* 203.

⁶ Benedict X. was said to have owed his election to bribes, which rendered it invalid. He was, however, master of Rome, and his opponents were obliged to quit it; but after a possession of more than nine months, the council of Sutri deposed him, and being sensible of inability to maintain his ground, he left Rome for Tuscany, abandoning the papal chair to Nicolas II., whom the council had elected. *Ibid.* 212, 213.

Name and Surname	Official Designation	Accession	Death
Gerard Caccianemici	Lucius II.	Mar. 12, 1144	Feb. 15, 1145
Bernard	Eugenius III.	Feb. 18, 1145	July 8, 1153
Conrad	Anastasius IV.	July 9, 1153	Dec. 3, 1154
Nicholas Breakspear ¹	Hadrian IV.	Dec. 4, 1154	Sept. 1, 1159
Roland	Alexander III.	Sept. 7, 1159	Aug. 30, 1181
Hubald Allucingolo	Lucius III.	Sept. 1, 1181	Nov. 25, 1184
Humbert Crivelli	Urban III.	Dec. 1, 1184	Oct. 20, 1187
Albert	Gregory VIII.	Oct. 25, 1187	Dec. 17, 1187
Paul	Clement III.	Dec. 20, 1187	Mar. 27, 1191
Hyacinth Bobo	Celestine III.	Ap. 14, 1191	Jan. 8, 1198
Lothaire dei Conti di Segni	Innocent III.	Feb. 22, 1198	July 16, 1216
Centius Savelli	Honorius III.	July 24, 1216	Mar. 18, 1227
Ugolino dei Conti di Segni	Gregory IX.	Mar. 19, 1227	Aug. 21, 1241
Godfrey Castiglione	Celestine IV.	Oct. 22, 1241	Nov. 9, 1241
Sinibald Fieschi ²	Innocent IV.	June 28, 1243	Dec. 7, 1254
Raynald dei Conti di Segni	Alexander IV.	Dec. 12, 1254	May 25, 1261
James Pantaleon	Urban IV.	Aug. 29, 1261	Oct. 2, 1264
Guido Foulquois	Clement IV.	Feb. —, 1265	Nov. 29, 1268
Theobald	Gregory X.	Sept. 1, 1271	Jan. 10, 1276
Peter de Tarantaise	Innocent V.	Feb. 23, 1276	June 22, 1276
Ottobon Fieschi	Hadrian V.	July 11, 1276	Aug. 18, 1276
João Pedro	John XXI.	Sept. 15, 1276	May 16, 1277
John Cajetan Orsini	Nicolas III.	Nov. 25, 1277	Aug. 22, 1280
Simon de Brie	Martin IV.	Mar. 23, 1281	Mar. 29, 1285
James Savelli	Honorius IV.	Ap. 2, 1285	Ap. 3, 1287
Jerome of Ascoli	Nicolas IV.	Feb. 22, 1288	Ap. 4, 1292
Peter de Murrho ³	Celestine V.	Aug. 29, 1294	May 19, 1296
Benedict Cajetan	Boniface VIII.	Jan. 24, 1295	Oct. 11, 1303
Nicholas Bocasini	Benedict XI.	Oct. 27, 1303	July 6, 1304
Bertrand de Got ⁴	Clement V.	Nov. 14, 1305	Ap. 20, 1314

¹ The only Englishman ever elected pope. He was born in Hertfordshire, at Abbot's Langley, near St. Alban's. While young, he desired admittance into that monastery, but being repulsed, as insufficient, he went over to Paris, and wanting neither ability nor good fortune, he filled a succession of honourable posts, that conducted him eventually to the papacy. Chauncy's *Hertfordshire*, ii. 337.

² The red hat was first used by the cardinals under Innocent IV. 'That mark of distinction he granted them in the council of Lyons; but they first used it, as De Curbio informs us, the year after the council, that is, in 1246, on occasion of an interview between the pope and Lewis IX. of France. That the cardinals were allowed to wear red shoes and red garments in the time of Innocent III., raised to the see in 1198, appears from several writers who flourished at that time; but by what pope that privilege was granted them, is uncertain.' Bower, vi. 254.

³ A hermit, originally meant for the

church, and therefore liberally educated, who long led a life of great austerity in a cave on mount Murrho, the modern Magella, in the farther Abruzzo. The long vacancy before his election came from the two powerful families of Orsini and Colonna, each of which was bent upon nominating the pope. While the dissension continued raging, one of the cardinals accidentally mentioned the famous hermit of Murrho, and a majority of the body immediately elected him. Being over-persuaded to accept the proffered dignity, he did not lay aside his ascetic habits, but he proved wholly unfit for business, and was readily brought, after a few months, to exchange the pontificate for his former solitude. He abdicated Dec. 13, 1294. *Ibid.* 344.

⁴ Archbishop of Bourdeaux, and of a noble family in that part of France, but embroiled with Philip the Fair. That monarch had a powerful party in the conclave, which struggled violently for a French pope. While its exertions were yet abortive, Philip was privately consulted about

Name and Surname	Official Designation	Accession	Death
James d'Euse . . .	John XXII. . .	Sept. 5, 1316	Dec. 4, 1334
James Fournier . . .	Benedict XII. . .	Jan. 8, 1335	Ap. 25, 1342
Peter Roger . . .	Clement VI. . .	May 19, 1342	Dec. 6, 1352
Stephen Aubert . . .	Innocent VI. . .	Dec. 30, 1352	Sept. 12, 1362
William de Grimoard . . .	Urban V. . .	Nov. 6, 1362	Dec. 19, 1370
Peter Beaufort ¹ . . .	Gregory XI. . .	Jan. 5, 1371	Mar. 27, 1378
Bartholomew Prignano ² . . .	Urban VI. . .	Ap. 18, 1378	Oct. 18, 1389
Peter Tomacelli . . .	Boniface IX. . .	Nov. 9, 1389	Oct. 1, 1404
Cosmato Megliorati . . .	Innocent VII. . .	Oct. 17, 1404	Nov. 6, 1406
Angelo Corario . . .	Gregory XII. . .	Dec. 2, 1406 ³	—
Peter of Candia . . .	Alexander V. . .	June 26, 1409	May 3, 1410
Balthasar Cossa . . .	John XXIII. . .	May 17, 1410 ⁴	—
Otto Colonna . . .	Martin V. . .	Nov. 11, 1417	Feb. 20, 1431
Gabriel Condelmerio . . .	Eugenius IV. . .	Mar. 3, 1431	Feb. 23, 1447
Thomas of Sarzana . . .	Nicolas V. . .	Mar. 6, 1447	Mar. 24, 1455
Alphonso Borgia . . .	Calixtus III. . .	Ap. 8, 1455	Aug. 8, 1458
Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini . . .	Pius II. . .	Aug. 27, 1458	Aug. 14, 1464
Peter Barbo . . .	Paul II. . .	Aug. 31, 1464	July 25, 1471
Francis della Rovere . . .	Sixtus IV. . .	Aug. 9, 1471	Aug. 13, 1484
John Baptist Cibò . . .	Innocent VIII. . .	Aug. 29, 1484	July 25, 1492
Roderic Borgia ⁵ . . .	Alexander VI. . .	Aug. 11, 1492	Aug. 18, 1503

the election of De Got. He had immediately a secret interview with him, and by promising to secure his election upon certain conditions, the archbishop was won over. As this was known to very few, the opposite party elected him, and thus France acquired a hold upon the papacy which she long retained. Bower, vi. 379.

¹ *Petrus Belfortis*, nephew to Clement VI., and made cardinal by him when hardly seventeen. Platina, 208.—Bower calls him *Peter Roger*, and adds, that he was son of William Roger, lord of Beaufort.

² The death of Gregory was followed by a most dreadful schism, commonly called in the history of the church *the great western schism*. It began in the present year, 1378, by the election of Clement VII. in opposition to Urban VI., and lasted till the council of Constance, in 1414. There were, during that time, two popes, the one residing at Rome or in Italy, and the other at Avignon. But which of the popes was the true

one, and which the antipope, has not yet been decided.' Bower, vii. 36.

³ Deposed by the council of Pisa, June 5, 1409.

⁴ Deposed by the council of Constance, May 29, 1414, but the Roman see was not formally declared vacant until the deposition and degradation of Peter de Luna, or Benedict XIII., July 26, 1417. Nor did the council decree the election of a new pope until its fortieth session, on the 30th of October next ensuing. (*L'Enfant, Conc. de Const.* ii. 92, 136.) 'From the election of Clement V., in 1305, the popes had resided at Avignon, till Gregory XI., in 1376, again removed the see to Rome. On his death, two popes were chosen; Urban VI., who resided at Rome, and Clement VII., at Avignon: each of these had a successor, and in 1409 the schism was increased by the election of a third pope at Bologna.

Rome.	Avignon.	Bologna.
Urban VI. 1378	Clement VII. 1379	—
Boniface IX. 1389	Benedict XIII. 1395	—
Innocent VII. 1404	—	Alexander V. 1409
Gregory XII. 1406	—	John XXIII. 1410

The three last were deposed by the council of Constance, in 1417.' Coxe's *Hist. of the House of Austria*, London, 1820, i. 212.

⁵ A Spaniard of a noble Valencian family,

properly named Lenzolio. But his father, having married Joan Borgia, sister to Calixtus III., assumed her name instead of his own, with the pope's consent, and his descendants did the same.

COUNCILS.

	A.D.		A.D.
Enham	1008	Westminster	1127
Leon	1012	Troyes	1127
Habam	1014	Rheims	1131
Winchester	1021	London	1138
Seligenstadt	1022	LATERAN ³	1139
Bourges	1031	Rheims	1148
Rheims	1049	Tours	1163
Rouen	1050	Clarendon	1164
Vercelli ¹	1050	Cashel	1172
Coyaco	1050	London	1175
Narbonne	1054	LATERAN ⁴	1179
Toulouse	1056	York	1195
Rome	1059	London	1200
Tours	1060	Avignon	1209
Rome	1063	Paris	1212
Rouen	1072	Montpellier	1214
Rouen	1074	LATERAN ⁵	1215
Rome	1074	Oxford	1222
London	1075	Narbonne	1227
Rome	1078	Toulouse	1229
Rome	1080	Château Gontier	1231
Lillebonne	1081	Beziers	1233
Quedlinburg	1085	Narbonne	1235
Melfi	1090	Tours	1236
Clermont	1095	London	1237
Rouen	1096	Campinacum ⁶	1238
Nismes	1096	Tours	1239
Rome	1099	Worcester	1240
St. Omer's	1099	Laval	1241
Poitiers	1100	LYONS I. ⁷	1245
London	1102	Beziers	1246
Lateran	1112	Valence	1248
Toulouse	1119	Saumur	1253
LATERAN ²	1125	Alby	1254
London	1512	Bourdeaux	1255

¹ There was also a council holden this year at Rome. Berenger found employment for both assemblies; and although no canons are extant from either, yet their condemnation of John Scot and Berenger makes them important. Henceforth the Roman church stood committed to transubstantiation.

² Called the first Lateran, and the *Ninth General*.

³ Second Lateran, and *Tenth General*.

⁴ Third Lateran, and *Eleventh General*.

⁵ This is merely styled the Fourth Lateran—*General* by Labbe and Cossart.

⁶ Campinacum is thought to be Cognac.

⁷ Called *General*, because a pope, Innocent IV., presided. Labbe and Cossart, however, give it no numerical rank.

	A.D.		A.D.
Lambeth	1261	Château Gontier	1336
Nantes	1264	Avignon	1337
Vienna	1267	London	1342
London	1268	Noyon	1344
Sens	1269	Paris	1346
LYONS II. ¹	1274	Toledo	1347
Saltzburg	1274	Beziers	1351
Saumur	1276	Angers	1365
Beziers	1276	Lavaur	1368
Langen	1278	Saltzburg	1386
Pontaudemer	1279	Palencia	1388
Avignon	1279	London ³	1396
Reading	1279	Prague ⁴	1405
Buda	1279	Oxford ⁵	1408
Ravenna	1286	Città di Friuli ⁶	1409
Bourges	1286	Pisa ⁷	1409
Exeter	1287	Rome ⁸	1412
Wurtzburg	1287	London ⁹	1413
Saumur	1294	CONSTANCE	1414
Canterbury	1295	Saltzburg	1420
Rouen	1299	Cologne	1423
Merton	1300	Siena	1423
Compiègne	1301	Copenhagen	1425
Saltzburg	1310	Paris	1429
Cologne	1310	Tortosa	1429
VIENNE ²	1311	BÂLE	1431
Ravenna	1311	FLORENCE	1438
Ravenna	1314	Frisingen	1440
Ravenna	1317	Rouen	1445
Palencia	1322	Angers	1448
Toledo	1324	Soissons	1456
Avignon	1326	York	1466
Lambeth	1330	Cologne	1470
Rouen	1335	Aranda ¹⁰	1473

¹ This has no numerical rank assigned to it among *General* councils. Gregory X. presided.

² Clement V. presided: hence this council is termed *General*, but it stands without any numerical rank.

³ This was the council that condemned eighteen articles taken out of Wickliffe's *Triologus*. Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, presided.

⁴ Called by Sbinko, archbishop of Prague, by the desire of Innocent VII., to counteract the influence of Benedict XIII. or Peter de Luna, the rival pope, to whom many of the Bohemians adhered.

⁵ Sometimes called the council of London, because, although its canons were framed at Oxford, in 1408, they were not formally

promulgated until the following year, and then in St. Paul's, London. The suppression of Wickliffe's followers was the chief business in hand.

⁶ Called for terminating the papal schism.

⁷ Called for the same purpose as the last, but by certain cardinals, and not by the pope.

⁸ Called to condemn the writings and followers of Wickliffe.

⁹ Called to denounce as a heretic, Sir John Oldecastle, who, in right of his wife, bore the title of Lord of Cobham.

¹⁰ Denominated in books, *Concilium Tolentanum*, it being a provincial council headed by the archbishop of that see. But its place of meeting was Aranda.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

Name and Surname	Appointment	Death
Elphege	— 1006 . . .	Ap. 19, 1012
Living	— 1013 . . .	June 12, 1020
Ethelnoth . . .	Nov. 13, 1020 . . .	Oct. 29, 1038
Eadsin	— 1038 . . .	Oct. 28, 1059
Robert of Jumieges ¹ .	— 1050 . . .	—
Stigand ²	— 1052 . . .	—
Lanfranc	Aug. 29, 1070 . . .	May 24, 1089
Anselm	Dec. 4, 1093 . . .	Ap. 21, 1109
Rodulph	Ap. 26, 1114 . . .	Oct. 20, 1122
William Corbel . . .	Feb. 18, 1123 . . .	Nov. 21, 1136
Theobald	Jan. 8, 1139 . . .	Ap. 18, 1161
Thomas Becket . . .	June 3, 1162 . . .	Dec. 29, 1170
Richard	Ap. 7, 1174 . . .	Feb. 16, 1184
Baldwin	Dec. 16, 1184 . . .	Nov. 19, 1190
Reginald Fitz-Joceline .	Nov. 27, 1191 . . .	Dec. 26, 1191
Hubert Walter . . .	May 30, 1193 . . .	July 13, 1205
Stephen Langton . . .	June 17, 1207 . . .	July 9, 1228
Richard Wethershed .	June 10, 1229 . . .	Aug. 3, 1231
St. Edmund	Ap. 2, 1234 . . .	Nov. 16, 1240
Boniface	Jan. 15, 1245 . . .	July 18, 1270
Robert Kilwarby ³ . .	Feb. 26, 1273 . . .	—
John Peckham	Feb. 19, 1279 . . .	Dec. 8, 1292
Robert Winchelsey . .	Sept. 12, 1294 . . .	May 11, 1313
Walter Raynold . . .	Jan. 4, 1314 . . .	Nov. 16, 1327
Simon Mepham	June 5, 1328 . . .	Oct. 12, 1333
John Stratford	Nov. 18, 1333 . . .	Aug. 23, 1348
Thomas Bradwardine .	July 19, 1349 . . .	Aug. 26, 1349
Simon Islip	Dec. 20, 1349 . . .	Ap. 26, 1366
Simon Langham ⁴ . . .	Nov. 5, 1366 . . .	July 22, 1376
William Whittlesey . .	Jan. 15, 1369 . . .	June 5, 1374
Simon Sudbury	May 26, 1375 . . .	June 14, 1381
William Courteney . .	Oct. 23, 1381 . . .	July 31, 1396
Thomas Arundel . . .	Sept. 25, 1396 . . .	Feb. 19, 1414

¹ A Norman indiscreetly preferred by Edward the Confessor, and compelled, after a brief possession, to quit England.

² Deprived by the Normans, either in 1069 or 1070, and dead in a few months afterwards. Godwin, *de Præsull.* Cantab. 1743, p. 59.

³ He resigned the see of Canterbury on his promotion to the dignity of a cardinal bishop, and went into Italy, where he died in a few months. *Ibid.* 97.

⁴ 'Pope Urban, who had lately translated

Langham' (from Ely) 'to the see of Canterbury, gave him a new mark of his esteem, and preferred him to a cardinalate' (Sept. 22, 1368), 'upon which the king, not being acquainted with this promotion, seized his temporalities. The archbishop acquiesced under this hardship, resigned his see' (Nov. 17, 1368), 'and lived privately at Oxford, till he had the king's leave to go beyond sea.' Collier, i. 561.—He died at Avignon, July 22, 1376. Godwin, *de Præsull.* 116.

Name and Surname	Appointment	Death
Roger Walden ¹ . . .	Feb. —, 1398 . . .	deposed, 1399
Henry Chicheley . . .	July 29, 1414 . . .	Ap. 12, 1443
John Stafford . . .	May 13, 1443 . . .	May 25, 1452
John Kemp . . .	Sept. 23, 1452 . . .	Mar. 22, 1454
Thomas Bouchier . . .	Ap. 23, 1454 . . .	Mar. 30, 1486
John Morton . . .	Oct. 6, 1486 . . .	Sept. 15, 1500

PRIMATES OF SCOTLAND, BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF ST. ANDREW'S.

	A.D.		A.D.
Turgot ²	1107	Abel	1253
Eadmer ³	1120	Gameline	1255
Robert	1127	William Wiseheart	1273
Arnold	1159	William Frazer	1280
Richard	1165	William Lamberton	1298
Hugh ⁴	1178	James Bene	1328
Roger	1198	William Bell ⁵	1332
William Malvoisine	1202	William Landal	1341
David Bernham	1234	Walter Trail	1385

¹ [Roger Walden was appointed and consecrated archbishop of Canterbury during Arundel's exile, and deposed on his return. He was afterwards bishop of London. *Ed.*]

² The principal episcopal see of Scotland was in early times at Abernethy, the Pictish metropolis, at the confluence of the Earn and Tay. Kenneth II., who reigned in the ninth century, transferred the episcopal see to St. Andrew's, and gave it a primacy over the now united nations of Scots and Picts, directing the incumbent to be styled *Maximus Scotorum Episcopus*. Scotland had no archbishopric until Patrick Graham became bishop of St. Andrew's, in 1466. That prelate, journeying to Rome for confirmation in his see, obtained the pope's authority for erecting St. Andrew's into an archbishopric. This being resented by some at home, a further application was made to the pope, which ended in the erection of a second archbishopric at Glasgow. Before these archiepiscopal sees were created, the archbishops of York had claimed Scotland, as properly within their province; a claim said to have arisen, like that of England's civil superiority, from the inclusion of southern Scotland within the ancient kingdom of

Northumbria. Turgot is not the first known bishop of St. Andrew's. The series begins in the ninth century, but until Turgot's time it labours under some confusion. Collier, i. 156, 681. Keith's *Historical Account of Scottish Bishops*, Edinb. 1824, p. 31. Russell's *History of the Church in Scotland*, Lond. 1834, i. 96, 118.

³ The monk of Canterbury, who wrote the *Historia Novorum*. He is said to have returned into England because he could not be suffered to receive consecration from the archbishop of Canterbury. Another account makes him to have been actually consecrated in 1120. Keith, 7.

⁴ This was a disputed incumbency: John Scott, an Englishman, but archdeacon of St. Andrew's, having been unanimously elected bishop. The king, however, caused his own chaplain, Hugh, to be consecrated. After long opposition to his claims upon St. Andrew's, which were backed by the pope, John was provided for by means of the see of Dunkeld. *Ibid.* 13.

⁵ Bell was elected to St. Andrew's, but being vigorously opposed, he journeyed ineffectually to the papal court at Avignon. Confirmation was denied him. *Ibid.* 24.

	A.D.		A.D.
Thomas Stewart ¹	1401	—	
Henry Wardlaw ²	1404	Ap.	6, 1440
James Kennedy ³	1440	May	10, 1466
Patrick Graham ⁴	1466	—	1478
William Schives	1478	Jan.	28, 1497

ARCHBISHOPS OF ARMAGH.

Amalgaid	1021	—
Dubdalethy III.	1050	—
Cumasach O Herudan	1065	—
Mælisæ Mac-Amalgaid	1065	—
Donald Mac-Amalgaid	1092	—
Celsus Mac-Aid Mac-Mælisæ	1116	—
Maurice Mac-Donald	1129	—
Malachy O Morgair	1134	—
Gelasius Mac-Roderick	1137	—
Cornelius Mac-Concaledæ	1174	—
Gilbert O Caran	1175	—
Mælisæ O'Carrol	1184	—
Amlave O Murid	1184	—
Thomas O Connor	1185	—
Eugene Mac-Gillivider	1206	—
Luke Netterville	1220	—
Donat O Fidabra	1227	—
Albert of Cologne	1240	—
Reiner	1247	—
Abraham O Conellan	1257	—
Patrick O Scanlan	1261	—
Nicholas Mac-Molissa	1272	—
John Taaf	1305	—
Walter de Jorse	1307	—
Roland Jorse	1311	—
Stephen Segrave ⁵	1322	—
David O Hiraghty	1334	—

¹ Son to Robert II. He was archdeacon of St. Andrew's, and although elected bishop, he declined the dignity, and seems never to have entered upon it. He is thought to have lived about three years after his election; but this is uncertain. Keith, 27.

² Founder of the university of St. Andrew's, and otherwise distinguished for munificence.

³ His mother was Countess of Angus, daughter of Robert III.

⁴ Half-brother to Bp. Kennedy. The

mother of these prelates, Lady Mary Stewart, first married the Earl of Angus, secondly, Sir James Kennedy, of Dunmure, and thirdly, Lord Graham. It was this son of her third marriage who obtained archiepiscopal honours for the see of St. Andrew's from the pope; a compliment to his nation which caused a series of persecutions to himself that lasted through life.

⁵ Rector of Stepney, near London, dean of Lichfield in 1320. He seems to have been the first Englishman advanced to the see of Armagh.

	A.D.	A.D.
Richard Fitz-Ralph . . .	1347 . . .	—
Milo Sweetman . . .	1361 . . .	—
John Colton . . .	1382 . . .	—
Nicholas Fleming . . .	1404 . . .	1416
John Swayn . . .	1417 . . .	1439
John Prene . . .	1439 . . .	1443
John Mey . . .	1444 . . .	1456
John Bole . . .	1457 . . .	1470
John Foxalls . . .	1475 . . .	1476
Edmund Connesburgh ¹ . . .	1477 . . .	1479

¹ He resigned the see.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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